Latin loan-words in English place-names: a study of their linguistic, archaeological and chronological contexts, with special reference to Latin *vīcus* and Old English *wīc*

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Abstract

In the English place-name Wickham, derived from Old English *wīc–hām*, the first element is OE *wīc*, loaned from Latin *vīcus*. This thesis explores in depth the hypothesis proposed by various place-name scholars, especially by Margaret Gelling from 1967–97, that Wickham might refer to a Roman settlement site, and that in place-names such as Wickford, the specific *wīc* might sometimes refer to Roman settlement. Owing to a great increase in the number of Roman sites excavated since the 1970s, and the availability of information from sources such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme and Roman Rural Settlement project, this thesis is able to use modern archaeological knowledge unavailable to Gelling and twentieth-century place-name scholars, to explore the potential relationship between place-names and Roman archaeology.

The main findings of the thesis are: 1) that OE *wīc–hām* can refer to various types of Roman rural settlement, including a small town, roadside settlement, village, villa, and perhaps also a farmstead; and 2) that in some place-names such as Wickford, the specific *wīc* is likely to refer to a Roman settlement or institution known in Latin as *vīcus*. The thesis concludes by suggesting that place-name scholars have traditionally based their explanations of place-name chronology, and of Germanic migration to Britain, on medieval sources such as the *Chronicle* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. To explain how place-names such as Wickham and Wickford might refer to Roman settlements, a new historical narrative may now be necessary, based on patterns of English place-name evidence, on archaeology and on linguistic evidence, including Latin loan-words in Old English.

Abbreviations:

County abbreviations (referring to historic county boundaries before 1974)

BDF Bedfordshire	HNT Huntingdonshire	SFK Suffolk
BRK Berkshire	HRE Herefordshire	SOM Somerset
CAM Cambridgeshire	HRT Hertfordshire	SSX Sussex
CHE Cheshire	KNT Kent	SUR Surrey
DEV Devon	LEI Leicestershire	WAR Warwickshire
DOR Dorset	LIN Lincolnshire	WLT Wiltshire
DRB Derbyshire	NFK Norfolk	WOR Worcestershire
ESX Essex	NTP Northamptonshire	YOE Yorkshire (East Riding)
GLO Gloucestershire	NTT Nottinghamshire	YON Yorkshire (North Riding)
HMP Hampshire	OXF Oxfordshire	YOW Yorkshire (West Riding)

Other abbreviations

Angl	Anglian
CL	Classical Latin
DB	Domesday Book
DOE	Dictionary of Old English: A to I [https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/]
DOEC	Dictionary of Old English Corpus [https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/]
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
f.n.	field-name
Goth	Gothic
HER	Historic Environment Record
Kt	Kentish
L	Latin
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary [https://quod.lib.umich.edu/]
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
ModG	Modern German
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OFris	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary
ON	Old Norse
OS	Ordnance Survey
OSax	Old Saxon
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
pers.n.	personal name
RB	Romano-British
RIB	*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (3 vols., 1965–2009)
RRS	Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project
S	Sawyer (with charter number)
SFB	sunken-featured building
TA	Tithe Award
TM	Tithe Map
VCH	Victoria County History
VL	Vulgar Latin
WSax	West Saxon
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office

CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Outline of the thesis and research-questions

This thesis is a study of English compound place-names such as Wickham and Wickford, with Old English *wīc* as the first (or specific) element. OE *wīc* is a loan from Latin *vīcus*, and a study of compound place-names with the specific *wīc* may help to explain how these place-names arose, and what kinds of sites these names described. Latin *vīcus* had a range of meanings, applying to different types of settlement, and another aim of the thesis is to determine, if possible, what range of meanings the OE specific element *wīc* had in place-names, and how far its usage might correspond semantically to senses of *vīcus* in Latin literature. The research might therefore illuminate the social, linguistic and chronological contexts in which OE *wīc* was borrowed from Latin *vīcus*. This research is important because scholars of several disciplines, including historians, linguists, archaeologists and geneticists, have extensively debated the transition from Roman Britain to early medieval England, traditionally described as 'Anglo-Saxon England', and the study of Latin *vīcus* and OE *wīc* may cast new light on this period of transition.

By investigating English place-names with the specific element *wīc*, this thesis explores two key proposals by Margaret Gelling, whose ideas in the 1960s and 70s were based on earlier suggestions by Mawer (1924) and Smith (1964), and were subsequently explored further by scholars such as Coates (1999a) and Parsons (2011). Gelling's first hypothesis (1967: 93), examined in depth in Chapter 3 of this thesis, was that the OE compound *wīc-hām*, whose modern outcomes include place-names such as Wickham, Wykeham and Wycomb, might be an OE term for a Romano-British settlement site. Concluding a pivotal essay, Gelling (1967: 98) decided that 'The meaning of the term *wīc-hām* must remain unsolved for the moment'. Gelling's second idea, explored in Chapter 4, was that in some place-names such as Wickford, Wickfield and Witton, with specific *wīc*

and generics other than *hām*, the specific *wīc* might refer to a Roman settlement site (Gelling 1967: 98–99, 1974: 326, 1988a: 247). Gelling never published a full analysis of names with specific *wīc* and generics other than *hām*. This thesis therefore aims to continue, and build on, Gelling's two connected lines of enquiry, assisted by modern archaeological knowledge and discoveries. If the specific element *wīc* relates to Roman settlement, as Gelling suggested, archaeology might be able to inform us about the Romano-British settlements to which these names referred, and therefore potentially about the various contexts in which these names arose.

Research-questions

The two main research-questions in this thesis are as follows:

1. Is there a significant correlation between the specific *wīc* and Roman archaeology?

2. Is it possible to establish what OE *wīc* signifies when it occurs as the first element of place-names?

The issue of what constitutes a significant correlation will be discussed below in section 1.2, and later in the thesis. The second research-question can be divided into three related issues:

2A) What can the linguistic and onomastic contexts of *wīc* compound names tell us about the meaning and application of the loan-word *wīc*?

2B) Is it possible to define particular contexts (landscape, historical or archaeological) in which OE *wīc* was used as the specific element in compound place-names?

2C) If a significant correlation exists between the specific *wīc* and Roman archaeology, what (if anything) does it tell us about the socio-linguistic context in which, and the period at which, those place-names were formed?

An outline of the thesis

By studying a range of evidence, this thesis investigates the proposals by Gelling and others regarding *wīc* compound place-names. The Introduction (Chapter 1) covers a range of background material, including research methodology; a discussion of Latin loan-words in Old English; a survey of Latin loan-words in English place-names; a discussion of Latin and Celtic language in Roman Britain; and coverage of the 'continuity debate' regarding the fifth century AD and the 'end' of Roman Britain. Chapter 2 discusses linguistic aspects of Latin *vīcus* and OE *wīc*, including the possible meanings of *vīcus* in Roman Britain and on the Continent; the semantic development of OE *wīc*; and the orthographic criteria for regarding place-names as compounds with specific *wīc*. Chapter 3 explores in depth the OE compound *wīc-hām*, including a short survey of the generic element *hām* in place-names, a study of previous scholarship on *wīc-hām*, and detailed gazetteers of *wīc-hām* sites and local Roman archaeology, with a discussion of the issue of proximity. Chapter 4 addresses compound English place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics other than *hām*, such as Wickford, Wickfield and Witton, covering twenty-three generic elements found in *wīc* compound place-names. A detailed discussion of the lexical and onomastic use of these compounds and their generic elements is followed by a gazetteer of these names, and a discussion of their proximity to Roman archaeology. Chapter 5 (Synthesis and Conclusions) contains a summary and discussion of the evidence set out in chapters 3 and 4, along with suggestions for future research, a survey of some wider contexts of the present thesis and a review of how this thesis might contribute to debate about the fifth century AD in Britain, drawing some cautious conclusions but also proposing that a new historical narrative might be needed, to explain how Old English place-names might refer to Roman settlements.

1.2 Research methodology

(A) Sources used in compiling a corpus of place-names with specific *wīc*: the criteria for inclusion

1. In compiling a corpus of English compound place-names potentially containing the specific element *wīc*, the principal source of evidence is the Survey of English Place-Names, published by the EPNS in nearly one hundred county volumes since 1924. As a foundation of the thesis, all EPNS volumes have been studied, to search for relevant place-name material. However, various problems exist with EPNS coverage. Firstly, some counties have not yet been surveyed by the EPNS, including Kent, Hampshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Herefordshire, and parts of other counties such as Norfolk and Lincolnshire. For these areas, other reliable volumes have been consulted, such as national place-name dictionaries by Ekwall (1936a), Watts (2004) and Mills (2011), and other reliable works for individual counties, such as Wallenberg (1931, 1934) and Cullen (1997) on Kent, and Gover's Hampshire typescript (1961). Other problems are that early EPNS publications in the 1920s and 1930s often covered a whole county in one or two volumes; some archives were not available to early EPNS editors, and their coverage of minor settlement-names and field-names varied from parish-to-parish. A form of mitigation used in this research, for counties covered in EPNS volumes before 1940, is to search websites of local authority archives, for place-names in titles or abstracts of documents now held there. For example, to supplement the two EPNS Sussex volumes (1929–30), online catalogues of the East Sussex Record Office and West Sussex Record Office have been searched. A further issue is a gap in primary source material, in that Domesday Book (1086) does not cover all northern counties. To mitigate this problem somewhat, the Boldon Book (Morris 1975), a survey of holdings of the bishop of Durham c.1183, has been consulted. Once accepted according to various criteria (see below), names have been added to the corpus of compound place-names with specific *wīc*, initially as Excel spreadsheets.

2. In terms of the date of attestation of place-names, the core corpus of names, considered as a national corpus within England, consists of relevant place-names attested by AD 1200. Anglo-Saxon charters and the Domesday Book (1086) provide early sources of place-name evidence. Many charters exist only in later copies, and the dedication or date of a charter is sometimes spurious, but care has been taken to ensure that place-name material in the charter text is considered authentic by scholars, using the website esawyer.co.uk. The cut-off date for the core corpus of place-names is 1200, as we can be more certain of the etymology of these names than we can with names first attested later. DB scribes were typically speakers of Norman French, who tended to represent English sounds by the nearest equivalent in their own language (Cameron 1996: 16); a cut-off date of 1200 therefore provides post-1086 forms for comparison with the DB forms.

3. OE *wīc-hām* and OE *wīcum*, dative plural of OE *wīc*, could potentially develop in ways that led to similar reflexes. In Yorkshire, at least one place-name attested in DB, deriving from OE *wīcum*, was later re-analysed as Wykeham, probably after 1400: Wykeham near Malton YON (*Wich*, *Wic*(*h*)*um* 1086, *Wicum* 1268 (14th), 1301, *Wycom*(*b*) 14th). As noted in point 2 above, having a core corpus of names attested by 1200 largely mitigates this problem.

4. A second corpus of names first attested from 1201–1350 has also been compiled and will be compared with the earlier corpus. This second corpus includes mainly the names of minor settlements and field-names attested from 1201–1350, using EPNS volumes as the principal source, supplemented by other reliable sources where necessary (see paragraph A1 above).

5. A system for identifying and labelling place-names has been used in this thesis, since many locations have similar names. Each location is identified by a

county abbreviation, based on historic (pre-1974) counties, followed by a unique reference number within the county and a letter denoting the period of first attestation of the name. Wickham in Hampshire is HMP.1A, whereby Wickham is site 1 in Hampshire, of Type A. Attestation by 1200 constitutes a Type A place-name, and attestation from 1201–1350 constitutes Type B.

6. The Digimap website (www.digimap.edina.ac.uk) has been extensively used in the research to locate place-names on Ordnance Survey maps, and to produce annotated maps of sites studied. To locate fields named in tithe awards, tithe maps have been searched on the website www.thegenealogist.co.uk. In some cases, research has been commissioned at archive offices, to help locate fields or other named locations.

7. In terms of georeferencing, the locations of place-names have been identified initially as six-figure OS grid references, but also as twelve-figure co-ordinates, using co-ordinate capture on Digimap, for mapping with Q-GIS. Archaeological evidence has been plotted using the same referencing systems, and national maps of place-name distribution have been drawn using the Q-GIS system.

8. The orthographic criteria for considering place-names as compounds with specific *wīc* are explained more fully in section 2.3 below. Place-names whose generic relates to a road, such as Wickstreet, *wīc-weg* and *wīc-herepaþ*, have been excluded, since a place-name meaning 'road to a *wīc*' will not necessarily identify the location of the *wīc*.

9. The availability of place-name source-material depends partly on the survival of documents such as Anglo-Saxon charters, which are more numerous in areas of Wessex where the cartularies of large abbeys sometimes escaped Viking destruction. In parts of northern and eastern England, Scandinavian settlement

after AD 850 may have erased some earlier place-names, while in non-Scandinavian areas, some early OE place-names may have been replaced by later OE place-names. Therefore, surviving patterns of place-name distribution might not give a fully accurate picture of past patterns of distribution.

10. Classical Latin texts and translations are from the Perseus Digital Library (www.perseus.tufts.edu) or from translations specified in the thesis text.

(B) How archaeological data has been collected and used

1. In compiling archaeological data, the research has used information from two websites operated by the statutory organisation Historic England. Firstly, www.heritagegateway.org.uk allows a detailed search of localities by grid-reference, providing summaries of archaeological reports and of local archaeological finds. Secondly, www.historicengland.org.uk provides a general overview of the historic landscape.

2. The research has also consulted websites of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project (RRS). In each case, the limitations of the data must be understood. PAS evidence tends to come from metal-detecting in modern rural areas, and metal-detecting is less easy in urban areas. The purpose of the RRS was to utilise the results of commercially-funded excavations on sites of building-development since 1991, and this fundamentally limits the type of site included in the data. Despite this significant caveat, in the RRS project, drawing on data from around 2,500 excavated settlements, Roman farmsteads, rather than villas, take centre-stage as the most common type of rural settlement (Smith, Allen, Brindle and Fulford 2016: 20–43). RRS data may produce a different picture from heritagegateway.org.uk, since the latter describes a wider range of recorded finds and material evidence;

nonetheless, the PAS, RRS and heritagegateway websites all provide valuable sources of Roman archaeological data and are complementary rather than contradictory.

3. The present research also obtains archaeological data from other websites. Details of the Historic Environment Record (HER) held by local authorities are currently available at www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/chr/default.aspx. For around twenty authorities, detailed on heritagegateway.org.uk, HER information is mapped online, while several other authorities provide unmapped HER data via heritagegateway or on their own websites. The website www.archiuk.com allows a search of locations by place-name or grid-reference, with digital mapping of archaeological data from various eras. This thesis has also gathered data from books in libraries and from digital sources, including excavation reports and articles in journals; volumes of the Victoria County History (VCH); historical atlases and books on various regions and sites; and OS maps of Roman Britain.

4. Definitions of Roman rural settlement sites have been much contested (Hingley 1989: 20–29; McCarthy 2013: 50–57). This thesis adopts the typology for Roman rural settlements proposed by Smith et al. (2016: 17–43), consisting of: 1) Roman farmsteads; 2) Roman villas; and 3) nucleated settlements, including Roman roadside settlements, villages and military *vīcī*. A Roman villa will be considered using Hingley's definition (1989: 21), as a domestic building with evidence for the investment of a considerable level of surplus wealth in its construction, in terms of size, shape and building materials, and often with features such as a mosaic floor, hypocaust or bath-house. Roman 'small towns' are highly relevant to the current enquiry, because Gelling (1978: 69) suggested a close association between small towns and *wīc-hām* place-names. Burnham and Wacher (1990: 1) noted widespread agreement that the largest of these are

'towns' in morphology and function but also disagreement over the difference between Roman villages and 'small towns'.

5. In identifying the presence of a Roman villa, the gazetteer by Scott (1993) has been consulted, along with other printed works and websites. One issue is whether small-scale finds, such as a single hypocaust tile or a few tesserae, constitute adequate evidence of a villa. Ultimately, the finds at each site have been assessed cautiously, with attention to the opinions of archaeologists regarding the evidence at each site.

6. Ivan Margary's system of numbering Roman roads (Margary 1967) is used throughout the thesis.

7. In this thesis, terms such as 'Roman' and 'Roman Britain' are employed to refer chronologically to the period of Roman rule in Britain, beginning in AD 43 with the Roman invasion of Britain. The term 'Romano-British' is occasionally used, mainly when citing the views of other authors. The 'ending' of Roman Britain is not possible to define clearly; the Roman legions had left Britain by AD 409 (Mattingly 2007: 231–38), but various features of life in Roman Britain continued into the fifth century and beyond (Fleming 2021: 1–9).

8. When mentioning the 'Lowland Zone' of Roman Britain, this thesis refers collectively to the regions called the 'South', 'Central Belt', 'North-East' and 'East' by the RRS project (Smith et al. 2016: 15–16); these are called 'Smith's Combined Zone' by Fleming (2021: 20).

9. In places this thesis uses the term 'Anglo-Saxon', especially when referring to the period c.AD 450–1066, or when citing the views of other scholars. However, the thesis also notes that the term 'Anglo-Saxon' has been heavily criticised by

some scholars in recent decades (Roberts 2022: 295–306), and that terms such as 'early medieval England' or 'early medieval Britain' are now increasingly preferred by some authors (Naismith 2021: 6–14).

(C) Issues relating to proximity

In discussing the possible relationship between *wīc* compound place-names and Roman archaeology, the measurement of proximity and definition of significant proximity are important problems. Draper (2002: 29–42, 2011: 94–96) examines a potential relationship between Roman archaeology in Wiltshire and 54 place-names containing the element *wīc* as specific, simplex or generic element. An important distinction should be made, however, between these three types of place-name element, which have very different functions. Work by Gelling from 1967–97, and by other place-name scholars detailed later in this thesis, asked whether *wīc* might refer to Roman settlement when used as the *specific* element of compound place-names such as Wickham and Wickford. Draper accepts (2002: 30) that scholars overwhelmingly regard the simplex Wick or Wyke as referring to medieval rather than Roman settlement, but questions whether this tenet is accurate. Draper concludes (2002: 37) that while his evidence does not prove a connection between place-names containing *wīc* and continued Romano-British settlement, nonetheless the suggestion remains viable. However, Baker (2007: 166–69) asks whether Draper's examples of proximity between the place-name element *wīc* and Roman archaeology in Wiltshire may result from the continued use of the same settlement areas in Roman and medieval times, noting that *wīc* names might refer to Anglo-Saxon or later medieval settlements and that a more careful definition of spatial proximity would be useful.

Briggs (2009: 43–57) aims to employ a more rigorous approach, statistical hypothesis testing, to compare the spatial relationships of 54 supposed *wīc-hām* locations in England and various other reference points, including

Roman villas and Roman roads. These 54 *wīc-hām* locations are not specified by Briggs; it is coincidental that Draper analyses 54 place-names containing *wīc* in Wiltshire. Briggs argues (2009: 45) that while any conclusion from statistical analysis cannot be absolutely certain, a dataset might provide evidence for or against a hypothesis. Briggs concludes (2009: 52) that, of the five different place-name types which he analyses (including 353 *-hām* names), the strongest association in terms of proximity is between Roman villas and *wīc-hām* place-names. Briggs emphasizes that this does not prove a causal connection but hypothesizes that *wīc-hām* sites might be survivals of Roman villa sites into the Anglo-Saxon period.

Cole (2013: 115–34) conducts a detailed statistical analysis of the proximity of various OE place-name elements and compound names to Roman roads and ancient tracks, investigating whether place-names provide evidence of a route-way network in early medieval England. Cole's statistical methodologies and observations are highly complex but include the conclusions (2013: 117) that *strǣt-tūn* and *cumb-tūn* place-names both have a very close correlation with Roman roads and ancient tracks; *cyninges-tūn and mōr-tūn* names have a more moderate correlation with Roman roads and ancient tracks, whereas *mersc-tūn* and *halh-tūn* names are more randomly distributed.

In this thesis, a distance of 600m is regarded as potentially significant; for example, if evidence of Roman habitation is found up to 600m from a location whose name derives from OE *wīc-hām*, we can reasonably infer a potential relationship between the *wīc-hām* place-name and the Roman habitation. It seems sensible to search initially for Roman archaeology in an area of 1 square kilometre, within a circle around the theoretical place-name location; the circle's radius is 564m, rounded up to 600m for practicality. The parameter of 600m is an attempt to impose rigour in a difficult problem-area, namely the spatial relationship of place-names and archaeology. However, this parameter is merely an approximate 'rule-of-thumb', based on probability and on the

assumption that a settlement's name might refer to land within 600m of the perceived centre of the settlement.

In practice, a *wīc-hām* place-name might occur more than 600m from a location to which the name might originally have related, therefore the search for Roman archaeology potentially related to the place-name must sometimes extend beyond 600m, and should not be limited to 600m. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, it is sometimes difficult to establish a precise location for a place-name, and many settlement-names, such as village-names, refer to an area of several square kilometres. Secondly, the centre of settlement may have shifted over time, and the traditional image of Anglo-Saxon villages as the direct ancestors of medieval villages has been challenged. Examples of settlement mobility include, in Norfolk, at Loddon, Hales and Heckingham (Davison 1990). Hamerow (1991) depicts a 'Middle Saxon Shift' in settlement, whereas Blair (2018: 139–76, 311–37) portrays the main transformations in settlement patterns as being from 600–700 and from 920–1000. Thirdly, the name of a small piece of land, such as a field-name, might preserve a name which once referred to a larger area. Fourthly, a medieval parish church is often considered to represent the village centre, but the church was not always central, and some villages had no church. Finally, no archaeological excavation or survey has taken place at many sites, therefore it is impossible to say for certain whether Roman archaeology might be found beneath existing buildings or farmland.

A further major issue is that settlement density varied in different parts of Roman Britain. In river-valleys of the east Midlands, Roman settlements are frequently separated by no more than 500m, and many river-valleys in Wiltshire may have been just as densely occupied (Draper 2002: 32); by contrast, settlement in the north and west of Roman Britain was sparser, and settlement density varied within the Lowland Zone (Smith et al. 2016: 17–43). Applying any blanket search-parameter, such as 600m, to the whole country is therefore problematic, and the search for Roman archaeology cannot be restricted to a

zone within 600m of a place-name under investigation; however, 600m seems useful as a general initial search-parameter, especially in identifying a possible relationship between place-names and Roman archaeology in areas of sparser Roman settlement. Where Roman settlement archaeology is denser, the relationship of place-names to archaeology might become more problematic.

Despite these many problems, comparative distributional analysis of place-name types in relation to Roman archaeological features remains a sensible undertaking, and statistics of distribution are therefore assembled and analysed in this thesis. The aim is to produce a dataset which might provide evidence either for or against Gelling's hypothesis that the specific element *wīc* in compound place-names might relate to Roman archaeology. In this thesis, the grid-reference of a parish church is used to represent the settlement's location; if a village has no church, another point is chosen as the approximate centre of modern habitation. Sites with evidence of fourth-century settlement within 600m of the place-name location may be more relevant to the thesis than other sites lacking Roman archaeological evidence, therefore some sites are discussed in more detail than others in the gazetteer and analysis sections of the thesis.

1.3 Latin loan-words in Old English: the chronological and geographical contexts of the loans

Old English from the fourth century to c.700, for which we have no significant textual material, is described as 'prehistoric' or 'proto-Old English' by Hogg (2011: 2–3); however, Findell and Shaw (2020: 65) use the alternative term 'pre-Old English' to describe the Germanic dialects spoken in Britain from c.400–700. To reconcile these two different terminologies and chronologies, the term 'pre-Old English' will be used in the Synthesis and Conclusions of this thesis (Chapter 5), with the same chronology that Hogg uses for 'proto-Old English', namely from the fourth century (c.AD 350) to c.700; however, before Chapter 5 the term 'Old English' will be used more generically, as when employed by scholars discussing Latin loan-words in Old English.

Latin loan-words in English place-names belong to a larger group of Old English loan-words from Latin. Serjeantson (1935: 11–50, 271–81) listed over 520 words which she considered as loans from Latin to Old English, while Wollmann (1993: 1–3) regarded the likely total of loan-words as over 600, compared with at least 500 'early' Latin loan-words common to the West Germanic languages and 800 Latin loan-words borrowed at different periods into the Brittonic languages (Welsh, Cornish, Breton). However, Durkin (2014: 100, 120–22) has emphasized the difficulty of determining the number of loan-words accurately, since any list can be extended considerably with derivatives and compounds formed from the loan-words.

The chronological and geographical circumstances of loans from Latin into Old English have been much disputed. In his fundamental study of Latin loan-words in Old English, Pogatscher (1888: 1–15) adopted a three-period model for classifying loan-words, based on the traditional historical view that Old English was brought to Britain by Angles and Saxons from c.450–600. In Pogatscher's view, there was (A) a period before 450, during which various Latin words were borrowed into Old English as 'continental' loanwords; (B) a period of settlement

in Britain from 450–600, during which 'insular' loanwords were borrowed from the Latin spoken by Romanised Britons; and (C) the loan of words from Latin after 600, following the re-establishment of the Roman church in Britain, providing a new 'learned' Christian stratum of vocabulary (Gneuss 1993: 113–16; Wollmann 1993: 4–14). This model will be discussed further below.

Serjeantson's innovative lists of Latin loan-words in Old English (1935: 271–81) included the following semantic categories: military, legal, official; trade, measures; coins; metals; dress, textiles; household and other useful objects; food, drink, cooking; vessels; towns, houses, building; plants and agriculture; animals, birds; disease, medicine; and miscellaneous. Serjeantson largely followed Pogatscher's chronological framework, by listing A) 184 words supposedly borrowed during the continental period, up to about AD 400; B) 114 words probably borrowed in Britain, 450–650; and C) 244 late loan-words from after 650, including 'learned' words introduced from the written Latin language. In assessing the chronology of the loans, Serjeantson knew the importance of phonological changes in Latin and Old English (1935: 13–14); however, as Wollmann noted (1993: 14), Serjeantson's reasons for assigning individual words to the chosen chronological categories are unclear, since she did not attempt to analyse individual words linguistically.

Campbell (1959: 200–19) rejected Pogatscher's distinction between the supposed periods (A) and (B), preferring a simpler and rougher distinction between 'early' and 'later' loans. To Campbell, 'early' loan-words from Latin into Old English underwent sound-changes of the same type as those experienced by native Old English words, whereas later loans were Latin words introduced by monastic scholars, with spellings not indicating sound-modification (Campbell 1959: 200).

Wollmann (1993: 2–3) did not define the pre-Old English period chronologically, but considered that if this era is included, there was nearly a millennium of language contact between Latin and Old English; however, we

should note that the ecclesiastical and scholarly influence of written Latin on Old English after c.600 was different from contact between spoken late Latin and (pre-)Old English. Wollmann regarded Campbell's division of loans into 'early' and 'later' as simple and useful, and regarded Pogatscher's distinction between 'continental' and 'insular' phases of loans, with a borderline around AD 450, as problematic, for two main reasons. Firstly, Pogatscher's model depended on the continuing existence of spoken British Latin (Vulgar Latin) in the Lowland Zone for some time after AD 450, allowing 'insular' loans from Latin into Old English thereafter. In Pogatscher's day, the received opinion was that Britain was deeply Romanized and that British Latin survived well into the sixth and seventh centuries; however, in Wollmann's view (1993: 17–18), the borrowing of Latin words from Romanized Celts would have been scanty, if one accepts Jackson's proposition (1953) that the Lowland Zone was abandoned by Latin-speaking native Celts who retreated to the Highland Zone. As Parsons notes (2011: 109), Wollmann's analysis is largely predicated on Jackson's view of the linguistic situation in Roman and post-Roman Britain. In contrast, Schrijver (2014) regards Latin, rather than British Celtic, as the predominant language encountered by Anglo-Saxons in the Lowland Zone of Britain (see section 1.5).

Secondly, Wollmann argued that Pogatscher's model is dubious phonologically, since the relevant Latin sound-changes started before AD 450, earlier than Pogatscher realised, and many loan-words in Old English reflect these early sound-changes. To Wollmann, the lowering of L /i/ > VL /e/ provides a phonological criterion suggesting the relatively early borrowing of a word; this sound-change, generalised in the third and fourth centuries, is found in loans such as L *pirum* > OE *peru* 'pear', and L *signum* > OE *segn* 'sign, military standard, banner', where the loan-word has its pre-Christian meaning (Wollmann 1993: 25–26). Another third-century or fourth-century sound-change is L /u/ > VL /o/, seen in the loan L *turris* > OE *torr* 'tower'. Wollmann argued that phonologically, early loan-words exhibit a high degree of integration into Old

English; for example, L *cāseus* > OE *ciese* 'cheese' shows early sound-changes including brightening, palatal diphthongization and i-mutation. In Wollmann's view, the dating of loan-words is more complex than Pogatscher realised, since every loan-word must be analysed individually, using a synthesis of phonological and historical criteria, and since the dating of sound-changes is debatable, no clear line can be drawn at AD 450 using phonological criteria. Moreover, early Latin loan-words in Old English must be seen in the wider context of a northwest Germanic language community; Latin loan vocabulary in Old Frisian, Old Saxon, Middle Low German and Dutch is therefore crucial in the individual dating of Old English loan-words (Wollmann 1993: 25).

An issue closely related to the dating of the loans is their geographical context. Pogatscher believed (1888: 6–7) that the most important location of contact for the acquisition of loan-words by Angles and Saxons was the lower Rhine area and northern Gaul, through trade or by military service in the Roman army. However, Jackson (1953: 252) suggested that OE *ceaster*, without cognates in other Germanic languages, was probably an insular loan-word, borrowed directly by 'the English' from Latin-speakers in Britain, and asked whether OE *funta*, *foss*, *port* and *wīc* were also direct insular loans from Latin (Gelling 1977: 12).

Wollmann (1993: 21) felt obliged to conclude, owing to the potentially early sound-changes in loan-words, that most early loan-words were continental in origin and imported by 'the invading Anglo-Saxon tribes from the Continent', though the evidence did not allow the clear division into 'continental' and 'insular' categories attempted by Pogatscher.

Taking a geographical overview, Gneuss (1993: 117–18) observed that Frings (1957) depicted a linguistic 'Einheitsgebiet', or common sphere of Latin use and influence, including the Roman provinces of north-eastern Gaul and the Netherlands-Lower Rhine area, but also Britain; to Gneuss, this 'Einheitsgebiet', especially northern Gaul, was the most likely geographical area of language

contact, producing the early loan-words in Old English. Schrijver (2002: 109) likewise posits a common language area in Lowland Britain and northern Gaul, with very similar varieties of Latin, influenced in similar ways by shift from Celtic languages, spoken either side of the North Sea.

Durkin (2014: 107–19) largely follows the model advocated by Campbell, Wollmann and Gneuss, listing semantically 247 'early' loan-words which he regards as borrowed from Latin into Old English before c.AD 650; 39 loan-words whose date of borrowing is less certain, albeit frequently suggested as early; and 151 'later' loans probably dating from after 650. The evidence used by Durkin (2014: 102–03, 144–54) for distinguishing between 'early' and 'later' loans is internal linguistic evidence, especially major sound-changes, as proposed by Campbell, Wollmann and Gneuss, along with semantic criteria and the existence of parallel loans in other Germanic languages. Durkin (2014: 46) attributes the earliest loans to the 'proto-Old English' period 'before the Anglo-Saxons came to Britain', believing that they were already in contact with the 'materially advanced' culture of ancient Rome. This is more acceptable than Wollmann's view (1993: 3), that 'early' loans reflect the 'superiority' of Roman civilisation. However, Durkin (2014: 62) accepts that some early borrowings (before AD 650) might have occurred in Britain. Durkin (2014: 158) discusses the possibility, portrayed by Frings, of 'parallel borrowing' into different Germanic languages, probably in very similar social and cultural circumstances, and notes that Frings identified 46 apparently early loans from Latin into Old English with no cognates in other West Germanic languages spoken near to northern Gaul; how and where these 46 'early' borrowings took place remains an open question. Alluding especially to the work of Thomason (2001), Durkin (2014: 102) comments that 'recent work on sound change stresses the extent to which most changes are very gradual, spreading slowly from word to word, and from community to community'.

In assessing the extent of Latin influence on Old English, Durkin (2014: 161–66) notes that semantic borrowings and loan translations also require careful attention; nonetheless, despite this additional evidence, he concludes that events in linguistic history, such as sound-changes, and events in non-linguistic history, such as the Settlement or the Conversion, cannot be aligned with any great precision (2014: 168).

Scholarship on loan-words from Latin discussed in this section (1.3) has focussed on the lexis of Old English, rather than on place-names; however, onomastic material forms a valuable part of the wider debate. The present thesis therefore aims to enhance our understanding of the linguistic landscape of loans from Latin into Old English, by studying the circumstances of the formation of English compound place-names with the specific element *wīc*, a loan-word from Latin *vīcus*.

1.4 Latin loan-words in English place-names: a short survey

Hundreds of English place-names contain loan-words from Latin. By borrowing, the Latin words, normally nouns, became Old English words, which differed from their Latin etymons in various ways. An Old English loan-word often retained the root-syllable of its Latin etymon, as in L *campus* > OE *camp*, and L *vīcus* > OE *wīc*. However, the gender of an Old English loan-word could differ from the gender of its Latin etymon, as in L *vīcus* (masculine) > OE *wīc* (neuter/feminine), and Latin case-endings were replaced by Old English noun-inflections.

The recognition of Latin loan-words in English place-names began in earnest in the nineteenth century. Pogatscher (1888) identified as loan-words OE *cæster* (WSax *ceaster*) from Latin *castra* 'fort'; OE *strǣt* from Latin (*vīa*) *strāta* 'paved road'; OE *port* from Latin *portus* 'harbour' and *porta* 'gate'; and OE *mylen*, *myln* from Latin *molīna* 'mill'. Skeat (1901) identified OE *camp* as a loan from Latin *campus*. Middendorff (1902) accepted OE *wīc* as a loan from Latin *vīcus*, as did various scholars in publications from 1901–11 on the place-names of individual counties, including Skeat (Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Suffolk), Duignan (Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire), Moorman (West Riding of Yorkshire), Wyld (Lancashire) and Stenton (Berkshire), while Cornelius (1913) produced a survey of OE *wīc* as a generic element in place-names (Ekwall 1964: 5–6). Ekwall (1920) discussed the element **funta*, loaned in his view ultimately from Latin *fontāna*.

Mawer and Stenton, in their *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (1924, Part 1), included no chapter on the 'Latin element' in English place-names; however, Mawer (1924, Part 2) listed some of the place-name elements already identified as loans from Latin, namely *camp*, *cæster* (WSax *ceaster*), **funta* and *wīc*. In the introduction to his *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (*DEPN*), Ekwall (1936a: xxv) addressed Latin loan-words in English place-names briefly, giving the examples *ceaster*, *foss*, *port* and *wīc*; thereafter, in his dictionary entries, Ekwall discussed loan-words such as OE *camp*, **funta*

and *mylen*, *myln*. Following earlier work by Moorman (1910), Ekwall (1936a: 152) also discussed the simplex place-name Eccles and compounds such as Ecclesfield and Ecclesbourne, asking whether these derived from British **eclēs*, a loan from Latin *ecclēsia* 'church', or from other sources such as personal names or stream-names. While adopting the corpus of loans established by Mawer and Ekwall, A.H. Smith (1956) added dictionary-entries on OE *ōra*, earlier identified as a loan from Latin by Grundy (1935: 74, 217–18), and OE *wall* (Angl), *weall* (WSax, Kt) 'wall', loaned from Latin *vallum* 'rampart'.

Table 1: Latin loan-words in English place-names, identified by 1956: a select list

Latin words	OE loan-words	Accepted as a loan-word by
castra 'fort'	*cæster* (Angl), *ceaster* (WSax, Kt)	Pogatscher 1888; Skeat 1901; Mawer 1924; Ekwall 1936a; Smith 1956
(*vīa*) *strāta* 'paved road'	*strǣt* (WSax), *strēt* (Angl, Kt)	Pogatscher 1888; Mawer 1924; Smith 1956
portus 'harbour' *porta* 'gate'	*port*	Pogatscher 1888; Skeat 1901; Ekwall 1936a; Smith 1956
molīna 'mill'	*myln*, *mylen* (Angl, WSax), *meln* (Kt)	Pogatscher 1888; Ekwall 1936a; Smith 1956
vīcus 'village, town quarter, estate'	*wīc*	Skeat 1901; Middendorff 1902; Mawer 1924; Ekwall 1936a; Smith 1956
campus 'field, plain'	*camp*	As above
ecclēsia 'church'	**eclēs*	Moorman 1910; Ekwall 1922, 1936a; Jackson 1953; Smith 1956
fontāna 'spring, fountain'	**funta*	Ekwall 1920, 1936a; Mawer 1924; Smith 1956
ōra 'edge, rim, bank, shore'	*ōra*	Grundy 1935; Smith 1956
fossa 'ditch'	*foss*	Ekwall 1936a; Smith 1956
vallum 'rampart'	*wall* (Angl), *weall* (WSax, Kt)	Smith 1956

Since the publication of *English Place-Name Elements* (Smith 1956), numerous other elements in English place-names have been suggested as possible loans from Latin, or as Latin words; these are listed and mapped in the Appendix to Chapter 1 (Table 21 and Figure 126).

Margaret Gelling was the first English place-name scholar to give more detailed consideration to Latin loan-words in English place-names, in publications spanning thirty years (1967–97). Gelling's innovative work addressed, amongst other things, the chronological and geographical circumstances of loans from Latin into Old English. Ekwall (1936a: xxv) had suggested three possible ways by which Latin loan-words in English place-names might have entered the English language: a) before the Anglo-Saxon migration to Britain; b) after the Anglo-Saxon migration to Britain, by contact between Latin and Old English; or c) after the migration, through the medium of British Celtic. Following an idea of Jackson (1953: 252), Gelling (1977: 12) explored the second option in more depth, asking whether loan-words such as *cæster* (WSax *ceaster*), **funta*, *foss*, *port*, *wīc* and others were acquired in Britain through direct contact between speakers of Latin and speakers of Old English. Following her earlier mapping of the place-names *wīc-hām* and *wīc-tūn* (1967: 88), Gelling (1977: 6, 1978: 85) produced a composite map of loan-words from Latin in English place-names, mainly in southern England, considering that these names might have a direct relationship with functioning Roman institutions (see Figure 1 below).

Gelling's selection of elements and compounds on the composite map included *wīc-hām*, **eclēs*, *camp*, **funta* and *port*, but excluded *cæster* (WSax *ceaster*) and *strēt* (WSax *strǣt*), since these two elements occur in all parts of England and continued in name-formation in later centuries (1978: 79, 150–52). However, Gelling did not attempt a comprehensive mapping of minor place-names or field-names containing the selected elements, and her coverage of the **eclēs* names discussed by Cameron (1975: 1–7) was selective, including three eastern examples of the simplex which Gelling considered might represent a very early direct borrowing from Latin, rather than a fuller corpus of simplex and compound examples found in the Midlands, western and northern England (see Appendix to Chapter 1, Figure 123).
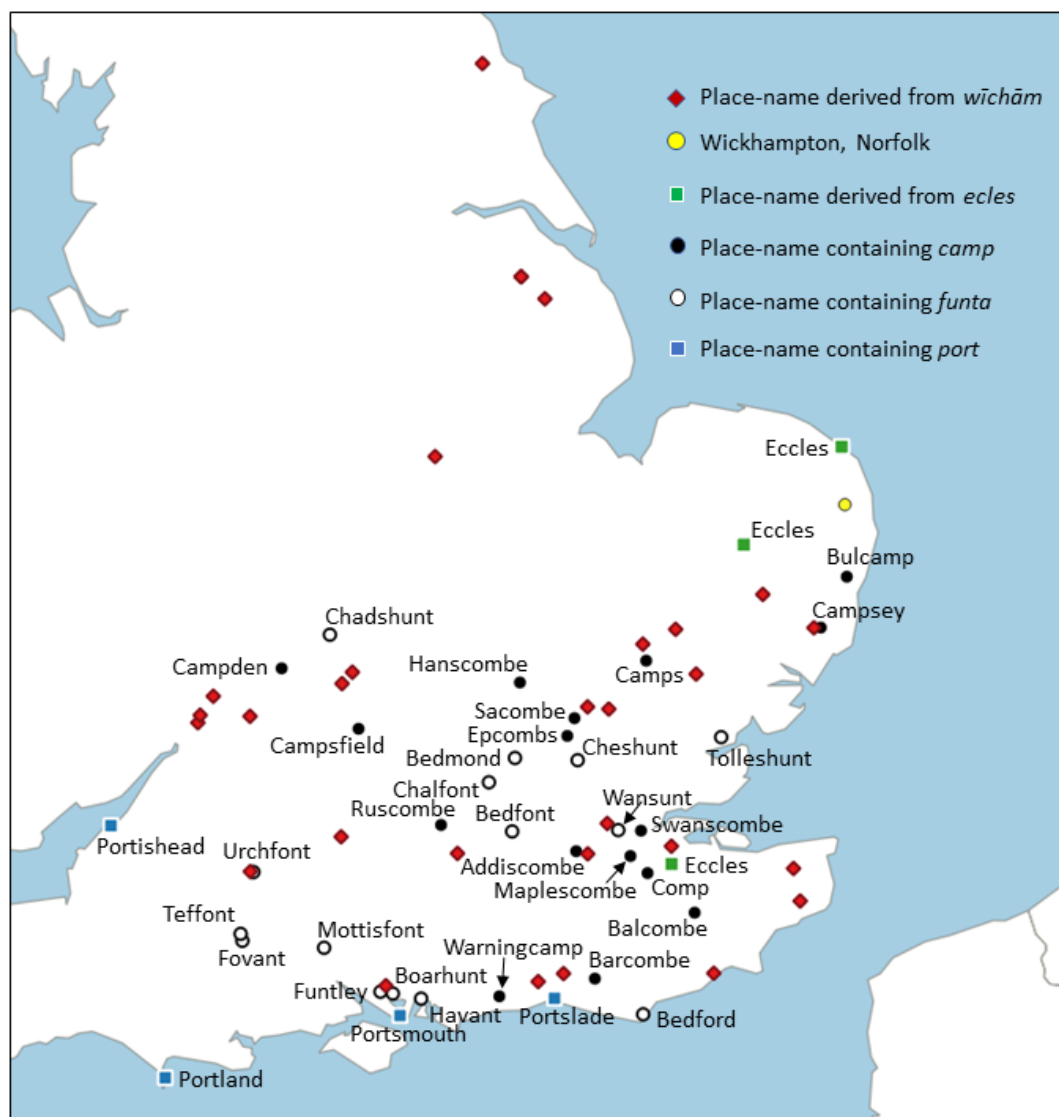
Figure 1: English place-names containing loan-words from Latin, as mapped by Gelling (1977: 6, 1978: 85).

Background research for the present thesis indicates that Gelling's corpus of 16 place-names containing OE *camp* (1978: 74–78), which she regarded as 'certainly a significant proportion of the whole', represents only a minority of the potential total. At least 43 place-names containing OE *camp* are attested by 1350, and another 10 likely examples by 1500 (see Appendix to Chapter 1, Figure 121).

Cameron (1996: 41–44) supported Gelling's concept of likely direct language contact between Anglo-Saxon settlers and Latin-speakers in Britain, while Parsons (2011: 125–28) gives a more comprehensive survey of Latin loan-

words in English place-names, in the light of recent scholarship, noting the apparently restricted 'Lowland Zone' distribution of *funta and camp, which both appear in compound names with a range of Old English specific and generic elements.

Since 1956, various individual Latin loan-words in English place-names have been explored in depth, especially *eclēs, cæster (WSax ceaster), strǣt (Angl strēt), ōra and *funta. Regarding the simplex Eccles and compounds such as Eccleston, two main points have been disputed. The first issue is whether an OE *eclēs, deriving ultimately from Latin ecclēsia, was mediated via Britonnic *eclēs or PrW *eglēs (Ekwall 1922: 38; Jackson 1953: 227), or whether Eccles names might represent an early and direct loan from Latin into Old English (Gelling 1978: 82–83). Having reviewed the evidence, Hough (2009: 119) concludes that 'the Eccles names of England should be regarded not as Anglo-Saxon, but as Celtic coinages'. A second issue is whether *eclēs names might denote the site of a Romano-British church (Ekwall 1922: 257; Cameron 1975: 3) or rather landholdings of the British church (James 2009: 125). Citing work by Ekwall, Padel (2013: 27–29) suggests that some Eccles names might be stream-names or might contain the personal name Eccel.

Since 2000, various Latin loan-words in English place-names have featured prominently in PhD theses. Firstly, Méar (2008), focussing on English place-names containing cæster or ceaster, demonstrates that these elements remained productive in name-formation even after 1066, referring usually to Roman forts but also to other types of fort and settlement. Secondly, Cole (2013) discusses the place-name evidence for a route-way network in early medieval England, with gazetteers and maps of the loan-words port (see Appendix to Chapter 1, Figure 124), ōra and strǣt, building on her earlier studies (1989, 1990) and on work by Gelling (1984) and Gelling and Cole (2000). Cole's gazetteer and maps of place-names containing ōra (2013: 258–65) include 178

examples across southern England. This represents a major addition to the corpus of English place-names containing loan-words from Latin, and a map of Cole's *ōra* corpus is therefore included below in the Appendix to Chapter 1, Figure 125. Cole concludes (2013: 68) that *ōra* means 'a flat-top hill with a rounded shoulder at one or both ends'; however, Smith (1956, 2: 55) considered the topographical meanings of *ōra* to be (i) 'riverbank, shore, foreshore' and (ii) 'the brink or edge of a hill, a slope'. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 4 below. Thirdly, Hawkins (2015) explores the distribution and meaning of OE *funta* and regards its mode of entry into Old English as unclear; *funta* was an insular loan, without continental Germanic cognates, and was either loaned directly from Latin to Old English or mediated via Brittonic, deriving either from Latin *fons*, *fontis* 'spring' or from Latin *fontāna* 'spring, fountain' (Hawkins 2015: 12–17, 103–06; see Appendix to Chapter 1, Figure 122).

Following the reappraisal of Eccles names in England by Hough and James, of the element *ōra* by Cole, and of *funta* by Hawkins, the Old English loan-word *wīc* is also due for a reappraisal. A study of place-names containing the specific element *wīc*, loaned from Latin *vīcus*, might illustrate a range of contexts in which *wīc* was used in place-name formation.

1.5 Latin and Celtic in Roman Britain: a summary of debate on their relative prevalence

The extent to which Latin was spoken in Roman Britain, as opposed to British Celtic, is a controversial issue, highly relevant to the present thesis in terms of the language contact conditions encountered in Britain by speakers of pre-Old English. Jackson (1953: 7–8) declared that, except in northern Scotland, British was spoken throughout Britain in the Iron Age, with some dialectal variation. In Jackson's view, under Roman rule, the rural peasants in the Lowland Zone, constituting most of the population, spoke British and probably knew little Latin. The language of the Highland Zone, apart from the army and its native camp-followers, was almost exclusively British. In contrast, cities and towns were the stronghold of Latin, which was the language of Roman government and law in Britain, of the elite classes, of administration of the army, of large-scale trade and commerce, and of all education and writing, being the only written language in Britain (1953: 99–100).

Place-name scholars have overwhelmingly followed the view of Ekwall (1924: 15–32) that Celtic was the main language of Roman Britain, owing to the survival of an extensive Celtic element in English place-names. Gelling (1978: 37, 63) argued that Latin place-names were relatively scarce in Roman Britain, compared to most parts of the western Empire, and that it seems unlikely that much Latin was spoken among the farming population; Roman Britain was a Celtic-speaking country with predominantly Celtic place-names. Rivet and Smith (1979: 10–29), discussing the place-names of Roman Britain, considered that in AD 43, most of Britain's inhabitants spoke British (Celtic); of place-names in Britain attested by Roman sources, such as Ptolemy, the Antonine Itinerary, *Notitia Dignitatum* and *Ravenna Cosmography*, only 40 names were wholly Latin, and the remainder were British in origin, or pre-Celtic place-names assimilated by Celtic-speakers. The prevalence of Celtic in Britain in the early fifth century is also asserted by Mills (2011: xiv–xv) and Hough (2012: 7).

However, several scholars have questioned Jackson's view of the prevalence of Celtic and the limited use of Latin in Roman Britain. Adams (2007: 580–81) doubts the value of monumental epigraphy for studying the extent of Latin in Roman Britain, believing that most inscriptions may reflect the language of soldiers or migrants, whose Latin was not necessarily local. Parsons (2011: 117–18) notes that scholars in the 1970s and 1980s stressed the high likelihood and complexity of linguistic contact between Celtic and Latin, observing that Charles-Edwards (1995) and Woolf (2003) argue, from early medieval stone inscriptions in western Britain, that Latin survived into the post-Roman era as a spoken language amongst the wealthy elite. Woolf envisages late Latin (Insular Romance) as the normal language for much of the population in western Britain. Parsons observes, however, that while the evidence of British Celtic survival in the Highland Zone is sustainable, owing to the later appearance of Welsh, Cumbric, Cornish and Breton, this evidence is irrelevant to the Lowland Roman Britain of towns and villas, and does not demonstrate that British survived there in the post-Roman era (2011: 118).

Mullen (2007: 35) envisages a varied linguistic landscape in Roman Britain, with geographical, social, and chronological disparities. In highly Romanised regions, Latin would have been dominant; in some remote areas, British Celtic would have remained intact, while varying degrees of bilingualism would have existed elsewhere. Mullen argues (2013: 271), reviewing a curse-tablet found in Nottinghamshire, that Latin may have been spoken in the countryside more widely than previously believed, since finds of such items have been steadily growing in rural contexts; these complain about minor thefts, and undermine Jackson's view that the countryside was mainly Celtic-speaking. Mullen's evidence (2013: 271) includes arguments from bilingualism theory: that authors of curse-tablets were likely to be bilingual to an extent, and bilingualism was unlikely to be restricted to members of the rural elite, who in Jackson's view had conveyed Latin loanwords into British Celtic. However, Mullen and

Woodhuysen (2024: 31) note that we still know relatively little about the social status of languages and communities in late Roman and post-imperial Britain.

Schrijver takes a different and controversial view (2002, 2007, 2014): that many speakers of British Celtic in the Lowland Zone switched to Latin, which became the predominant language there. Schrijver's evidence (2014: 30–52) includes: the strong survival of Latin influences in Welsh, Cornish and Breton, in the form of hundreds of loan-words from Latin, along with a Latinized sound-system and syntax; around 120 curse-tablets or *defixiones* found in Bath; and early medieval Latin epigraphy, mainly found in Wales and Cornwall but also in Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Herefordshire. Schrijver sees Latin loan-words in English place-names as resulting from direct contact between Anglo-Saxons and Latin-speakers (2014: 34). In Schrijver's opinion, the Anglo-Saxons initially may have met with speakers of Latin rather than British Celtic, and large numbers of Latin-speakers thereafter migrated west to the Highland zone (2014: 33).

Schrijver's evidence is somewhat speculative and fragmentary, however. Firstly, the curse-tablets discussed by Schrijver came predominantly from Bath, but several have now been found elsewhere in the Lowland Zone of Roman Britain, as at Leicester, Ratcliffe-on-Soar NTT and Lydney Park GLO (Mullen and Woodhuysen 2024: 17). Secondly, the Bath curse-tablets tell us about the language of writing (Latin), but not about the local vernacular language in south-western Britain: it is possible to have a spoken vernacular language and a separate language used mainly for writing. Thirdly, the Bath curse-tablets do not necessarily reflect the languages spoken in most of the heavily populated Lowland Zone of Roman Britain. Schrijver notes (2014: 80) that there is insufficient evidence about Lowland British Celtic to state that it was uniformly P-Celtic rather than a mixture of P-Celtic and Q-Celtic dialects, as found in Gaulish. Schrijver argues that the Bath texts are mostly written on cheap material and deal with petty affairs, which perhaps suggests local provenance (2014: 51); however, Parsons (2011: 117) considers that the curse-tablets may have been

brought by visitors who had travelled to shrines such as Bath and Uley. Tomlin (2002: 176–79) tabulates the handwriting found on 107 curse-tablets at Bath, some in capital letters and others in Old Roman or New Roman Cursive styles. The wide variety of handwriting indicates that the Bath curse-tablets were written in Latin by many different hands, and by the people writing to the gods, not by professional scribes. Moreover, the tablets indicate a wide spectrum of literacy in their vocabulary and script: while some supplicants were articulate, others were semi-literate (Tomlin 2002: 167–71).

Parsons (2011: 118–36) does not examine Schrijver's case in detail but weighs Schrijver's suggestion of the prevalence of Latin against the orthodox view of British (Celtic) prevalence established by Jackson, asking which language was encountered by Anglo-Saxons in the fifth and sixth centuries. Coates and Breeze (2000) have demonstrated an extensive range of place-names with Brittonic phonological influence, and Parsons (2011: 134) therefore concludes that it is unreasonable to suppose that Latin could have replaced British as the general language of the population, whatever the situation in higher echelons of society. We should note, however, the widespread presence of graffiti in Latin in stone inscriptions around Roman Britain (RIB 2); this clearly suggests a level of literacy in Latin amongst graffiti-writers, who were presumably not all from higher social echelons.

Overall, direct evidence of the extent of spoken Latin and British Celtic in Roman Britain is fragmentary, and in recent decades some of the discussion on this issue, as by Tristram (2002), has relied on later medieval and post-medieval developments in English morphology and syntax which are attributed to Brittonic substratal influence. Schrijver, by contrast, attempts to construct the linguistic landscape using data from the late Roman and early medieval periods, but his conclusions remain speculative.

The present thesis aims to contribute to the debate on the linguistic landscape of Britain in the Roman and post-Roman eras by studying English

place-names with the specific element *wīc*. As noted in section 1.4, *wīc* is widely regarded as a direct loan from Latin *vīcus* into Old English. Jackson (1953: 252) considered it likely that OE *wīc* was borrowed directly from Latin *vīcus*, rather than via Brittonic, seeing little evidence for the existence of a Brittonic word *gwig* in the sense 'settlement' or 'dwelling'.

1.6 The fifth century AD and the 'continuity debate'

A key purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the 'continuity debate' amongst scholars in recent decades, regarding the 'end' of Roman Britain. The question of what happened in fifth-century Britain has been the subject of major scholarly debate over the last century. Two seemingly polarised positions have been advocated: a 'discontinuity' model, involving a 'short' end to Roman Britain by c.AD 430 (e.g. Faulkner 2000), and a 'continuity' model, involving a more gradual transition from Roman Britain to 'Anglo-Saxon' kingdoms (e.g. Dark 2000). Higham's hypothesis (1992) represents a partial compromise, by accepting the survival of some aspects of Roman administration after the 'Anglo-Saxon' (English) conquest of Britain.

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars tended to emphasize discontinuity, believing that the institutions of Roman Britain were destroyed by a genocidal 'Anglo-Saxon' invasion from around AD 450 onwards; however, doubts about portraying English culture as 'Germanic' were enhanced by the outbreak of the two World Wars and became stronger after 1945, with an increasing emphasis on Britain's 'Celtic' past (Gerrard 2013: 3–5).

A contrasting viewpoint, dominant from around 1965–80, was the so-called 'pseudo-historical' paradigm, which emphasized continuity during the fifth century. Scholars such as Evison, Myres, Alcock, Frere, Salway and Biddle believed that Roman Britain 'wound down' slowly after AD 400 (Dark 2000: 12; Gerrard 2013: 3; Esmonde Cleary 2014: 3). However, the 'continuity' model was heavily criticised at a major 'End of Roman Britain' conference in 1978 and in subsequent published papers (Casey (ed.) 1979). Archer, for example, argued that late Roman precious-metal coin-hoards in Britain, not seen elsewhere in the western empire, suggested a sudden, catastrophic end to Roman administration in Britain (Casey (ed.) 1979: 29), while Fulford observed a typological and quantitative decline in Romano-British pottery production from c.350, and

possibly an abrupt end c.400, combined with a break in the long-distance trade in Mediterranean pottery (Casey (ed.) 1979: 120–22).

By the late 1980s, a new paradigm had emerged as a reaction to the 'continuity' model of the 1970s. Arnold (1984: 161) concluded that the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England was produced by 'very small numbers of Germanic immigrants', most of whom were male settlers who intermarried with native women. Esmonde Cleary (1989), and various scholars in a volume edited by Bassett (1989b) on the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, reverted to a model of major discontinuity, in which a dramatic socio-economic collapse of Roman Britain took place in the early fifth century, leaving almost nothing of its way of life after AD 430. The resulting power-vacuum allowed the successful arrival of the Anglo-Saxons around AD 450 (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 200). According to this viewpoint, which became the 'new establishment' view in the early 1990s, a small number of 'Anglo-Saxons', perhaps numbering only tens of thousands, imposed their language, law, political system and material culture on southern and eastern Britain; these were accepted by the Britons, either by a process of acculturation, the acceptance of another group's material culture, or else by assimilation, the acceptance of the political, linguistic and perhaps religious customs of the incoming 'English' (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 204).

An important variant of the 'discontinuity' paradigm was Higham's hypothesis (1992), whereby Roman Britain largely ended by around AD 430, but retained aspects of Roman administration into the late fifth century. To Higham (1992: 63–68, 214–15), Roman Britain had two zones: a western zone with a pagan 'un-Romanised' upper class, and an eastern zone with a highly Romanised and Christian elite. Using as sources the *Gallic Chronicle* of 452, and *De Excidio Britanniae*, written by Gildas around AD 500–540, Higham (1992: 224–27) suggested that in the eastern zone of Britain, Anglo-Saxon mercenaries were deployed for defence, perhaps from c.AD 420–435; these mercenaries rebelled around AD 441, and eastern Britain rapidly passed under the rule of Anglo-Saxon

war-bands who seized control of estates and land-units. Essentially, an Anglo-Saxon (English-speaking) warrior elite had arrived and conquered lowland Britain (Higham 1992: 189). Pagan Anglo-Saxon kings attempted to retain aspects of the former Roman administrative system, and Anglo-Saxon culture was rapidly adopted by Britons through 'acculturation' (Higham 1992: 188–89).

Another variant of the discontinuity model was proposed from 1979 onwards by Reece, who argued that Roman Britain had been transformed in the third and fourth centuries and underwent a short and sharp 'end' in the early fifth century (Dark 2000: 13). Likewise, Faulkner (2000: 174–80) argued for 'an abrupt and total collapse of Romano-British civilisation', in which 'towns were virtually deserted, town life came to an end, and almost every Roman building eventually fell down or was demolished to salvage its building materials'; in the countryside, landowners fled, confronted by open class warfare, and a social revolution left the land in the possession of peasants. 'Whatever happened to estates and land ownership, the villas were closed up for the last time and slowly decayed into rubble and scrub'.

In stark contrast to the 'short end' of Roman Britain proposed by Reece and Faulkner, Dark (2000: 10–15) argued that while all previous models had some value, no previous paradigm was fully accurate. Dark adopted a new 'continuity' model, seeing Roman Britain in the broader context of the Western Roman Empire as a whole; Britain was in the mainstream of European religious, cultural, political and economic developments, and more of its Roman heritage survived than in other 'Late Antique' western European societies. In the fifth and sixth centuries, Britain was not dominated by 'Anglo-Saxon' culture, and there was much continuity in both the west and east of Britain, produced mainly by contact with the British Church (Dark 2000: 14–15, 227–30).

Higham's hypothesis (1992, 2002) was substantially adopted by Hills (2003) and Härke (2011) and was developed in subsequent works (Higham 2007, 2013). To Hills (2003, 2015) and Higham (2013), archaeological evidence

still suggests that a relatively small number of Anglo-Saxon or Germanic settlers arrived in Britain after AD 400, including high-status groups whose 'elite dominance' allowed them to impose Old English on the Britons who constituted most of the British population.

Different perspectives on the fifth century are proposed by White (2007), Halsall (2013) and Eagles (2018). White aims to construct a history of *Britannia Prima*, the westernmost of the four provinces of Roman Britain created by Diocletian around 285, whose capital was presumably Cirencester; the province comprised south-western and central western areas of Roman Britain, including either south Wales or the whole of Wales (White 2007: 36–42). The province's mineral resources made it important economically to Roman Britain but also to the Empire. White argues (2007: 202–03) that while the three eastern provinces of Roman Britain may have succumbed to 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement in the 440s, *Britannia Prima* survived longer but fragmented into smaller territories by around 500. In Romanised eastern parts of *Britannia Prima*, subsequent tribal territories included the *Magonsǣte* around Kenchester (*Magnis*), the *Wrocensǣte* around Wroxeter (*Viroconium Cornoviorum*), and the *Hwicce* in later Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and south-west Warwickshire (White 2007: 204); White does not extensively explore, however, the significance of the names *Magonsǣte* and *Wrocensǣte*.

The aims of Halsall (2013) are two-fold: firstly, to demonstrate that King Arthur is a figure of early medieval Welsh legend who deserves no place in serious historical analysis of the post-Roman era (Halsall 2013: 3–10, 49); and secondly to explore what types of evidence should be used in reconstructing the post-Roman era accurately, and what narrative might emerge from valid forms of evidence (2013: 157–307). Halsall argues (2013: 51–86) that written sources such as Gildas (*De Excidio Britanniae*), Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), the *Chronicle*, *Annales Cambriae* and Welsh heroic poetry, cannot be relied on to

portray the events of the fifth and sixth centuries accurately, therefore our interpretive frameworks should be constructed around archaeological evidence and a broader, European understanding of the western Empire's collapse (2013: 256). Halsall's main proposals (2013: 158) are: 1) we must reject a framework which sees the post-imperial period in terms of invading Saxons against defending Britons; 2) Gildas may have confused Magnus Maximus with Vortigern, therefore the settlement of *Saxones* (Saxon federate mercenaries) mentioned by Gildas may have occurred in the 380s, not the 440s; 3) Anglo-Saxon migration may have occurred eastwards, and in all directions, from early settlements in central southern Britain; and 4) post-imperial British politics should be seen in a broader European context.

The collection of twelve studies by Eagles and fellow contributors (2018) examines the formation of Wessex, with the proposal that Anglo-Saxon shires in Wessex were founded to some extent on the Roman tribal areas, called *civitates*, of this region. Eagles sees the Wansdyke as a boundary line between the Roman *civitates* of the *Belgae* and the *Dobunni*, but also as a British earthwork intended to hold back the Anglo-Saxon advance. Eagles observes (2018: xi–xii) that *Chronicle* annals for 495 onwards, mentioning Cerdic and his son Cynric, offer an unreliable origin myth for the foundation of Wessex, but Eagles subsequently reconstructs the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement of Wessex using *Chronicle* annals from 577 onwards, whose reliability is also dubious (Sims-Williams 1983; Halsall 2013: 69–72). Eagles' studies relate principally to material culture in Wessex which he considers to be 'Germanic' or 'Anglo-Saxon', such as cruciform and supporting-arm brooches present around Winchester by 450, even though brooch-types may not be a reliable marker of ethnicity.

In evaluating scholarship on the fifth century synoptically, important issues are the ethnic terminology used to describe migrants and their material culture, and the attention paid by scholars to spoken languages and place-names. From Arnold (1984) to Eagles (2018), most scholars whose works are

discussed in this section (1.6) have labelled migrants to Britain after AD 400 as Anglo-Saxons or English, or have used both labels interchangeably; some have also classified migrants as German or Germanic. However, they have thereby adhered to the early twentieth-century English national narratives of scholars such as Chadwick (1907); moreover, they have sometimes used ethnic terminology rather loosely, and the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is also controversial.

Dark (2000: 10–11, 25) accepts the advice of Arnold (1984) regarding ethnic terminology and uses labels cautiously, explaining that 'Anglo-Saxon' is a modern term, not a contemporary perception of identity in the fifth and sixth centuries, and that anachronistic labels such as 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Celtic' have long confused the study of Britain from AD 400–600, and its history and archaeology. Likewise, Pryor (2004: 237–39) expresses irritation at the label 'Anglo-Saxon', which perpetuates the 'culture-historical' school of thought whereby archaeological artefacts are used to support a narrative.

More recently, fierce debate has ensued over whether the label 'Anglo-Saxon' should be retired from use (Roberts 2022: 295–306, 322). Wilton (2020: 439) observes that English people before 1066 did not refer to themselves as 'Anglo-Saxons'; however, Roberts (2022: 305) argues that eliminating the term 'Anglo-Saxon' from academic discourse, substituting instead 'early medieval English' or 'early English', would simply replace one ethnic and politically loaded term with another. As noted in section 1.2 (Research methodology), the present thesis uses the term 'Anglo-Saxon' in places, especially when referring to the period c.AD 450–1066 or when citing the views of other scholars; however, this thesis prefers to talk in linguistic terms where possible, and to refer, for example, to 'speakers of Old English', rather than 'Anglo-Saxons'.

In evaluating scholarship relating to events in fifth-century Britain, a further important issue is whether scholars accurately address the Old English language and its dialects, and other Germanic languages. A key feature of the literature surveyed is that some authors, perhaps trained as archaeologists or

historians, may display unfamiliarity with various linguistic issues. Higham describes the language of the Anglo-Saxons interchangeably as 'Anglo-Saxon', 'English' and 'Old English' (1992: 194–98, 2007: 10), though the language has normally been called 'English' or 'Old English', rather than 'Anglo-Saxon', by linguists and place-name-scholars since the 1920s, as by Stenton (1924: 36–54). Linguists might normally describe Old English as a member of the Germanic language family, or a descendant of proto-Germanic (Robinson 1992: 1–23), rather than 'a version of the Old German language' (Higham 2007: 5), and they might refer to 'Germanic languages' heard in late Roman Britain, rather than 'German' (Higham 2013: 97), the name of a modern language.

Dark (2000: 10, 229) refers to 'Germanic languages' and 'Germanic dialects', without naming any of these, while Hills (2003: 41, 52) demonstrates awareness of Germanic languages but names only Old English and (unnamed) 'Scandinavian languages in the Danelaw'. Many scholars, however, make no mention of Germanic languages in their analyses of events in fifth-century Britain: these include Arnold (1984), Esmonde Cleary (1989), Faulkner (2000), White (2007), Halsall (2007), Härke (2011) and Eagles (2018). This is understandable, if the aim of these scholars is to reconstruct events using evidence from historical texts, archaeology and genetics; however, an awareness of the diversity and linguistic history of Germanic languages may be essential in reconstructing accurately how a West Germanic language, Old English, became the dominant language in southern Britain, spoken in a range of dialects.

A final important factor for evaluation is how far authors have discussed place-name evidence, especially loan-words from Latin in English place-names. Several of the authors surveyed pay little or no attention to place-name evidence in explaining the events of the fifth century: these include Arnold (1984), Esmonde Cleary (1989), Dark (2000), Faulkner (2000), White (2007) and Halsall (2007). Others see more value in place-name evidence. Higham (1992: 189–208) discusses the relationship between languages, place-names and ethnicity,

recognising the evidential value of Latin loan-words in English place-names and the need to compare place-name evidence with archaeological evidence (1992: 199–201). Subsequently, Higham (2013: 99–101) lists four Latin words (*fons*, *vīcus*, *campus* and *portus*) borrowed into English place-names, with mapping of these, and of Eccles place-names, based on Gelling (1978). However, Higham (2007: 5, 12–13) states that there is a comparative lack in English of loan-words from either Latin or British, and that 'the leaders of Anglo-Saxon households … had a vested interest in resisting the adoption of Celtic or Latin loanwords' (2013: 97, 110). The number of loan-words in English from British Celtic is undoubtedly few (Durkin 2014: 76); however, as seen above in section 1.3, Old English contains around 250 early loan-words from Latin, along with several hundred later loans. If later loans from Latin (after c.600) are included, Latin and French are by far the biggest contributors of loan-words in English (Durkin 2014: 32); moreover, the geographical range of Latin loan-words in English place-names is wider than Higham's mapped depiction (see Appendix 1).

In attempting a synthesis of different forms of evidence to reconstruct the 'Origins of the English', Hills (2003: 41–55) does not refer to loan-words from Latin, but recognises the importance of the Old English language and discusses place-name evidence briefly (53–55), including the OE element *w(e)alh*, whose possible senses include 'Celtic speaker', 'foreigner' and 'slave' (Findell and Shaw 2020: 70–72). Härke (2011: 11–12) states that 'place names of Latin and Celtic origin', as well as OE toponyms in *walh-*, imply the existence of native settlements as late as the seventh or eighth centuries, without explaining this dating and without further coverage of loan-words from Latin in his mainly genetic hypothesis. Eagles (2018) includes plentiful discussion of place-names in the Wessex region containing English and Brittonic elements, for example in Hampshire and Wiltshire; moreover, Eagles discusses the extent of spoken Latin in the Lowland Zone of Britain (2018: xiii), mapping and listing various examples of *wīc-hām*, *funta*, *port* and *ceaster* in place-names in Wessex (2018: xviii–xxii).

However, Eagles does not discuss loan-words from Latin in any depth. This is a regrettable omission, since Eagles' collected studies are predicated on the notion of continuity between Roman *civitates* and subsequent Anglo-Saxon shires in Wessex, and a study of Latin loan-words in the place-names of Wessex might provide detailed insights into continuity of settlement and language.

In concluding this critical appraisal of scholarly views on the social and cultural transition from the late Roman to early medieval periods, various overall points should be made. Most crucially, in studying the 'end' of Roman Britain in the fifth century, archaeologists have surveyed the same range of archaeological evidence and therefore come to different conclusions, arguing (for example) for a 'short' end to Roman Britain (Faulkner 2000), or a 'long' end (Dark 2000), or for a hybrid model (Higham 1992). The main evidential problems facing archaeologists are two-fold: firstly, their interpretations are based on a small body of textual evidence; secondly, their views are based on the disappearance of limited types of Roman material, especially coins and pottery, which can lead to differing conclusions (Gerrard 2013: 74–93).

The recent discovery of a fifth-century mosaic floor at Chedworth GLO indicates continuity of settlement and of a Roman lifestyle there (BBC 2024); nonetheless, archaeological evidence in Britain overall has produced an apparently intractable *impasse* regarding the 'end' of Roman Britain (Gerrard 2013: 5). In contrast, this thesis offers a possible method of investigating the transition from Roman to early medieval Britain, by studying in depth English compound place-names with the specific element *wīc*, a loan-word from Latin *vīcus*, along with Roman archaeological evidence, thereby aiming to bridge some gaps left by previous scholarship.

Chapter 2: Latin *vīcus* and Old English *wīc*

2.1 Latin *vīcus*

The phonology of Latin *vīcus*

In the Classical Latin (CL) of the first century AD, whose spelling was essentially phonetic, the masculine noun *vīcus* was pronounced as [wi:kus]. The grapheme <v>, normally written in CL as <u>, represents the u-consonant or labiovelar semivowel, pronounced [w]; the vowel <ī> was long, while the CL medial consonant <c> was pronounced as velar plosive [k] (Allen 1965: 14–50). This pronunciation of *vīcus* would have been used by Latin-speakers in Britain during the early stages of Roman occupation. The CL pronunciation of *vīcus* with [w] is distinct from Late Latin, in which fricativization produced the sound-change [w] > [v], though the chronology of this sound-change is difficult to determine, owing to a scarcity of documentary evidence of spoken Vulgar Latin (Pope 1952: 74–77, 91; Herman 2000: 38–39, 109–23).

The meanings of *vīcus* in Latin literature

The Oxford Latin Dictionary (1968: 2058) defines *vīcus* as '1. A group of dwellings, village; 2. A block of houses, streets, group of streets, etc., in a town, often forming a social or administrative unit'. The first sense of *vīcus*, 'a group of dwellings, village', is common in Latin literature. Writing around 50 BC, Caesar describes winter-quarters in Octodurus, *qui vicus positus in valle non magna adiecta planitie altissimis montibus undique continetur* 'a village … which is situated in a valley with little level ground around it, and is hemmed in on all sides by very high mountains' (Wiseman and Wiseman 1980: 57). Quintus Curtius Rufus narrates, regarding Darius, *Iam pervenerat Arbela, vicum ignobilem, nobilem sua clade facturus* 'And now he had reached Arbela, an insignificant village, but one which he was to make famous by his disaster' (Rolfe 1946: 244–45). Pliny the Younger, describing around AD 100 his villa south of

Ostia and the nearby coastal village, Vicus Augustanus Laurentum, writes *Frugi quidem hominem sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit* 'There is also a village, just beyond the next house, which can satisfy anyone's modest needs' (*Letters* II.17.26; Radice 2003: 78). Pliny adds that the *vīcus* conveniently has three public baths. In the sense 'village', a *vīcus* was normally small in terms of size and importance; however, *vīcī* could vary in size, to the extent of a small town. Caesar describes an island near Alexandria: *in hac sunt insula domicilia Aegyptiorum et vicus oppidi magnitudine* 'On this island there are dwelling-houses of Egyptians and a settlement the size of a town' (Peskett 2014: 356–57).

In later fourth-century Latin literature, *vīcus* is still used to denote a village or small town. Writing around AD 390, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the region of Gumathena, *in qua vicus est Abarne, sospitalium aquarium lavacris calentibus notus* 'in which is the village called Abarne, famed for its warm baths of healing waters' (*Rerum Gestarum* 18.9.2; www.perseus.tufts.edu). The Vulgate version of the New Testament, translated from Greek to Latin by Jerome around AD 384, frequently uses *vīcus* meaning 'village' or 'town', as when describing Jesus at Bethsaida: *adprehendens manum caeci eduxit eum extra vicum* 'taking the blind man by the hand, he led him out of the town' (Mark 8.23; trans. vulgate.org).

The Oxford Latin Dictionary (OLD) gives a subsidiary sense of *vīcus*, '1. A group of dwellings, village … (*included in a country estate*)'. This sense of *vīcus* is defined by Kidd (1957) as '(*country*) village, estate' and by Simpson (1959) as 'an estate, a country-seat', though others have translated *vīcus* in this sense as 'house-property' or 'manor'. Cicero (*Epistulae ad Familiares* 14.1.5) writes to Terentia in 48 BC, *quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis te vicum vendituram* 'You tell me, my dear Terentia, that you intend selling your house-property' (Williams 1960: 185). This text shows that in the sense 'estate' or 'house-property', a *vīcus* could be bought and sold. A second example from Cicero (*Letters to Atticus*

1.4.3) is *quod si adsequor, supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos at prata contemno* 'If I ever do, I shall be the richest of millionaires and shan't envy any man his manors and meadows' (Winstedt 1919: 13). A poetic example, written around 20 BC, is from Horace (*Epistles* 2.2.177): *quid vici prosunt aut horrea* 'what is the profit of estates or storehouses' (Wickham 1903: 337), or more literally 'what benefit are estates'. In these three examples, *vīcus* is used as an alternative to *fundus* 'farm, estate' and to *rūs* (gen. *rūris*) 'countryside, estate, farm'.

A further sense of *vīcus* is 'a block of houses, streets, group of streets' (OLD), or '(*city*) quarter, street' (Kidd 1957). Livy's *ab Urbe Condita*, written before AD 17, mentions in Rome the *Vicus Sceleratus* (1.48), *Cyprius Vicus* (1.48) and *Vicus Longus* (10.23), while Tacitus (*Annales* 4.65) mentions *Tuscum vicum*, the Tuscan street, c.AD 100. Petronius (*Satyricon* 61) writes c.AD 60, *Cum adhuc servire, habitabamus in vico angusto; nunc Gavillae domus est* 'While I was still a slave, we were living in a narrow street; the house now belongs to Gavilla' (Heseltine 1925: 113).

Vīcus also had a more specific administrative connotation. The late second-century grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus probably lived in Gaul; in *De Verborum Significatu*, epitomized in the late eighth century, Festus explained that while some *vīcī* had citizenship and the rights of law, others had none of these privileges and were merely places where markets were established for trading purposes, involving the annual appointment of magistrates of the *vīcus* (Johnson 1975: 75).

Views on the meanings of *vīcus* in Roman Britain

A few Roman inscriptions in Britain attest directly to the use of *vīcus*. An inscription (RIB 707) from *Petuaria* (Brough on Humber), dating from around 140, records the name of an aedile (official) of the town, *M*(*arcus*) *Ulp*(*ius*) *Ianuar*(*i*)*u*(*s*), *aedilis vici Petu*(*ariensis*), while a late second-century potter called

Cunoarda, working in the small town of *Durobrivae* (Chesterton near Water Newton CAM), stamped his mortaria with their place of production, *vico Durobrivis* 'in the town Durobrivae' (Johnson 1975: 81, 75). Several inscriptions from Roman Britain mention *vīcanī* or 'inhabitants of a *vīcus*', presumably referring to forts on Hadrian's Wall (Johnson 1975: 75), and residents of the *vīcus* beside the fort of Vindolanda were called *vicani Vindolandensses* (Birley 2015: 12).

The extent to which *vīcus* was used as an administrative term in Britain has been much debated. Rivet and Smith (1979: xviii) observe that *vīcus* had both a colloquial and a technical meaning; the colloquial meaning was any village or insignificant town, whereas the technical meaning was a town or city quarter with some administrative organization of its own, while subordinate to higher civil, military or imperial authority. The nature of this authority was debated in the 1960s by Frere, who held that all settlements within a *civitas* or tribal area were originally classed as *vīcī*, including the tribal capital, and Mann, who believed that the *civitas* capital was not a *vīcus* (Johnson 1975: 76). Burnham and Wacher (1990: 39) considered that the small towns known as *vīcī* acted as the administrative centres of larger country districts called *pāgī*.

Discussing the administrative usage of *vīcus* by Festus (mentioned above), Johnson (1975: 77–79) commented that *vīcī* had the right to own their own land, and that while direct written evidence is lacking, *vīcus* was probably widely used in Roman Britain as a term for small settlements, with a degree of self-government, from the first century onwards; by the fourth century, *vīcus* was probably of similar meaning to the modern term 'village'. Salway (1993: 404–05) considered that *vīcus* was used indiscriminately to refer to a village, a settlement outside a fort, or a ward of a city; however, the *vīcus* where a man was born was of legal importance. Using the text of the jurist Ulpian, written around AD 220, a local magistrate or administrator could determine whether a

person's *vīcus* of birth was subject to another *res publica*, and whether the *vīcus* lay within the boundaries of the magistrate's authority (Salway 1993: 405).

Overall, therefore, the evidence suggests a range of uses of *vīcus* in Roman Britain, both colloquial and technical. It is notable firstly that the evidence deriving from inscriptions in Britain is very limited in quantity, and secondly that *vīcus* does not appear in any of the known place-names of Roman Britain catalogued by Rivet and Smith (1979). Thirdly, there were significant changes in the administration of the Roman Empire during the period of Roman rule in Britain; however, there is currently no clear evidence for chronological or semantic development in the usage of *vīcus* in Roman Britain.

2.2 Old English *wīc*: phonology, continental Germanic cognates, lexical and onomastic use, semantic development

The phonology of OE *wīc*

As noted in section 2.1 above, in Classical Latin of the first century AD, the u-consonant <v> or <u> is pronounced as /w/. In OE *wīc*, the initial consonant is also pronounced as /w/. Durkin (2014: 151–52) notes that *wīc* was borrowed early from Latin into OE, before the VL sound change /w/ > /v/, as were OE *wīn* 'wine', loaned from Latin *vīnum*, and OE *weall* 'wall, rampart', loaned from Latin *vallum*. When non-palatalised, the phonology of the specific *wīc* in OE place-names corresponds with the phonology of the root syllable of CL *vīcus* [wiːkus], pronounced as in 'week'. In late West Saxon, by the tenth century, the earlier final /k/ of *wīc* was normally palatalized in Old English, and *wīc* was pronounced as /wiːtʃ/, rhyming with 'speech'. However, the chronology of OE palatalization is highly complex and uncertain (Hogg 1992: 257–59; Ringe and Taylor 2014: 203–04).

Continental Germanic cognates of OE *wīc*: an overview

Smith (1956, 2: 257) defined Latin *vīcus* as 'a row of houses, a street, a city district', with the root idea being 'a collection of dwellings'; the latter idea remained in some continental Germanic languages, as in Gothic *weihs* 'village', MLG *wīk* and OHG *wīch* 'town', while the idea of 'a single dwelling' was present in OSax *wīc*, OFris *wīk* and OHG *wīch* 'a house, a dwelling-place'. However, Smith did not explain in depth the presence of these words in continental Germanic languages; for instance, whether they were direct loans from Latin *vīcus* or derived from an earlier Germanic cognate of *vīcus*.

Orel (2003: 466) proposes a Germanic word **wīxsan* as the antecedent of Gothic *weihs*; the latter would thus be cognate with Latin *vīcus*, rather than a loan from *vīcus*. However, Kroonen (2013), in his etymological dictionary of Proto-Germanic, does not include Orel's hypothetical root of Gothic *weihs*, nor a

Proto-Germanic root for OSax *wīc*, OFris *wīk* and OHG *wīch*. The possibility therefore remains that these may be loans from Latin *vīcus*.

A large range of German-language literature discusses the origins and meaning of *wik* in Germanic languages and place-names, and a comprehensive coverage would be beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, various observations are essential. In a detailed treatise on *wik*, Schütte (1976: 199–261) gave 39 examples of the appellative or simplex place-name *Wik* in various forms, and 631 place-names with generic *-wik*, in northern Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. As Schütte explained (1976: 3–18), various strands of opinion exist in German scholarship on the origins and meaning of *wik*, which can be summarized as three main viewpoints: those of Vogel, Frings and Planitz.

Vogel (1935) coined the term *Wik-Orte*, referring to trading centres which operated in northern Europe from the seventh to eleventh centuries. Writing in the heyday of German nationalism, Vogel considered, along with scholars such as Jellinghaus and Schröder, that a Germanic root-word *wiken* was the sole origin of MLG *wik* and ON *vík*, both meaning 'a bay', namely a coastline turning inwards. Orel (2003) proposes that ON *vík* derives from a Germanic root **wīkō*, while Kroonen (2013) gives the proto-Germanic form as **wīkwan* 'to give way; to turn (away)', also the antecedent of OE *wīcan* and German *weichen*.

By contrast, Frings (1932, 1935, 1942) proposed two separate origins for *wik*: 1) that MLG *wik*, from its Germanic root, can mean 'a bay', as does ON *vík*; and 2) that *wik* is also a loan-word from Latin *vicus*, especially in the Lower Rhineland, the Netherlands and Westphalia. To Frings, only a few coastal place-names derive from *wik*/*vík* 'a bay', and in most place-names containing *wik*, this word was loaned from Latin *vicus* (Bach 1954, 2: 356–57; Schütte 1976: 8). On the latter point, the apparent reasoning of Frings is that most place-names containing *wik* were not in coastal locations.

Thirdly, Planitz (1943) adopted more comprehensively the view of Frings that *wik* was a loan-word from Latin, arguing that *wik* meant 'Handelsplatz'

('trading-place'). An eleventh-century Old Saxon gloss, in a medieval Latin
dictionary known as Glossarium Werthinense A, declares *uuic: vicus, ubi*
mercatores morantur (Bach 1954, 2: 356). Moreover, around the twelfth
century, the term *Wikbild* (MLG *wīkbeld*, MHG *wīchbilde*) referred to town rights
or privileges, or a district of a town (Schütte 1976: 9–11). Planitz believed that
merchants of the Roman and early Frankish eras brought the word *wik*, loaned
from Latin *vicus*, on their trading-trips from western to northern and eastern
Germany. To Planitz, the widespread use of *wik* in German place-names was due
to its phonetic similarity to MLG *wiken* ('to turn back'), with the sense of 'a place
of shelter'. Following the tenets of Frings and Planitz, Bach (1953: 355–57)
considered that in MLG place-names, *Wiek* denoted many kinds of trading
settlements within towns, and that a more specific meaning of *wiek* related to
salt production, as at *Vic* and *Moyenvic*, salt-trading places in Lothringen.

Schütte (1976) observed many problems in the theories of Frings and
Planitz, concluding by supporting Vogel's view that *wik* had a Germanic root and
was not loaned from Latin. Amongst Schütte's main reasons (1976: 164) for
opposing Frings were: 1) while Latin *vicus* is masculine, *wik* in Germanic
languages is sometimes feminine; 2) if *wik* were loaned from Latin, the loan
would date from the third century at the latest, since the sound [w] does not
derive from the late Latin sound [v]; 3) it is improbable that the same sound-
changes and semantic changes would occur in continental Germanic languages
and also in Old English; and 4) there is no recognisable geographical border
between Germanic *wik* (meaning 'bay') and the posited loanword *wik*. Opposing
Planitz's concept that *wik* means 'Handelsplatz' ('a trading place'), Schütte
argued that only four of the forty trading-places listed by Planitz as *Wik-Orte*
have a name containing *wik*: Schleswig, Bardowick, Quentowik and Wijk-bij-
Duurstede, though we should note *Lundenwic* in a late seventh-century Kentish
law, which might refer either to the Roman walled city of London or to a trading-
station outside the walls (Coates 1999a: 88). For the remaining thirty-six or so

locations, the 'Handelsplatz' theory of Planitz is therefore based on other considerations, such as the functional, topographical, legal and constitutional aspects of trading settlements, and not on their place-name derivation.

A full evaluation of Schütte's reasoning is not possible in the current thesis, and his work is not referenced by Coates (1999a) or other English place-name scholars, but in answer to Schütte's four points listed above, the present author would make the following brief observations: 1) a change of gender from Latin *vīcus* (masculine), for instance to OE *wīc* (neuter or feminine, singular or plural), does not necessarily prevent *wīc* from being a loan-word from Latin; 2) the phonology of *wik* in Germanic languages, which might require a loan from Latin by the third century, does not prevent *wik* from being a loan-word; 3) there is no clear reason why the same sound-changes and semantic changes, in loan-words from *vīcus*, should be unlikely in continental Germanic languages and also in Old English; and 4) the absence of a geographical border between Germanic *wik* ('bay') and the posited loan-word *wik* does not prevent the latter from being a loan from Latin *vīcus*. By studying English place-names containing OE *wīc* as the specific element, the present thesis might elucidate at least some of the many complex issues raised by Schütte and other scholars.

The OE noun *wīc*

The paradigm of OE *wīc* is as follows (Rumble 2001: 1):

	Singular		Plural
	Neuter	**Feminine**	**Neuter/feminine**
Nominative	*wīc*	*wīc*	*wīc*
Accusative	*wīc*	*wīc*	*wīc*
Genitive	**wīces*	*wīc*	*wīca*
Dative	*wīc*	*wīc*	*wīcum*

Note: **wīces* is unrecorded.

In late OE, further forms appear such as nom./acc. neuter plural *wīcu*, dative plurals *wīcan*, *wīcon*, *wīcun*, and weak feminine nom./acc. plural *wīcan* (Rumble 2001: 1).

The lexical senses of OE *wīc*

Wīc has a wide range of senses in OE literature, and these have been much debated. Bosworth-Toller (Toller 1898: 1212–13) defined *wīc* as follows: I. a dwelling-place, abode, habitation, residence, lodging, quarters; II. a place where a thing remains; III. a collection of houses; a small town, a village; a street; IV. a temporary abode, a camp, place where one stops, station. As Coates notes (1999a: 84), these definitions were mainly derived from the corpus of Old English literature. Coates disputes previous definitions of *wīc*, including those by Ekwall (1964) and Bosworth-Toller (1898); nonetheless, the latter provides a foundation for discussion and examination of lexical material in the DOE Corpus.

The first sense of *wīc*, 'a dwelling-place', may appear in *Beowulf* line 1125: *Gewiton him ða wigend wica neosian* (DOEC Beo A4.1). This has been translated as 'The warriors then scattered to seek their dwellings' (Fulk 2010); Alexander (2013) translates *wica neosian* as 'went to their homes'. Secondly, in OE Bede, from c.900, we read *he wæs in þæm foresprecenan wicum* (DOEC Bede 4 B9.6.6); this can be translated as 'he was in the dwelling already mentioned'. *Wicum* is used here to translate Latin *mansio. Wīc* also has the sense 'habitation' in compounds such as *wīc-eard* (m.) 'a dwelling-place' and *wīc-freoþu* (f.) 'peace among dwellings'.

A second major sense of *wīc* proposed by Bosworth-Toller is 'a collection of houses, a small town, a street, a village'. Glossaries are valuable in establishing the sense of *wīc* 'small town'; Ælfric's Glossary defines Latin *castellum* as *wic oððe litel port* (DOEC Æ Gl B1.9.2), while other DOEC entries show *wic* variously glossing Latin *Uicus* (AntGl), *castela* (SedGl), *castrum* (Sed Gl), *castris* (CuthGl), *oppidi* (AldV), and compounds such as (*Castra*) *herewic*, *fyrdwic* (ClGl).

It has been debated whether *wīc*, in the sense 'small town', has a commercial connotation. Various compound terms might suggest this; two examples of roads leading to a *wīc* in OE charters are *wīc-stræta* (S 645) and

wīc-herepaþ (S 492), where *wīc* might refer to a town such as London, Winchester, Dorchester, Salisbury or Southampton. A *wīc-gerēfa* of London is mentioned twice in the Kentish laws of Hlothhere and Eadric c.673–85 (Whitelock 1955: 360–61). Ekwall regarded *wīc* here as referring to the town of London as a whole, and Whitelock translated *wīc-gerēfa* as 'town-reeve', but Coates (1999a: 89) considers that *wīc* refers only to London's trading-place or market outside the walled city, where official duties of the *wīc-gerēfa* included tax-collecting and acting as witness at sales. The laws of c.673–85 survive in a later copy, the twelfth-century Textus Roffensis, though the text is nonetheless valuable evidence of the use of *wīc*, either in or outside seventh-century London.

Other OE terms contain a similar notion of service to that of the *wīc-gerēfa*: OE nouns include *wīcnere* (m.) 'an officer, a minister, steward, manager', and *wīcnung* (f.) 'discharging of an office, service, stewardship', while the verb *wīcnian* means 'to perform an office (*wīce*), to serve, minister'.

Various other words deriving from *wīc* should be noted. The verb *wīcian* means I. *to lodge, take up one's quarters*; II. *to camp, encamp*; III. *to land* (after travel by water). The rare compound noun *wīc-steall* 'a camp' contains the second of these senses.

A further issue is the use of *wīc* in relation to salt-works. A key question is whether *wīc* is a common noun with a sense such as 'salt-works, salt-town', in an OE phrase such as *æt þære wīc*, or whether it is already a proper name, meaning 'a place called Wich' (Coates 1999a: 91–92).

The Middle English descendant of OE *wīc* is ME *wīke*, with variants such as *wĭke*, *wek(e)* and *wicke*. Used without compounding, the main senses of *wīke* are (a) a dwelling, home; (b) a building or an area of land, probably enclosed, in which a certain kind of work is done; (c) a collection of dwellings; a village, town, city; (d) an area, a territory, a region (MED).

In early Modern English, *wick* meant 'a farm', and more specifically 'a dairy-farm' (OED). John Stow (1598) explained that *In diuers countries, Dayrie*

houses or cottages, wherein they make butter and cheese, are vsually called Wickes. This usage of *wick*, meaning 'farm' or 'dairy-farm', seems to have survived longer in Essex than elsewhere. John Norden (1594) described in Essex *Tendring hundred wher are manie wickes or dayries*, while Edward Coke (1628) commented that in Essex, a farm is called *a Wike* (OED)*.*

The meanings of OE *wīc* in place-names, and the semantic development of OE *wīc*

Skeat (1901: 27) regarded OE *wīc* as 'a dwelling', and as a loan from Latin *vīcus* 'village', later considering *wīc* itself to mean 'village', while Cornelius (1913) produced a survey of OE *wīc* as a generic in place-names (Ekwall 1964: 6). Several place-name scholars had commented on OE *wīc* in various English counties by 1922 (see section 1.4). However, Mawer (1924: 64–65) explored more fully various issues relating to *wīc*. Mawer stated that OE *wīc* was a loan-word from Latin *vicus*, and defined *wīc,* commonly used in the plural, as meaning primarily 'dwelling-place, abode, quarters'. Observing the glosses by Ælfric, Mawer believed that *wīc* developed the sense 'village'. Discussing *wīc* and salt-works, without discussing continental comparisons, Mawer argued that the association of salt with place-names in -*wich*, such as Droitwich, Nantwich, Northwich and Middlewich, was purely by chance, and that in these names *wīc* referred to buildings which sprang up around salt-workings. According to Mawer, *wīc* in DB, especially in Essex, often means 'dairy-farm', a sense surviving locally until the sixteenth century. Mawer's references to dairy-farms in Essex were subsequently expanded by Reaney (1935: 594).

Ekwall (1936a: 491) described OE *wīc* as 'an early loan-word from Latin'. At this stage, Ekwall defined the meanings of OE *wīc* as 'dwelling, dwelling-place; village, hamlet, town; street in a town; farm, esp. a dairy-farm'; the latter, in Ekwall's view, was probably the most common meaning. The special and rarer meaning 'salt-works' had already developed before 1086.

Extending the analysis of OE *wīc* by Mawer (1924) and Ekwall (1936a), Smith (1956, 2: 257–64) defined OE *wīc* as follows: 'a dwelling, a building or collection of buildings for special purposes, a farm, a dairy farm' and in the plural 'a hamlet, a village'. Smith argued firstly, that OE *wīc* could denote dwellings and buildings with various uses other than agricultural, and that it came to be connected with buildings used for particular occupations and manufactures; and secondly, that the principal meaning of *wīc* in place-names is 'farm'. It is rarely combined with words denoting arable farming; an exception is *bere-wīc* (1956: 2, 259).

Ekwall's essay *Old English Wīc in Place-names* (1964) was the fullest analysis of OE *wīc* published at that time, at around sixty pages. Chapter I discussed examples of place-names where *wīc* means, in Ekwall's view, 'town or harbour', 'salt-works' or 'street'. In contrast to his earlier view in 1936, Ekwall now argued (1964: 11) that in place-names, *wīc* is never used in reference to an English village. Chapter II dealt with place-names where *wīc* meant, in Ekwall's opinion, 'dwelling', 'dependent farm' or similar. Ekwall's analysis included the meanings of *wīc* as a simplex and generic element, and the regional distribution of place-names from *wīc*, as simplex and generic, either with or without palatalization. Although Ekwall's earlier summary of *wīc* (1936a: 491) had specified that *wīc* was an early loan-word from Latin *vicus*, at no point in his 1964 essay did Ekwall discuss the meanings of *vicus*; neither did Ekwall discuss OE *wīc-hām* in the essay. Focussing on onomastic material from 1086 onwards, Dornier (1987) followed up one aspect of Ekwall's work, observing a potential alternation between the quality of the final consonant in some place-names ending in -*wich* or -*wick*.

The fullest recent discussion of the possible semantic development of OE *wīc* is by Coates (1999a), who reviews earlier scholarship and adds new interpretations of the complex lexical and onomastic evidence, including the continental usage of Latin *vīcus* and Germanic cognates of *wīc*. Coates argues

(1999a: 92–93) that the central meaning of OE *wīc* is 'dependent place with a specialized commercial function', and that the earliest uses of the simplex place-name *wīc* suggest the meaning 'trading place'. Coates declares (89) that '*Wīc* never, ever, meant town. It meant 'dependent place' and was applied to trading stations amongst other places'. Coates supports (98) the later view of Ekwall (1964: 11), that in place-names *wīc* is never used in reference to an English village. Observing continental cognates of *wīc* relating to salt-works (93), Coates considers that we need to discover when the meaning of the relevant word passed from 'place with a special economic function' to 'salt-works'.

Coates argues (105–07) that his proposed meaning of *wīc* ('dependent place with a specialized commercial function') 'must have been introduced by the invading Anglo-Saxons and applied to what must have been called *vici* by Latin-using Roman-Britons. That would mean, of course, that there was no semantic continuity between the word used by Latin- and Brittonic-speakers in Britain and the English term but that there was continuity of word-form'. This view of Coates supposes that OE *wīc* originally meant 'dependent place with a specialized commercial function'; however, Classical Latin *vīcus*, the etymon of *wīc*, does not have this restricted sense, and twentieth-century German-language scholarship on *wik* does not suggest that OE *wīc* had the original sense proposed by Coates. We should therefore ask whether OE *wīc* in place-names might demonstrate semantic continuity from Latin *vīcus*, alongside continuity of word-form. Coates raises the possibility (105) that OE *wīc* was rooted semantically in fourth-century Britain, but decides on a 'more difficult' continental account of the origin of OE *wīc*, involving importation of the 'continental' sense which he proposes.

By exploring English place-names with the specific element *wīc*, the present thesis aims to explore some of the issues raised by Coates and others regarding the semantic development of OE *wīc*, and further observations will be made in the Conclusions (Chapter 5).

2.3 Orthographic criteria for considering English place-names as compounds with specific *wīc*

In evaluating Gelling's proposal that *wīc-hām* was a term used for a Romano-British habitation site, and that in other compound names the specific *wīc* might sometimes refer to a Roman settlement site, a corpus of names with the specific *wīc* must be compiled, and the orthographic criteria for the inclusion of place-names in the corpus must be defined. The present discussion covers *wīc-hām* first, followed by *wīc* compounds with other generics.

Orthographic considerations for inclusion of *wīc-hām* place-names in the corpus

The fundamental linguistic criterion for the inclusion of a place-name in the *wīc-hām* corpus is that the attested forms of a compound name contain the specific element *wīc* and the generic element *hām*. In its earliest attestations in land charters, the compound *wīc-hām* is normally spelt as either *wicham*, *Wicham*, *wic ham* or *Wic ham*. Examples include Wickham HMP (*wicham* c.955 (14th) S 1491) and Wickham Bishops ESX (*Wicham* c.940 (13th) S 453). A wide range of variants can be seen, as listed below.

1) Some forms of *wīc-hām* have the orthography <k> instead of <c> in the specific element if attested in DB or later, as in Wickham Market SFK (*Wikham* 1086 DB).

2) Since <y> and <i> are generally interchangeable in Middle English, some forms of *wīc-hām* have the orthography <y> instead of <i> in the specific element, especially if attested in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, as in Wickham in Strood KNT (*Wycham* 1100–07).

3) Occasionally early forms have a double <c>, as in Wickham Bushes in Lydden KNT (*Wiccham* 944, S 501).

4) Sometimes the <m> of *hām* is indicated by a suspension mark above the letter <a>, as in *Wichā*. This is common in DB, as in Wickhambrook SFK (*Wichā* 1086 DB, *Wicham* 13th).

5) A medial <e> is common in DB forms and also some twelfth-century and later forms, as in Wickhambreux KNT (*Wichehā*, *Wicheham* 1086 DB).

6) Occasionally the <c> or <h> of *hām* is omitted, as in Wyckham Farm in Steyning SSX (*Wicam* 1073).

7) A double <m> is sometimes encountered in early forms, as in West Wickham CAM (*wichammes gemære* 974 (11th) S 794). Reaney (1943: 112) regarded the generic as OE *hamm* 'enclosure', translating the name as 'enclosure by the wīc'; however, Gelling (1967: 89, 93) regarded the generic as *hām*, attributing the variant *wichammes* in OE charters to the confusion of *hām* and *hamm* sometimes seen in OE texts. Gelling's view seems acceptable, partly owing to later forms here with a single <m>, such as *Wicheham* 1086 DB, *Wicham* 1086–1318. This issue is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

8) In Wickhampton NFK (*Wichamtuna* 1086 DB), a third element *tūn* is present. Ekwall (1960: 517) believed Wickhampton to mean the same as Wickham, while Gelling (1967: 98, 1978: 85) considered the meaning as possibly *wīchām + tūn* 'farm by a place called Wickham'. In either case, Wickhampton requires consideration in the thesis.

9) Occasionally the earliest attested form might be a genitive plural *wīchama* or *wīchǽma*, where *hǽma* might be an original element of the name, meaning 'of the dwellers (at)'. Early forms of Witchampton DOR include *Wichamatuna*, *Wichemetune* 1086 DB, *Wichamton*(') 1216–88, *Wycham*(*p*)*tone* 1263–1456, *Wichehampton* 1271–80 (Mills 1980: 260–63). Witchampton is ambiguous, meaning either 'farm (*tūn*) of the dwellers at *Wīchām*' or 'farm of the dwellers at the *wīc*'. Gelling (1967: 104) and Mills (1980: 260) both regarded Witchampton as a likely example of *wīc-hām*, but Witchampton is not fully accepted in this thesis as deriving from *wīc-hām*, since it lacks early forms which suggest this as more likely than the alternative. Witchampton is therefore discussed in this thesis in a separate group of names attested by 1200 and *possibly* deriving from *wīc-hām*, with Wickhampton NFK and Wycomb LEI.

In West Wickham KNT (*to Wichǽmamearce* 862 (S 331), 987 (S 864), *Wicheham* 1086 DB, *Wicham* 1231), the earliest form might mean 'to the boundary of the dwellers at the *wīc*', therefore this name might not derive from *wīc-hām* (Gelling 1967: 104). Nonetheless, West Wickham has been accepted in the corpus of *wīc-hām* names in this thesis, owing to the DB and 1231 forms which suggest *wīc-hām* more clearly, and might suggest that the earliest form meant 'to the boundary of the dwellers at *Wīchām*'.

Compounds with specific *wīc* and generics other than *hām*: orthographic considerations

The basic criterion for the inclusion of a place-name in this corpus is that the attested forms of a compound name contain the specific element *wīc* and a generic other than *hām*.

In compound names meeting this criterion, a range of spellings of the specific element can be seen. The earliest forms reliably attested in land-charters before 1066 invariably have the spelling *wic*, with either a lower-case or upper-case <w>, as in (*on*) *wic leage* 825 (S 272) in Alton Barnes WLT and (*to*)

Wicford(*a*) 817 (S 1597) in Salwarpe and Ombersley WOR. It is currently unclear whether the runic symbol *wynn* (Þ ƿ) appears for <w> in any early land-charters.

DB regularly uses a capital <W> for place-names with specific *wīc*, as in Wickmere NFK (*Wicmera* 1086); however, various new forms of the specific appear from 1086–1200, including *Wiche-*, *Wick*(*e*)-, *Wik*(*e*)-, *Wyk*(*e*)-, *Wyc-*, and more rarely *uic-* or *Wichche-*. A unique spelling with <x> occurs in the field-name *Wixstalker* c.1170 (Swillington YOW), from *wīc-stall.*

In Middle English or later medieval attestations, the vowel <y> appears after 1100, as in Market Weighton YOE (*Wychton*(*a*) 1133). In individual locations, a range of different spellings of the specific *wīc* will often be found over time, as in Weekley NTP, attested as (*to*) *wiclea* (*forde*) 956 (c.1250) (S 592), *Wicklei* 1086 DB et freq to 1382, with variants *Wyk-*, *Wik-* and *-le*(*e*), *-ley*; *Wichelai* 1166, *Wikelea* 1172 et freq to 1526, with variants *Wyke-*, and *-legh*, *-ley*, *-le*(*e*), *Wichchelea* 1175; *Wicklea* 1194, *Wekelee* 1395 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1933: 173).

Names are excluded from the corpus if early forms contain significant ambiguity. Wychall Farm WOR (*de la Wychalle*, *Wichalle* c.1275) might be *wīc-heall* 'hall by the dairy-farm' (Mawer, Stenton and Houghton 1927: 358); the early form *la Wythalle* 1253 also allows derivation from *hwīt* + *heall* 'white hall', though the modern outcome Wychall suggests that <t> in *Wythalle* might be a mistranscription of <c>.

The issue of consonant voicing: from /k/ to /g/

In discussion of orthographic criteria for inclusion of place-names in the corpus, an issue is consonant voicing. In various place-names the specific element is spelt <Wig>, which may indicate phonological voicing in some or all cases. For example, Wigford LIN is attested as *Wich(e)ford'* c.1107–1219, *uicfort* 1159–61, *Wicford*(*e*) 1169–1236, *Wick*(*e*)*ford*(*a*) late 12th with later variants, *Wikeford'* 1146 et freq to 1312, *Wigeford* 1196, *Wygkeford* 1329, *Wigford* (*Street*) 1555–

1629 (Cameron 1985: 45–46). The earliest forms with <g> (*Wigeford* 1196, *Wygkeford* 1329) might suggest a Middle English phase during which the name was pronounced with three syllables, though this is uncertain.

The issue of palatalization

In most *wīc* compound names, *wīc* is pronounced with velar [k]; in other words, the pronunciation of <c> is non-palatalized. As Ekwall (1964: 55) observed, <ch> in DB and other early sources generally denotes the sound /k/, and only in the thirteenth century can <ch> be trusted to represent palatal /tʃ/. Examples in MED of <ch> for the palatalized form include *chapele oðer chirche* c.1225 and *þe churche of Redinge* c.1300, along with *Radulphus Chircheman* c.1259 and *Johanna Churchman* c.1327. The written letter <k> did exist in Old English but became more common after 1066 as representation of /k/. Early examples of <k> in *wīc* compounds include *Wicklei* 1086 (Weekley NTP) and *Wickelewuda* 1086 (Wicklewood NFK). Compounds of *wīc* spelt with medial <k> are more common after 1150.

The spelling of the specific element as *Wik-* and *Wyk-* is related to the development of ME *wike* or *wyk*(*e*) as a lexical item. *Wike* 'dwelling' appears c.1250 in *The Owl and the Nightingale*, in the phrase *Ich can loki monne wike & mine wike beoþ wel gode*, while *wyke* with the sense 'a town, a village, a hamlet' is attested c.1350 in *The toun Off Cauntyrbery, that noble wyke* (OED).

Place-names with palatalized forms of *wīc*

In a small minority of compound place-names, the specific *wīc* probably has a palatal /tʃ/. Wychbold WOR is *Wicbold* 831 (S 188), *Wicelbold* 1086 DB, *Wichebald* 1160 (Mawer and Stenton 1927: 285). In this unique compound of *wīc + bold*, Mawer and Stenton interpreted Wychbold as 'buildings by the *wīc*', believing that *wīc* possibly refers to Droitwich, 3.5km south-west of Wychbold,

and the modern outcome Wychbold suggests that the early form *Wicbold* probably has palatal /tʃ/ in the specific *wīc*.

In the boundary clause (*to*) *Wicford*(*a*) 817 (S 1597) in Salwarpe and Ombersley WOR, the likely location was 2.8km from Droitwich, whose earlier name may have been the simplex, and probably palatalized, *Wiche* in the sense of 'saltworks'. However, it is uncertain whether the specific element *Wicford*(*a*) contains velar /k/ or palatal /tʃ/. By contrast, in Wickford ESX (*Wicforda* c.975 (S 1494)), /k/ is more clearly suggested by later forms such as *Wi*(*n*)*cfort* 1086 DB, *Wic- Wyc- Wik*(*e*)- *Wyk*(*e*)*ford* 1194–1230, and by the modern outcome Wickford.

The place-name *wīc-tūn*

Names potentially deriving from the compound *wīc-tūn* are problematic. Witton has at least two possible sources: firstly, OE *wīc-tūn*, '*tūn* by a *wīc*', and secondly, OE *widu-tūn* or *wudu-tūn*, '*tūn* by a wood' (Ekwall 1936a: 504). In many early forms of these names, assimilation of medial consonants produces forms such as *Witune* or *Witton*. However, the medial spelling <tt> might alternatively result from scribal copying, since the letters <c> and <t> can easily be confused in medieval manuscripts. In this thesis, potential examples of *wīc-tūn* are included in the corpus if at least one early form, attested by 1200, has a medial <c> or <ch>. Attestations of potential examples of *wīc-tūn* are discussed individually, and in more detail, in section 4.3.

Chapter 3: The place-name *wīc-hām*

3.1 The element *hām* in English place-names: an introduction

Chapter 3 of this thesis explores the distribution and possible meaning of the OE compound place-name *wīc-hām*. Section 3.1 studies the lexical and onomastic meanings of *hām*, and the distribution of *hām* as a generic element in place-names. This provides a linguistic and onomastic context for the study of *wīc-hām*, a compound which belongs to a much larger group of place-names with the generic *hām.*

OE *hām* as a lexical item

The noun *hām* (m.) is common in OE literature. The main lexical senses of *hām* given by DOE include: 1. estate, (landed) property / possession; 2. dwelling, abode; 3. inhabited place / district / region / neighbourhood; 4. place where refuge, rest or satisfaction is found; 5. native land (mainly in poetry); 6. prepositional phrases, such as *æt ham*(*e*) 'at home'; and several extensions of the senses above. The principal senses of *hām* therefore range in size from an individual home or homestead to a dwelling of higher status, to a village or estate. Germanic cognates of *hām* include Goth *heims* 'a village', OSax hêm, OHG *heim*, and ON *heimr* 'a dwelling-place' (Smith 1956, 1: 226). Both *hām* and *hēm* are found in Old Frisian (Bremmer 2009: 28).

OE *hām* as a place-name element

OE *hām* does not occur as a simplex name; as a specific element, *hām* is rare except in compounds such as *hām-stall*, *hām-stede* and *hām-tun* (Smith 1956, 1: 228). As a generic element, *hām* is very common, and is compounded with a range of specific elements, including principally: 1) personal names, especially monothematic names; 2) terms descriptive of the situation or topography, including names from a nearby river or stream; 3) with reference to animals

kept there; 4) with reference to crops or plants growing there (Cameron 1996: 141–43, 152–53). Smith (1956, 1: 228–29) gave a fuller range of qualifiers, including (i) adjectives denoting location, age, character etc.; (iii) old place-names and river-names; and words denoting (iv) the produce or use of a place; (v) enclosures etc.; (vi) the nature of the ground; (x) ownership; and (xii) names of families, tribes or groups of people.

The meaning of the generic element *hām*: changing perceptions

Writing in the early years of modern English place-name scholarship, Mawer (1924: 31–32) regarded the precise significance of OE *hām* in place-names as difficult to determine, and felt compelled to translate *hām* in similar terms to OE *tūn*, 'farm' or 'manor'. However, Ekwall (1936a: xii–xv, 203) gave a fuller range of meanings for *hām* in place-names, including 'home, homestead' and 'village, estate, manor', stating that the most common meaning is probably 'village'. Smith (1956, 1: 227) concluded that the precise meaning of *hām* in place-names cannot usually be determined, but that in most cases it probably means 'a village'.

As will be seen below, place-name scholars in the 1970s were developing a new understanding of the chronological significance of OE *hām*; nonetheless, definitions of the generic *hām* in place-names remained largely unaltered. Cox (1973: 15) defined *hām* as 'a village, a collection of dwellings', while Dodgson (1973: 1) preferred 'a village, a village community, an estate, a manor, a homestead'. Discussing the chronology of English place-names, Gelling glossed *hām* as 'village, estate' (1997: 112), while Cameron (1996: 141–43) and Mills (2020: 169) glossed *hām* as 'homestead, village'.

Place-name scholars normally treat *-ingahām* names separately, as a distinct category of names which may have a different chronological range of name-formation. In *-ingahām* names, the generic *hām* is compounded with *-inga-* (genitive plural), referring to a group of people (Cox 1973: 15). Cox

suggested (1973: 19–20) that *-ingahām* names were formed towards the end of

the period when *hām* names were given to habitation sites, but at the start of

the *-ingas*, *-inga-* phase of naming. It should be noted that names with generic

hām are distributed differently from *-ingahām* names (see below).

The distribution of *hām* and *-ingahām* place-names

Table 2 below shows the geographical distribution of *-hām* and *-ingahām* names

across English counties. The figures are mainly compiled from Cox (1973),

Dodgson (1973) and the full collection of published EPNS volumes. The source is

Coates (1989) for Hampshire, and Watts (2004) for three counties not yet fully

covered by EPNS volumes: Herefordshire, Shropshire and Somerset. It should be

emphasized that all figures for *hām* names are approximate, owing to potential

confusion between *hām* and *hamm*. For Norfolk and Suffolk, the figures are

complex, as explained below Table 2.

Table 2: The corpus of *hām* and *-ingahām* place-names: approximate numbers
and distribution

County	*-hām* names	*-hām*/*-hamm* names	*-ingahām* names
	Cox 1973		
Norfolk	71	7	48
Suffolk	69	1	15
Lincolnshire	25		29
Cambridgeshire	17	2	5
Leicestershire	10	1	
Nottinghamshire	8		5
Northamptonshire	6		3
Warwickshire	4		2
Huntingdonshire	4		1
Bedfordshire	3	6	
Rutland	2	2	2
Derbyshire	2	1	
Staffordshire		1	1
	Dodgson 1973		
Kent	43	5	9
Sussex	26	16	
Surrey	21	6	4

	EPNS volumes		
Essex	37	6	
Yorkshire, West R.	17		4
Yorkshire, East R.	9		12
Yorkshire, North R.	9		3
Buckinghamshire	17		
Cheshire	14		
Lancashire	12		5
Berkshire	11	5	
Wiltshire	7	9	
Hertfordshire	7	2	
Oxfordshire	6	3	
Worcestershire	6		
Middlesex	5	2	
Dorset	4	7	
Cumberland	4	1	3
Durham	3		1
Westmorland	3		
Gloucestershire	2	5	
	Additional examples		
Northumberland	21		9
Hampshire (n.1)	18	4	2
Norfolk (n.2)	8	4	
Suffolk (n.3)	6		
Somerset	6	4	
Cambridgeshire (n.4)		2	
Herefordshire		3	
Shropshire		2	
Totals	**543**	**107**	**162**

Notes:
n.1: Coates 1989: 7–9.
n.2: Ekwall (1936a); Morris (1984).
n.3: Briggs and Kilpatrick (2016: 166–67).
n.4: Reaney (1943: 189, 219): additional examples of Newnham.

Schram (1961: 143–44), refining the coverage of *hām* given in his earlier

PhD thesis on Norfolk place-names (Schram 1926), regarded 'more than ninety'

Norfolk names as containing the generic *hām*, without specifying a full list.

Ekwall (1936a) included 78 *hām* names, and 11 *hām* or *hamm* names, in

Norfolk. Cox's gazetteer (1973: 50–61), in his study of *hām* names in the

Midlands and East Anglia, listed 71 examples in Norfolk, and 7 possible *hām* or

hamm names, all included by Ekwall (1936a); however, for unclear reasons, Cox

omitted 7 *hām* names included earlier by Ekwall: Barnham Broom,

Beechamwell/Beachamwell (*Bicham* 1086), Earsham, Roudham, Shingham,

Taverham, South Walsham; and 4 of Ekwall's *hām* or *hamm* names: Horsham St
Faith, Reedham, Wroxham and Yaxham. Ekwall and Cox both omitted Roxham
NFK (cf. Roxham LIN), attested as *Rochesham* 1086 (Morris 1984: fol. 66, 45).
Cox (1973: 59–60) listed 69 *hām* names in Suffolk, omitting 6 examples
included by Briggs and Kilpatrick (2016: 166–67): Beversham, Coddenham Hall
(Boxford), Horham, Siam Hall, Thelnetham and Wickhambrook.

In the place-names of East Anglia, and elsewhere, a problem is the
potential confusion of the generics *hām* and *hamm*, which can both produce
place-names with the spelling *-ham*. Cox (1973: 15–19) regarded *hām* as
meaning 'a village, a collection of dwellings', and *hamm* as 'land in a river-bend,
a river-meadow, dry ground in a marsh', explaining that unless spellings in
-hamme, *-homme* or *-hom* survive, the presence of *hamm* can be recognised
only by studying the topography of the location. Dodgson (1973: 7–8) followed a
similar procedure in categorising place-names with generics *-hām* and *-hamm* in
Kent, Surrey and Sussex. Dodgson assumed that a name exhibiting only *-ham*
spellings, and never *-hamm*, *-homm* etc., is probably from *-hām*, provided that
1) the place was an ancient manor, parish or centre of settlement; 2) the name
is recorded before around 1350 as more than a field-name or boundary-point;
and 3) the site does not have a topography which might be that of a *hamm*.
Dodgson acknowledged the imperfection of his procedures and accepted the
residual uncertainty over the generic of some place-names surveyed, listing
some names as deriving from *-hām*, others from *-hamm*, some as more likely to
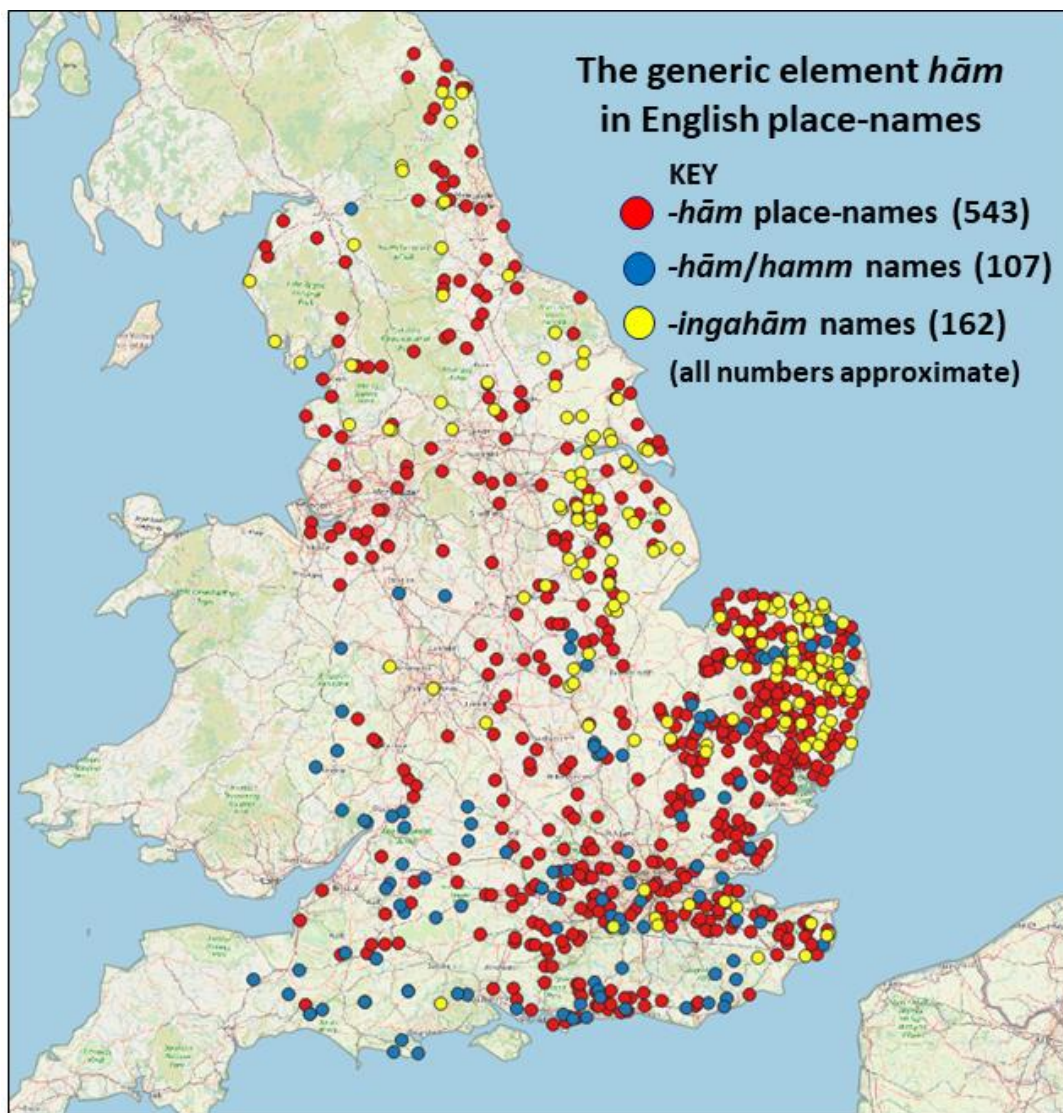derive from *-hām* than *-hamm*, and vice versa.

Figure 2: Distribution of the generic element *hām* in English place-names.

Despite uncertainty over whether the generic of some place-names is *-hām* or *-hamm*, two firm observations can be made on the distribution of *-hām* and *-ingahām* names. Firstly, both name-types are concentrated most heavily in northern East Anglia, in Norfolk and Suffolk. Secondly, *-hām* and *-ingahām* names have different distribution-patterns. Concentrations of *-hām* are evident in Essex, Surrey, Sussex and Kent. In Essex and Sussex, and in the territory of Wessex before AD 800, *-ingahām* names are uncommon, but they are more common in the east Midlands and northern England.

The antiquity of the generic *hām* in place-names: developments in scholarship

An advance in understanding of the chronology of names with generic *hām* was made by Ekwall (1936a: xii–xv), especially in relation to *tūn*. In Ekwall's view, of the two elements, *hām* is the earlier word for 'homestead, village', and names in -*hām* are mostly earlier than those in -*tūn* and represent an earlier stratum of naming. This is principally because names in -*hām* are far more frequent in the east than in the west of England (Ekwall 1936a: xiii). However, as Ekwall argued, not all names in -*tūn* are comparatively late, and *tūn* may have an early sense, for example, 'enclosure round a homestead' rather than 'village' or 'town' (1936a: xii–xiii). In the south-west, forms in -*ham* are more likely to derive from *hamm* than from *hām* (Ekwall 1936a: xiii). Smith (1956, 1: 227) followed a similar line of argument to Ekwall regarding the geographical distribution of *hām*, suggesting that *hām* belongs to 'the earlier period of the English settlement' and was becoming obsolete as a place-name element as settlement advanced west.

A generation of scholars active from the 1920s, including Ekwall, Stenton and Myres, believed that -*ingas* place-names, such as Reading and Sonning, were formed in the early stages of Anglo-Saxon settlement; however, in the 1960s and 70s a later generation, including Dodgson, Cameron and Gelling, concluded that other types of place-name, especially those with generic *hām*, were earlier than the -*ingas* type (Gelling 1988b: 59–76). Dodgson had suggested in 1966 that -*ingas*, -*inga*- names did not represent an 'immigration' phase of settlement; this approach was extended by Kuurman, surveying -*ingas*, -*inga*- place-names in the East Midlands (1975: 11–43).

Developing the view that *hām* place-names represent an early phase of settlement, Dodgson (1973: 1–50) conducted a detailed survey of *hām* names in Kent, Surrey and Sussex, aiming to distinguish these from *hamm* names by topography. Dodgson noted that in Sussex and Hertfordshire, names in *hām* are often close to areas of Roman settlement, and that in some parts of the south-

east, *hām* names are not associated with areas of Anglo-Saxon pagan burial-sites (1973: 3). In the Darenth valley of Kent, *hām* names are close to Roman villa sites, and continuous occupation of territory and use of land in this area is suggested, with Roman villas succeeded by neighbouring *hām* place-names (Dodgson 1973: 18).

In his analysis of the distributional significance of *hām* in the Midlands and East Anglia, Cox (1973: 15) argued that place-names with generic *hām* in this region are closely related to the system of Roman roads and ancient trackways, to Roman villas, and to major and minor Romano-British settlements. However, this may be potentially dangerous as a means of dating *hām* place-names, since later settlement-patterns might be based on the surviving Roman road system and therefore similar to Roman settlement-patterns.

In Cox's opinion, place-names in *-ingahām* in the Midlands and East Anglia are likewise closely associated with Roman roads and Romano-British sites, but also with pagan Anglo-Saxon burials. In this region, large cremation cemeteries are situated, which today are interpreted as shared burial grounds for multiple communities, so these would need to be sited somewhere accessible. The *-ingahām* names contain the traditional designation for a settlement, *hām*, but also the group-name formula *-ingas*. Cox (1973: 49) ascribed the formation of *-hām* names to the period AD 400–650, and *-ingahām* names to the sixth and early seventh centuries.

Dodgson (1968: 23) considered that some of the early *-ingahām* names in Cheshire may be in areas 'opened up' in Roman times, and that the Roman road system in Cheshire seems to be the structure dictating their pattern of distribution. Regarding the distribution and antiquity of 21 *-hām* and 9 *-ingahām* place-names in Lancashire and Cheshire, Kenyon (1986: 11–27, 1991: 89–94) noted that many of these were in the same general area as Roman military and industrial settlements, concluding from statistical analysis (1986: 13–16, 24–25) that *-hām* names in Lancashire seem more closely related to Roman sites than

would be expected from random distribution. This seems consistent with Ekwall's view (1936a: xiii) that place-name forms in -*ham* probably derive from *hamm* rather than *hām* in western (or at least south-western) counties; Ekwall implied that in the north-west, derivation from *hām* was more common. Kenyon (1991: 90) considered that in Lancashire and Chesire, *hām* is used for estate-names coined around AD 800, such as Kirkham 'church estate' and Bispham 'bishop's estate', arguing that the coining of the Lancashire *hām* names is highly unlikely to derive from continuous settlement from the Roman era to the period around 800, owing to the time-lapse of around three centuries since the abandonment of Roman settlement sites.

Discussing the chronology of *hām* names, Gelling stated (1978: 113) 'it is believed that the word ceased to be used for place-name formation long before the Norman Conquest'. Gelling noted (1978: 116) the relative absence or scarcity of *hām* names in two areas where early Anglo-Saxon archaeology is concentrated, namely the stretch of the Thames from Oxford to Dorchester, and the Avon valley in Warwickshire. Three examples of Newnham 'new village' in Warwickshire were regarded by Gelling as a possible late usage of *hām*, and as a compound which might have continued in use when *hām* was otherwise no longer used as a place-name element. Discussing place-names in Suffolk, Gelling (1992b: 55–56) followed the chronology proposed by Cox (1973), accepting that the -*ingahām* names in Suffolk would be slightly later formations than -*hām* compounds without -*inga*-, and considered it likely that most -*hām* names in East Anglia were in use in Redwald's reign, in the early seventh century. Discussing an overall chronology for English place-names, Gelling (1988b: 74) referred to work by Copley (1986), which argued that no place-name type has a significant overall correspondence with early Anglo-Saxon archaeology; Gelling argued that the suffix -*ingas* does better than the habitative term *hām*, but that both 'make a poor showing' in terms of a relationship to early Anglo-Saxon archaeology.

Baker (2006b: 50–62) reaches a similar conclusion regarding *hām* names in the Chilterns and Essex region, showing that there is no precise overlap between *hām* names and early Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Around the Blackwater river-system in Essex, *hām* place-names are found very close to Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; however, around the River Stort in Essex, there is a cluster of *hām* names but few early Anglo-Saxon remains, while north of the Chiltern scarp and west of Great Chesterford, there are few *hām* names but known Germanic-style cemeteries and settlements (Baker 2006b: 55).

Following the publication of the RRS dataset since 2016, knowledge of Roman settlement is now greatly enhanced, but early post-Roman settlement may not leave distinct archaeological traces, owing to a collapse in production of distinctively Roman artefacts such as pottery and coinage. The lack of correspondence between place-names and archaeology perceived by Copley, Gelling and Baker may therefore be open to review.

3.2 Scholarship on *wīc-hām* since 1900

A relationship between the place-name Wickham and Roman settlement had already attracted nineteenth-century attention. Discussing Wickham in Strood KNT, Smetham (1899: 5) commented that 'The name of the Manor of Wickham is also evidence that Strood was much frequented during the Roman occupation, as the word is a sure sign throughout England of the existence of a Roman cross road, village or *vicus*'. Skeat was the first modern scholar to discuss the meaning of *wīc-hām* in more depth. Skeat (1911: 60) explained Wickham HMP as deriving from OE *wīc*, from Latin *vīcus* 'a village', and *hām* 'home', together meaning, in Skeat's view, 'village-home'; however, Skeat believed West Wickham CAM to derive from *wīc* and *hamm*, supposedly meaning 'village-enclosure'.

Amongst the new generation of place-name scholars in the 1920s, Mawer (1922: 16, 1924: 65) developed Skeat's ideas by exploring a possible connection between compound names with specific *wīc* and Roman archaeology. Believing that Wickham derived in some cases from OE *wīc-hām* and sometimes from *wīc-hamm*, Mawer commented on these Wickham names, 'Their exact significance is obscure. Do they denote 'farms' or 'enclosures' by a *wic*, and is it possible, in some cases at least, that the *wic* is really a Roman *vicus*, for there are a good many cases in which Wickhams are by Roman remains?' (1924: 65).

Hugh Smith (1928: 99) regarded the element *wīc* in Wykeham YON as unclear in significance. Subsequently, Smith (1956: 263) cited 11 place-names deriving from OE *wīc-hām*, defining its meaning as 'homestead near a *wīc*, homestead with a dairy farm'. Smith added that *wīc-hām* occurs often enough to be regarded as an appellative compound but described its exact meaning as 'obscure'.

Ekwall (1936a: 491) recognized OE *wīc* as an early loan-word from Latin *vīcus* but made no comment on any relationship between *wīc-hām* and Roman archaeology. Ekwall defined fourteen Wickham place-names as deriving from OE *wīc-hām*, 'dwelling-place, manor', or sometimes *wīc-hamm* 'HAMM with a *wīc*',

maintaining this definition in the fourth edition of *DEPN* (1960). Regarding West Wickham CAM, Reaney (1943: 112) concurred with Ekwall that the generic might be OE *hamm* 'enclosure', supposedly producing a meaning 'enclosure by the wīc'. In his later monograph on OE *wīc* in place-names, Ekwall (1964) gave examples of place-names considered as possible reflexes of *wīcum*, but entirely omitted examples of *wīc-hām*, despite covering these extensively in his *DEPN* (1936a, 1960).

Cameron (1961: 147) saw no connection between *wīc-hām* and Roman settlement, arguing that *wīc-hām* is of uncertain meaning but might denote 'dwelling-place', 'manor' or 'homestead near a village'. However, Smith (1964: 185) revived the issue of Roman settlement raised by Mawer (1922, 1924), noting that Roman remains have been found at Wycomb GLO, and that *wīc* here might denote the Roman *vīcus*. Smith later defined *wīc-hām* as 'homestead near a dairy farm or a Roman *vicus*' (1965: 187).

The early views of Margaret Gelling on *wīc-hām*

The main pioneer in studying the place-name *wīc-hām* was Margaret Gelling, whose seminal article 'English Place-Names derived from the Compound *wīchām*' (1967: 87–104) was researched with the assistance of J.N.L. Myres. Gelling's ideas on *wīc-hām* were developed in later works (1977: 1–13, 1978: 67–74).

Gelling's initial gazetteer in 1967 listed at least twenty-eight instances of *wīc-hām*. Stressing that *wīc-hām* is found only in place-names and not in literary texts, Gelling followed Smith (1956) in arguing that *wīc-hām* was not just a compound word, but a compound appellative, 'a ready-made term for a recognized type of settlement', comparing OE *beretūn*, *berewīc* 'barley-farm' and *plegstōw* 'sport-place' (1967: 96–97). Gelling therefore sought a single definition of the meaning of *wīc-hām*, and a single type of settlement to explain it. Crucially, rather than relying on the dictionary-style definitions of *wīc-hām* by Ekwall (1936a) and Smith (1956), Gelling now studied the archaeology of *wīc-*

hām sites, thereby exploring a possible correlation between *wīc-hām* and Roman archaeology, as posited earlier by Mawer (1924).

Gelling rejected the suggestion of Skeat, Mawer, Reaney and Ekwall that in Wickham the second element might sometimes be *hamm* 'land in a river-bend', 'river-meadow' or 'enclosure', attributing the variant *wichammes* in Old English charters to 'the confusion of these two elements which is occasionally found in Old English texts' (1967: 89, 93). Instead, Gelling proposed that 'in the compound *wīchām*, *wīc* means 'Roman *vicus*', and that later, specialized, meanings, such as 'salt-works' and 'dairy-farm' should be left out of account' (95). The main meaning of *wīc-hām* posited by Gelling was 'settlement associated with a Roman *vicus*' (96). On archaeological grounds, Gelling suggested, 'One obvious possibility is that *wīchām* was a term used for a Romano-British habitation site … It seems that one could make out a case for association with actual Romano-British habitation in more than half of the twenty-eight examples of *wīchām*' (93–94). The types of Roman settlement which Gelling had identified by 1967 were mostly small: 'On the whole … the evidence suggests that the name was associated with the most modest type of Romano-British village recognized by the modern archaeologist' (96). However, Gelling concluded, 'The meaning of the term *wīchām* must remain unsolved for the moment' (98).

A principal aim of the current thesis is to determine the meaning of *wīc-hām*, along with the chronology and socio-linguistic context in which the place-name *wīc-hām* arose, and it is important to consider Gelling's views on these closely-related issues. Gelling (1967) argued that if, in every case, *wīc-hām* meant 'settlement associated with a Roman *vicus*', there were, in her opinion, three possible ways in which the name might have arisen. Firstly, co-existence near these sites of 'British people and Anglo-Saxon invaders' was possible. Secondly, *wīc-hām* might mean a 'village near (or on) the site of a defunct Roman *vicus*', perhaps with visible Roman building remains. Thirdly, *wīc-hām*

might be a technical term for an early 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement, whose connection with Roman *vici* might be general rather than precise in every instance (96). This third idea, unexplained by Gelling, remains ambiguous, though Gelling was perhaps asking whether *wīc-hām* could refer to settlement sites which were not *vici* in a Roman administrative sense. Nonetheless, Gelling later decided (1976b: 204) that the place-name Wickham 'may have been coined before the end of the Roman period'.

An important observation by Gelling (1967, 1972, 1978) was the location of many *wīc-hām* sites close to parish boundaries, suggesting that these *wīc-hām* settlements were perhaps once the centres of estates, later sub-divided into smaller units delineated by parish boundaries. However, Gelling did not elucidate whether she considered these early estates to be Roman or Anglo-Saxon, or both, through continuity of settlement.

Gelling's new view of *wīc-hām* in 1977–78

Gelling (1977) significantly modified her definition of *wīc-hām*, influenced by new information (Rodwell 1975: 85–101) on the Roman town at Lower Hacheston SFK, near Wickham Market. In contrast to her view in 1967, that *wīc-hām* relates to 'the most modest type of Romano-British village', Gelling argued that the type of Romano-British site likely to be associated with a *wīc-hām* place-name was probably 'a small town rather than a village', now glossing *wīc-hām* as '*vicus* village' (1977: 3). In another significant shift, Gelling now suggested that *wīc-hām* perhaps referred to a Roman settlement which had survived after AD 410, where there was no evidence of early 'Anglo-Saxon' occupation, but that 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement must have occurred nearby in order to produce the place-name *wīc-hām.* Gelling concluded (1977: 4), 'The question of what sort of settlement was called a *wīc-hām* in the early period of English speech in this country is best left open, in the hope that future archaeological work will provide solid evidence. There is room for different interpretations, not only as regards

the size and status of the Roman sites (which may be fairly assumed to have existed in every case) but also as regards the nature of the Germanic presence in their vicinity'.

Gelling (1978: 70) emphasized that *wīc-hām* probably referred to a Romano-British habitation site, again arguing that 'the small towns are the only category of *vici* to which the *wīchām* names could relate', and that 'the apparently humble status of many … which were listed in 1967 may be due to lack of knowledge'. Gelling later defined *wīc-hām* as 'village connected with a Romano-British settlement' (1984: 323), or 'village associated with a Romano-British *vīcus*' (1988b: 60). An appendix to the second edition of *Signposts to the Past* (Gelling 1988a: 245–50) added examples of *wīc-hām* recently suggested, producing a total corpus of over forty *wīc-hām* sites, without distinction between them by date of first attestation.

Gelling (1988a: 245) retreated from her position, advocated on Myres' advice from 1967–78, that many Germanic people were present in south-eastern Britain after c.AD 350, now declaring that 'the loss of archaeological support for the hypothesis of a substantial overlap between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England leaves the Latin words used in English place-names without a well-defined overall context'. However, more recent archaeological work, such as the publication of excavations at Spong Hill NFK, has shown cremation burials starting c.AD 400–420, indicating migration from northern Germany and Scandinavia to Norfolk in the early fifth century (Hills and Lucy 2013: 297–343). This clearly re-establishes a chronological overlap between later Roman Britain and the arrival of migrants from across the North Sea.

Responses to Gelling's views on *wīc-hām*

Colin Smith (1980: 34) countered Gelling's view that *wīc-hām* was an appellative, arguing that 'The numerous wīc-hām names, without further compounding or particularizing elements, are simply generic'. Smith apparently

meant, by 'generic', that *wīc-hām* referred to different types of Romano-British rural settlement, both small and large. In Smith's view, 'Latin <u>vicus</u> was also borrowed from Latin speech in Britain, and applied as <u>wīc</u> to a wide range of habitations ... the <u>wīc-hām</u> compound studied by Mrs Gelling is shown to have been applied to surviving settlements of Romano-Britons, for in late Latin usage vicus could, both administratively and colloquially, apply to these small rural settlements as well as to the civilian settlements at the forts'.

Coates (1983: 12) stated of *wīc-hām* that 'This most important word has been shown beyond all reasonable doubt by Gelling 1967 to mean an actual Roman settlement'. Discussing Wickham HMP, Coates (1989: 175) introduced an important idea avoided by Gelling: that definitions of *wīc-hām* might include 'Roman villa'; Coates argued that OE *wīc-hām* was 'an established compound denoting 'small Roman town or villa complex', containing a borrowed form of the Latin word *vicus* 'street, quarter, district' ... What is not clear is whether it denotes a physical entity (e.g. stone buildings) or a legal or tenurial one as well (i.e. a sign of persistent Roman administrative activity)'.

Examining Witchampton DOR, Mills (1991: 497) preferred a definition similar to those proposed by Gelling from 1967–88, that *wīc-hām* was usually a 'homestead associated with a *vicus*, i.e. an earlier Romano-British settlement'. Mills adhered to this definition of *wīc-hām* in other English place-names (2011: 497), while accepting possible confusion between *hām* and *hamm* 'enclosure'. We should note the traditional view of Mills (2011: xv), that 'The Anglo-Saxon conquest and settlement of Britain began in the 5th century AD … These new settlers were the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, Germanic tribes from Northern Europe whose language was Anglo-Saxon, now usually called Old English'. Mills therefore interpreted *wīc-hām* as a homestead associated with an earlier Romano-British settlement, rather than as a name for an existing Romano-British settlement.

Cameron (1991: 238) accepted a connection between the name *wīc-hām* and Roman settlement, emphasizing that many *wīc-hām* names 'occur near smaller Roman settlements, rarely near the larger', as originally proposed by Gelling in 1967. Cameron (1996: 41–42) later went further: 'a significant number of the Wickhams and Wykehams are situated near to Romano-British habitation sites and … there are too many examples of this for it to be purely coincidental. So, it is highly probable that here we have a group of names which has a direct connection with small Romano-British settlements. The exact significance and meaning of these names is uncertain, but they certainly seem to denote small settlements in the neighbourhood of or associated with a *vicus*'.

Discussing Wycomb LEI, Cox (2002: 219) noted that 'OE *wīc* in this compound appears to be very early and to have a close connection with Latin *vicus*, a term used by the Romans for the smallest unit of self-government in their provinces. Gelling observes that *wīc-hām* names tend to occur near RB sites in which later archaeological levels show no evidence of early Anglo-Saxon occupation and where sub-Roman survival seems particularly likely'. Cox accepted three possible explanations of the name Wycomb, based closely on Gelling's 1967 analysis: firstly, that *wīc-hām* was possibly an OE term for a small Romano-British town which had survived 'without being swamped by Germanic settlers'; secondly, that *wīc-hām* was perhaps an Anglo-Saxon settlement adjacent to a surviving Romano-British *vicus*; and thirdly that *wīc-hām* might refer to an early Anglo-Saxon estate comprising the territory of a *vicus*. Cox also noted a Roman settlement near Goadby Marwood; however, this was 2km north of the place-name Wycomb, and Cox demonstrated no Roman archaeology any closer to the place-name. Without any clear archaeological evidence of Roman or early Anglo-Saxon occupation closer to Wycomb, it was risky for Cox to assume either continuity of occupation, or institutional continuity, as an explanation of this place-name.

Watts (2004: 677) listed fourteen examples of *wīc-hām* place-names, closely following Ekwall's 1936 corpus and excluding the examples gathered by Gelling from 1967–88, which had potentially increased the corpus to over forty. However, Watts accepted recent interpretations of *wīc-hām*, defining it as 'homestead associated with a Roman or Romano-British settlement'.

Discussing *wīc-hām* in the Chilterns and Essex region, Baker (2006a: 171–72) cites Gelling's 1967 article and argues that, for various reasons, *wīc-hām* 'is thought to refer to a settlement by a Romano-British *vicus*. Place-names containing this compound are found predominantly in areas of early Germanic influence in the eastern parts of lowland Britain, and often very close to known, or suspected, Roman sites'. Baker gives an alternative possible meaning of *wīc-hām* as 'estate marked by the Roman town' but considers it possible that *wīc-hām* 'simply refers to Roman remains'. A similar view was taken by Coates (1999a: 107), who believed that in the compound *wīc-hām*, the specific element *wīc* 'exclusively denoted visible remains of Roman material culture'.

K. Briggs (2009: 44–54) calculates a strong spatial proximity between Roman villas and *wīc-hām* names, while arguing that this does not prove a causal connection. Cole (2013: 65–66, 248–49) adheres closely to Gelling's later association of *wīc-hām* with small Roman towns, tabulating and mapping twenty-four examples of *wīc-hām* with early attestations, while Hough (2016: 98) considers that OE *wīc-hām*, from Latin *vicus* 'village', seems to refer to Roman settlements that survived into early Anglo-Saxon times. Finally, Cavill (2018: 459) states that seven examples of *wīc-hām* in field-names allude to 'land by a former Roman settlement', leaving open the chronology of the name's formation.

It should be asked - briefly here, but more fully at the end of this thesis - whether scholarship on OE *wīc-hām* informs the debate amongst archaeologists and historians over the 'short' or 'long' chronologies for the 'end of Roman Britain' in the fifth century. Place-name scholars since 1900 have increasingly come to regard *wīc-hām* as being closely related somehow to Roman settlement.

Amongst alternative explanations proposed, two main theories have been most conspicuous: either 1) OE *wīc-hām* referred to a living, inhabited Roman settlement, large or small, of a type called *vīcus* in Latin; or 2) *wīc-hām* was a term for an Anglo-Saxon settlement adjacent to a surviving Romano-British *vīcus*, or near the ruins of a Roman settlement, or a term for an early Anglo-Saxon estate comprising the territory of a *vīcus*. The first of these main theories might imply the early presence of Old English in Britain, for example before AD 450, and therefore perhaps a 'short' end of Roman Britain, whereas the second group of theories might envisage a longer chronology for spoken Latin and the survival of Romano-British settlements and institutions in lowland Britain, and therefore a 'long' end of Roman Britain. However, the theories of place-name scholars on the meaning and historical significance of *wīc-hām* have mainly been based on traditional historical explanations of the end of Roman Britain and of Anglo-Saxon settlement, sometimes combined with an element of speculation. To produce a more informed and perhaps nuanced view, a more detailed archaeological analysis of *wīc-hām* locations is necessary.

3.3 Gazetteer Part A: *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200: attestations, locations and Roman archaeology

This section of the thesis considers twenty place-names derived from OE *wīc-hām* and attested by 1200. A gazetteer will describe the attestation, location and Roman archaeology of each site, followed in section 3.4 by a synoptic discussion of Roman archaeology at or near these locations. In two cases, a pair of proximate sites will be considered as one location: West Wykeham and East Wykeham LIN, and Clayton Wickham and Hurst Wickham SSX.
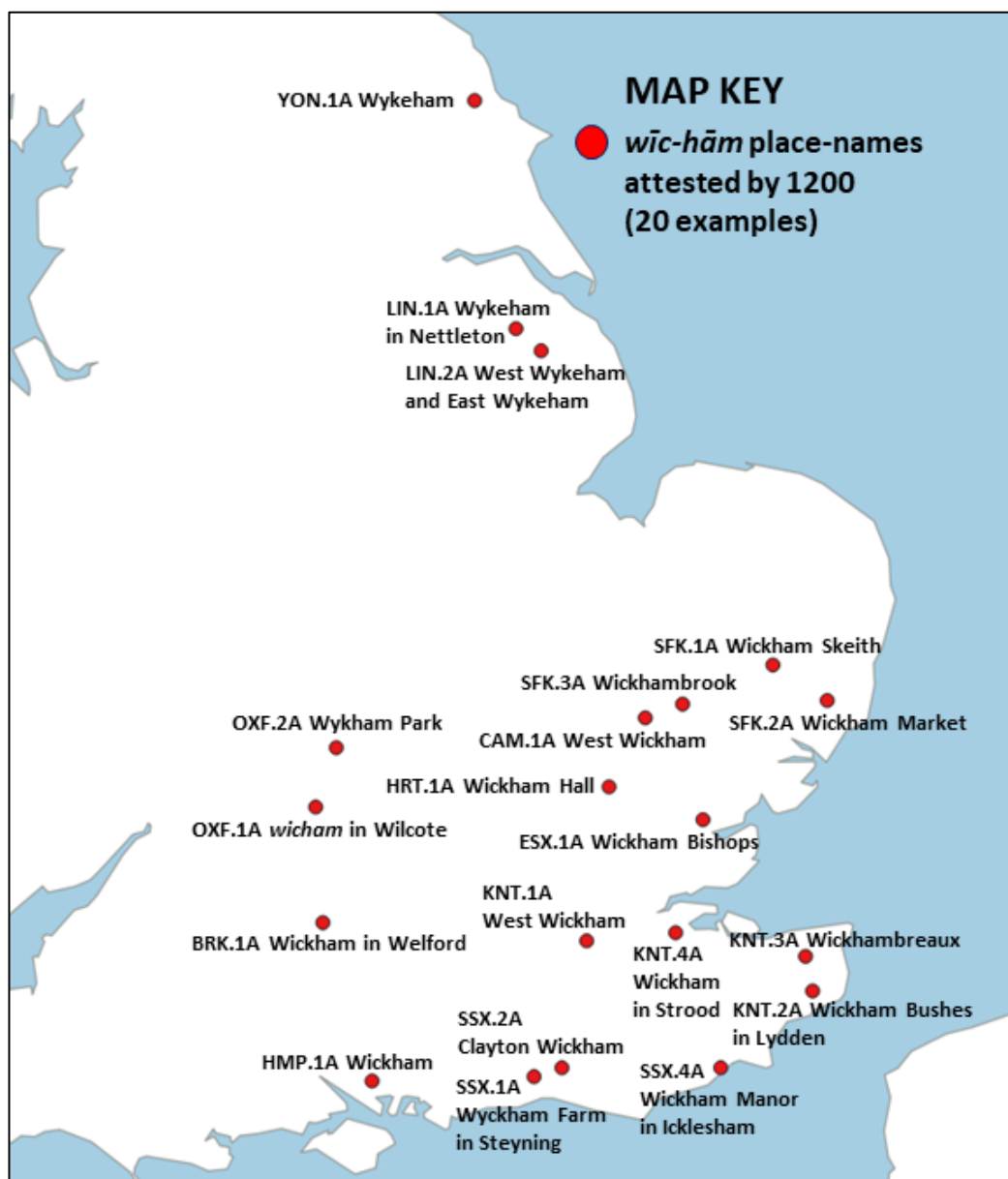

Figure 3: Twenty *wīc-hām* place-names attested by 1200.

Table 3: Place-names derived from OE *wīc-hām*, attested by 1200

No.	REF.	PLACE-NAME (AND PARISH)	APPROX. GRID REF.	EARLY FORM	DATE ATTESTED	EPNS OR OTHER REFERENCES
1	BRK.1A	Wickham (Welford)	SU394715	*Wicham*	c.955–63	Gelling 1973: 274
2	CAM.1A	West Wickham	TL612492	*wichammes gemære*	974 (11th)	Reaney 1943: 112
3	ESX.1A	Wickham Bishop's	TL831105	*Wicham*	c.940 (13th)	Reaney 1935: 313
4	HMP.1A	Wickham	SU575114	*wicham*	c.955 (14th)	Coates 1989: 175; Watts 2004: 677
5	HRT.1A	Wickham Hall (Bishop's Stortford)	TL475230	*Wicheham*	1086 DB	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 203
6	KNT.1A	West Wickham	TQ389646	*Wichæmamearce*	862	Wallenberg 1931: 208; Watts 2004: 678
7	KNT.2A	Wickham Bushes (Lydden)	TR247456	*Wiccham*	944 (13th)	Wallenberg 1931: 265
8	KNT.3A	Wickhambreaux	TR220587	*Wic ham, wicham*	948	Wallenberg 1931: 277
9	KNT.4A	Wickham (Strood)	TQ727677	*Wycham*	1100–07	Wallenberg 1934: 119
10	LIN.1A	Wykeham (Nettleton)	TF121974	*Wiham* *Wycham*	1086 DB 12th	Cameron 1991, 2: 238–39
11	LIN.2A	West Wykeham (Ludford)	TF216885	*Wicham*	1086 DB	Ekwall 1936a: 515
12	OXF.1A	*Wicham* (Wilcote)	SP365154	*wic ham*	969 (12th)	Gelling 1967: 101–03
13	OXF.2A	Wykham Park (Banbury)	SP439379	*Wicham*	1086 DB	Gelling 1954: 413–14
14	SFK.1A	Wickham Skeith	TM096692	*Wicham, Wichā*	1086 DB	Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 153
15	SFK.2A	Wickham Market	TM302558	*Wikham*	1086 DB	Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 153
16	SFK.3A	Wickhambrook	TL753544	*Wichā*	1086 DB	Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 153
17	SSX.1A	Wyckham Farm (Steyning)	TQ189130	*Wicam*	1073	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 237
18	SSX.2A	Clayton Wickham (Clayton)	TQ292163	*Wichā* *Wykeham*	1086 DB 1279	Morris 1977: 12.38 Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1930: 275
19	SSX.4A	Wickham Manor (Icklesham)	TQ898164	*Wicham*	1200	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1930: 512
20	YON.1A	Wykeham	SE964833	*Wicam, Wicham*	1086 DB	Smith 1928: 99

GAZETTEER

(1) BRK.1A Wickham in Welford

Attestation

Wicham c.955x963? (S 183, 12th), 1167 *et freq* with variants *Wickham*, *Wycham*; *Wikeham* 1550 (Gelling 1973: 274).

Charter S 183, purportedly a grant by Coenwulf, king of the Mercians, to the monastery of Abingdon in 821, mentions *Wicham cum suis campis*. The charter text was probably re-written under Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon from 954–63; S 183 is spurious as it stands, but may be based on authentic ninth-century information, and details of the abbey's estates, including *Wicham cum suis campis*, may be an interpolation into an earlier statement of privileges (Kelly 2001: 43–44). *Wicham* may therefore represent the place-name c.955–63.

Location

Wickham is a village in Welford parish, centred around SU395715, 9km north-west of Newbury. In 1086 the abbey of Abingdon held the manor of Welford, which almost certainly included Wickham (Kelly 2001: 45). The church of St Swithun in Wickham, in a hill-top location, has a tenth-century tower and was constructed as a chapel of ease within Welford parish.

Roman archaeology

Wickham is situated beside Margary 41b from Silchester to Cirencester, whose line crosses the parkland just east of Wickham House, located at SU395715. Wickham is 1.3km north-west of the junction of Margary 41b with Margary 53; the agger or embankment of Margary 53, running west from Wickham to Bath, is visible at SU377704.
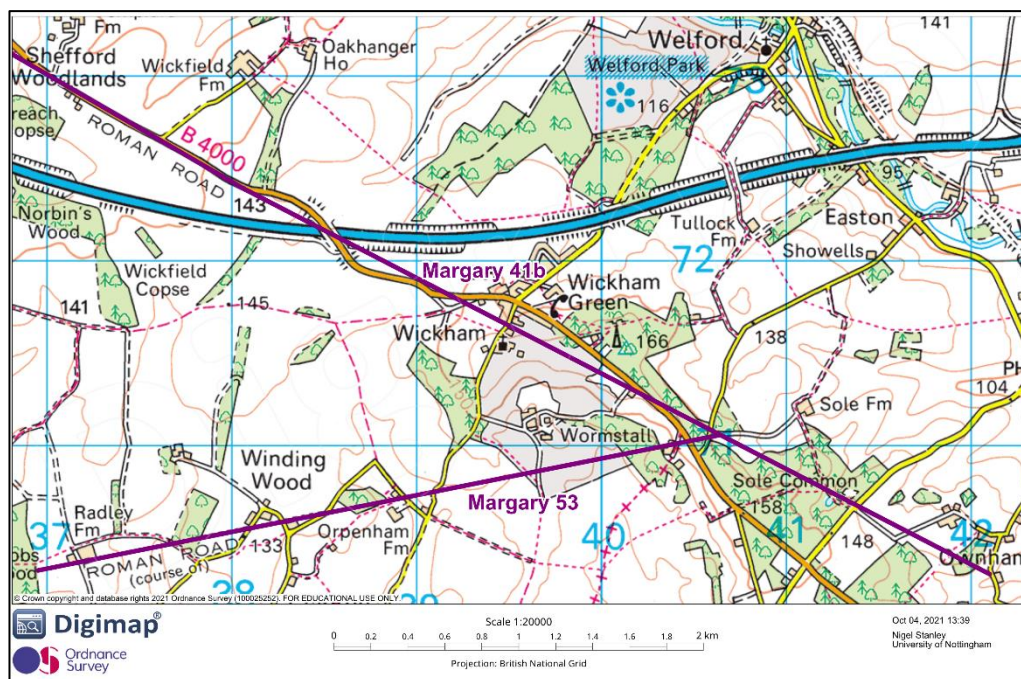
Figure 4: Wickham in Welford BRK.

Roman bricks and stone window-balusters are present in the fabric of St Swithun's church. Large quantities of Roman pottery were found in Wickham in 1860 at The Rectory (now Wickham House) at SU395715 (MWB4307), and a Roman coin hoard, including a gold solidus of Constantius II (337–61) in 1889 at SU398715 (MWB12102). This has led to the acceptance of a Romano-British roadside settlement at Wickham (Peake 1931: 92, 243; West Berkshire HER MWB4306). Excavation around 2007 near Wickham House, at SU396715, has found 110 sherds of Roman pottery and six pieces of ceramic building material, with dates ranging from the second to fourth centuries. Local wares, such as greyware and black sandy ware, comprise 79% of the sherd count, while traded pottery includes Gaulish Samian and Dorset black burnished ware. Metalwork and animal bones, mainly of cattle, were also found. The finds from these excavations are considered typical of a Roman roadside settlement of reasonable economic status (Pine 2007: 4–5, Appendix 2–3). While the Roman window-balusters in the fabric of the church might potentially be from a villa at Wickham, the nearest confirmed villa site is 3.9km east at Boxford, SU433706.
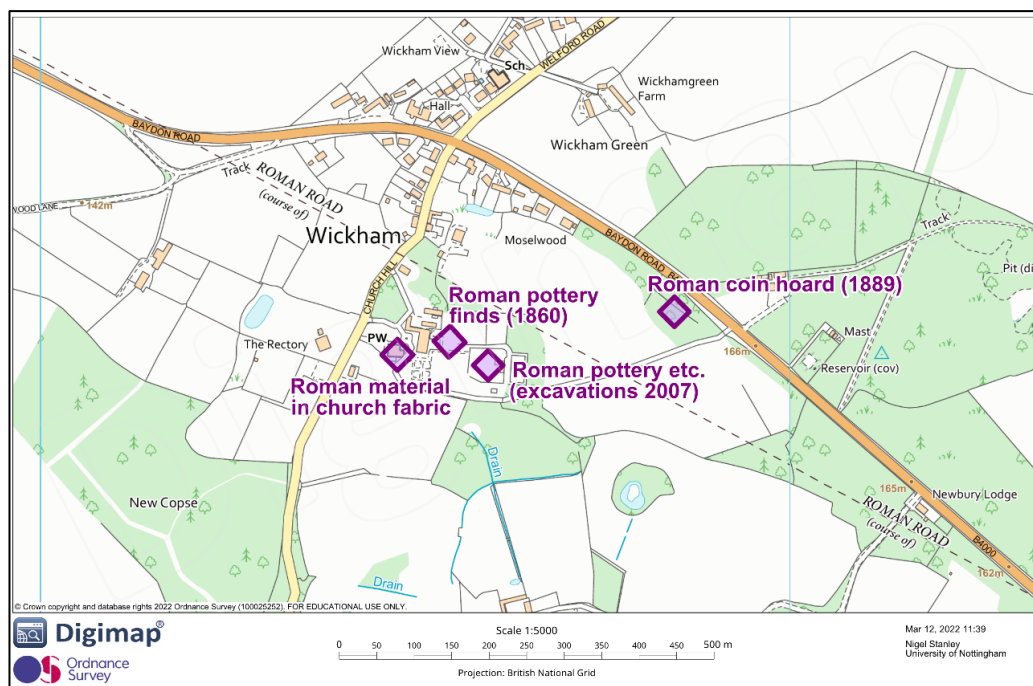
Figure 5: Wickham in Welford BRK: Roman archaeology.

(2) CAM.1A West Wickham

Attestation

oð wichammes gemære 974 (11th, S 794), *Wicham* 1086–1318, *Wicheham* 1086, *Wikhum* 1210, *Wikham* 1218, *West Wikham* 1266–1428, *Wykeham* 1218– 31, *Wykham* 1218–1426, *Wickham* 1344 (Reaney 1943: 112; Gelling 1967: 89, 93).

Reaney regarded the generic element of West Wickham as OE *hamm*, translating *Wicham* and its variant forms as 'enclosure by the *wīc*'. In support of Reaney's view, the attestations from 1086 onwards do not exclude an original generic *hamm*, which would produce the later forms with *-ham*; however, the attestations from 1086 also allow *-hām* as the original generic.

Ekwall (1936a: 492) listed West Wickham CAM amongst other examples of Wickham, arguing that these names might derive either from OE *wīc-hām* or from *wīc-hamm*; for the latter, Ekwall posited the translation '*hamm* with a *wīc*'. However, Ekwall commented that the spelling *wichamm* need not point decisively to *hamm* as the second element. Watts (2004: 678) stated that

<mm> in the earliest form suggests the generic *hamm*, but that no other form supports this, noting that the site is not notably appropriate for a *hamm*, whose principal sense is 'enclosed land', such as 'land in a river-bend' and 'a river-meadow' (2004: 273). Mills (2011: 497) does not include West Wickham CAM amongst examples of the name but describes Wickham as usually deriving from OE *wīc-hām*, commenting that in West Wickham KNT, the form *Wic hammes gemæru* 973 (S 671) may show confusion with *hamm* 'enclosure'.

Overall, although the evidence is somewhat ambiguous, the present thesis regards West Wickham CAM as probably more likely to derive from *wīc-hām* and accepts the view of Gelling (1967: 89, 93), who regarded the generic here as *hām* and attributed the variant *wichammes* in charter S 794 to 'the confusion of these two elements which is occasionally found in Old English texts'. Charter S 552, for example, alternates the two forms: *þonon on bradan* **ham** *westeweardne on þam* **hamme** *on cardan hlæw on þam hlæwe on lamburnan* (DOE).
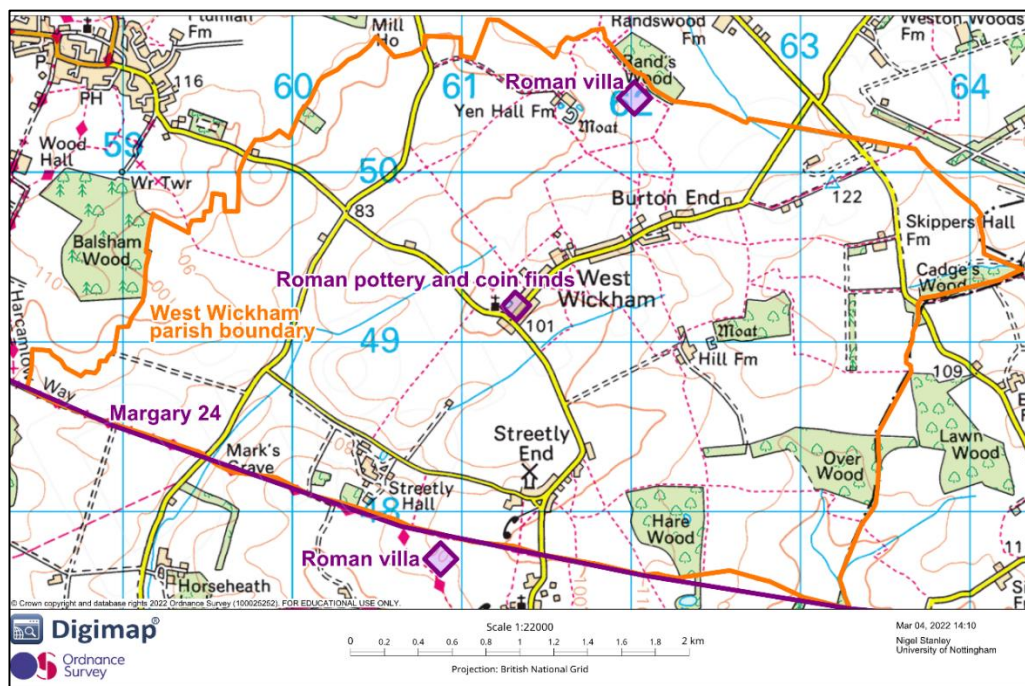

Figure 6: West Wickham CAM.

Location

West Wickham is a village and parish in Cambridgeshire, centred around TL612492, 12km south-east of Cambridge (Roman *Duroliponte*). West Wickham is 1.5km north of Margary 24 from Godmanchester towards Colchester, which passes south of Streetly Hall and Streetly End (Margary 1967: 210–12); near West Wickham, this might be a minor Roman road following an earlier trackway (Lewis and Baillie 2013: 15).

Roman archaeology

1.5km north-east of the parish church, Roman settlement is known from the late first century onwards around TL620504, 400m east of Yen Hall Farm. A third-century Roman villa (CHER 10142B, MCB17857) is known from finds of large quantities of building debris, including sandstone and limestone with attached mortar, a hypocaust flue-tile, tesserae and window-glass, with evidence of a pottery kiln and metal-working site (CHER 10989). In the Yen Hall area, coins date mostly from the third and fourth centuries, while fieldwalking has recovered 445 sherds of fourth-century Roman shell-tempered pottery (CHER 05469). Finds at Yen Hall include Samian and coarse greyware, lava querns, brooches and bracelets (Lewis and Baillie 2013: 15).

In Horseheath, 1.5km south of West Wickham church and 200m south of Margary 24, a Roman villa settlement was partly excavated around 1910 at TL609478, near Streetly End Farm, where building material found was extensive in quantity and spatial distribution (CHER 07373). The 29 coins found ranged in date from 117–350, while large quantities of pottery sherds included Samian, greywares, Castor ware and other wares.

In the centre of West Wickham parish (see Figure 7 below), extensive field-walking from 1986–88 by Haverhill and District Archaeological Group identified a small concentration of Roman tile 200m south-west of Manor Farm, and second- to fourth-century pottery sherds 250m north of the parish church,

while a field 100m east of Manor Farm produced scatters of unspecified Roman
and medieval sherds. Excavation in 1987 at Pond Meadow (CHER 05469,
TL612492), around 50m north-east of St Mary's church, found 337 sherds of
Roman pottery, mainly of second- to third-century greyware. 20% of sherds
were dark grey or black shell-tempered fabrics; fewer than 10% were colour-
coated fine wares. However, the Roman pottery at Pond Meadow was weathered,
unstratified and mixed with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pottery,
suggesting deposition of the material here in the medieval period or later
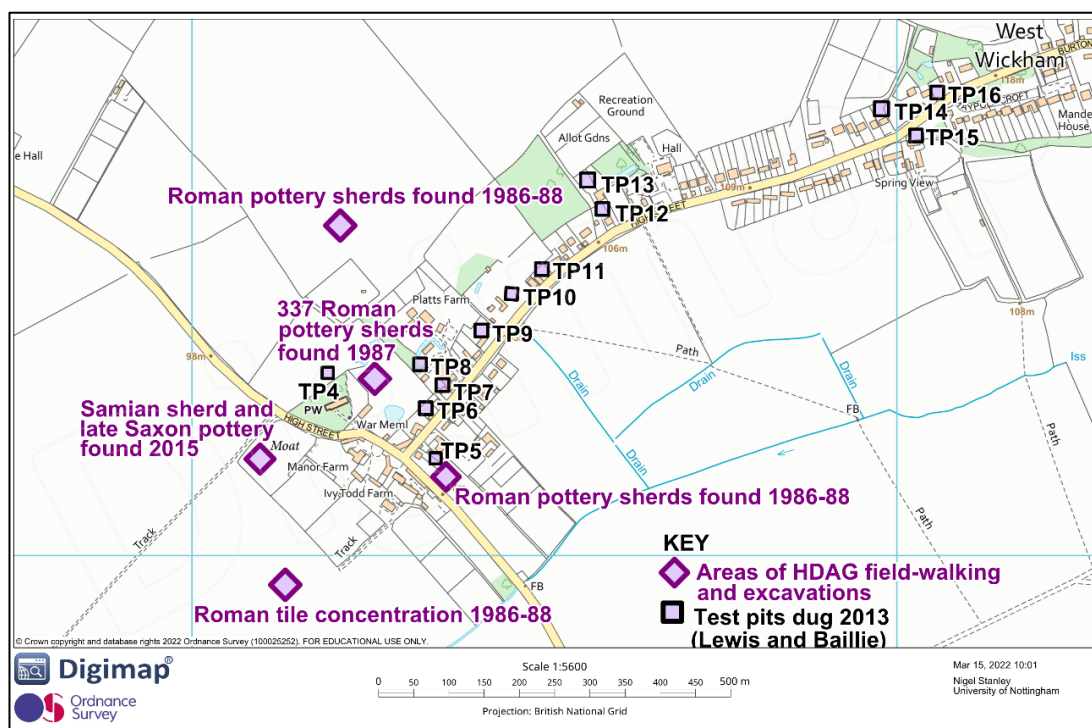(Charge 1990: 1–38).

Figure 7: West Wickham CAM, central area.

In 2013, eighteen test pits were dug in West Wickham during a
community-based project (Lewis and Baillie 2013). In the three test pits dug at
Streetly End (TP1–TP3), no Roman material was found, even though a Roman
villa has previously been excavated at Streetly End. In West Wickham village
centre, ten test pits were dug (TP4–TP13; see Figure 7 above), in an area

extending up to 500m north-east of the parish church. Five more pits (TP14–TP19) were dug further north-east of the village.

Test pits 4–19 produced prehistoric and high medieval material, but no identifiable Roman finds (Lewis and Baillie 2013: 59). This has led Lewis and Baillie (2013: 60) to conclude that Roman activity may have focussed on the road (Margary 24) and on the villas near Streetly End Farm and Yen Hall, and that Roman activity was much less intensive in the area near the parish church. However, we should note that nine of the ten test pits TP4–TP13 were dug north of the High Street; only TP5 was dug south of the High Street, and no excavation was conducted in 2013 in Pond Meadow, where unstratified Roman pottery has previously been found, or south of the church at Ivy Todd Farm or Manor Farm. It is therefore possible, though not certain, that areas of the village centre might be more productive of Roman archaeology than the areas test-pitted in 2013. Five test pits were dug in 2015 at TL611491, in fields south and west of St Mary's church, producing late Saxon and medieval pottery and one Samian sherd (CHER MCB25488, also MCB25439 at TL611492).

According to Lewis and Baillie (2013: 15), the PAS records 342 Roman coins found in West Wickham at undisclosed locations. However, the PAS analyses only 149 of these coins by Reece period, listing another 70 as undated but from the House of Constantine (Reece periods 16–18, AD 317–64). In both the PAS analysis and the undated coinage, there is a preponderance at West Wickham of coinage minted in the early to mid-fourth century (see Table 4 and Figure 33, in section 3.4 below). This distribution-pattern is broadly similar to Reece's British Mean (Walton 2011: 420) and is normal for a rural British site; however, the West Wickham figures for Reece period 17, AD 330–48, show a higher concentration of coins, at 597 *per mill*, than the 'Nearest Regional Mean' in Suffolk, at 381 *per mill*.

Overall, therefore, extensive pottery finds, and finds of stray coins, suggest a Roman settlement in West Wickham near St Mary's church, lasting

into the later fourth century. Since no high-status material has been recovered there, the settlement might have been a small village or farmstead, associated with one of the villas located 1.5km away. However, the precise location and nature of this settlement remain uncertain.

(3) ESX.1A Wickham Bishop's

Attestation

Wicham c.940 (13th) S 453, *Wicam* 1086 DB, *Wycham, Wykham* 1221–1458 (Reaney 1935: 313; Gelling 1967: 89, 1978: 72).
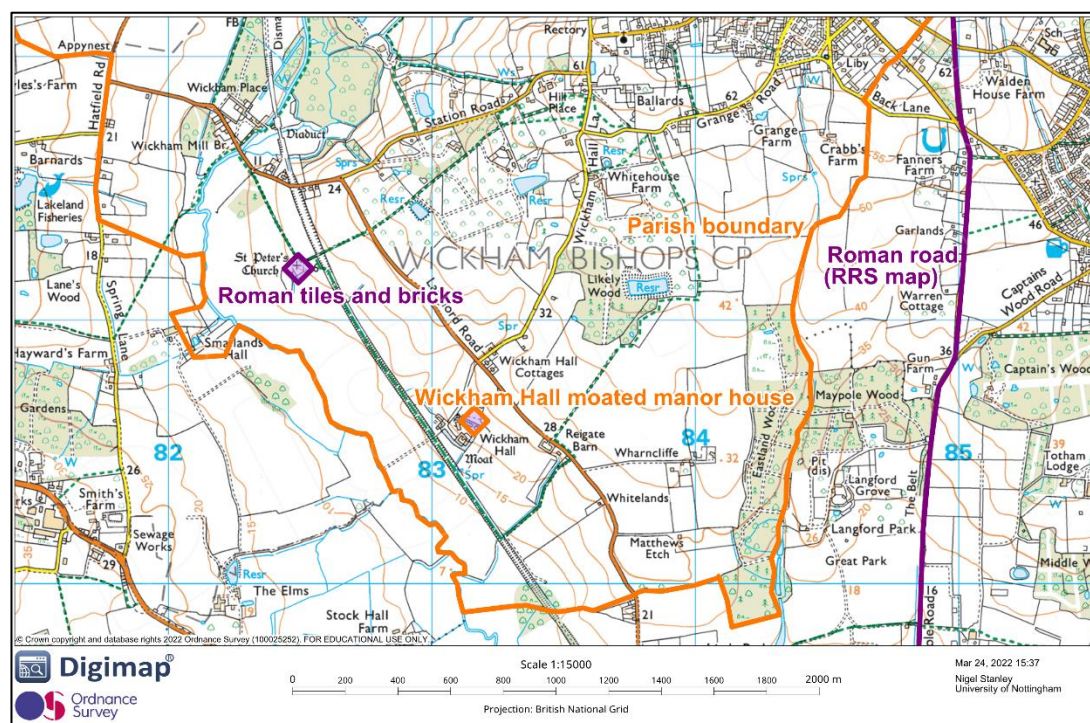

Figure 8: Wickham Bishop's ESX.

Location

The manor of Wickham Bishop's belonged to the Bishop of London in 1086. The disused St Peter's church at TL825111, with eleventh-century origins, was the parish church of Wickham Bishop's until 1850, and provides a proxy for the likely centre of medieval settlement. 800m south-east of St Peter's church is the medieval moated site of Wickham Hall, the former manor-house, at TL831105.

Wickham Hall is 1.8km west of a Roman road shown on the RRS map, and 3km south-east of Margary 3b, from Chelmsford to Colchester.

Roman archaeology

The fabric of St Peter's church contains numerous Roman tiles and bricks (HER 8213, 8214), from a Roman building of uncertain location and nature.

(4) HMP.1A Wickham (near Fareham)

Attestation

(æt) wicham 955–58 (14th, S 1491) *Wicheham* 1086, *Wicham*, *Wikham*, *Wykham* 1167–1330, Wickham 1341 (Gelling 1967: 90; Coates 1989: 175; Watts 2004: 677).

Location

Wickham is a village and parish in south-east Hampshire, beside the River Meon and 1km east of the junction of Margary 420 and Margary 421.
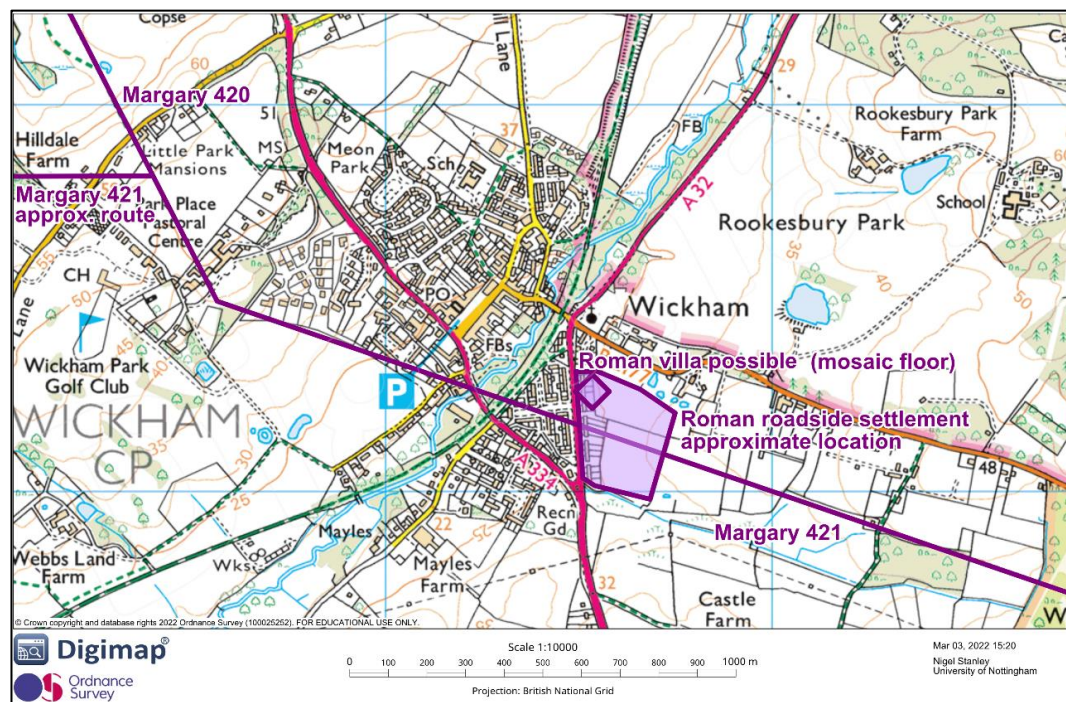

Figure 9: Wickham HMP.

Roman archaeology

At Wickham, south-east of the River Meon and beside Margary 421, there was a Roman roadside settlement at around SU575111 (HER 54404, 50723), including a possible villa or *mansio* suggested by a mosaic floor (HER 55682). The location is around 250m south of Wickham parish church, and east of the A32 (School Road). Finds by around 1970 included Roman mortar at SU575113, and Roman coarse pottery, leading to the acceptance of the site as a roadside settlement and possible *mansio*, occupied from the first century onwards (Cunliffe 1973: 72). Later excavation before 2018 indicated the hearths of a Roman roundhouse dating from c.165–300, with imported pottery and a pit filled with charcoal (HER 54404). Excavation since 2018 around SU576111, close to the line of Margary 421, has found the route of the road, and evidence of Roman structures with post-holes, a timber well, enclosure ditches and several waste pits, along with extensive finds of pottery and kiln debris. The full extent of the settlement, and the date when occupation of the site ended, are currently uncertain (cotswoldarchaeology.co.uk/wickham-archaeological-investigations/).

(5) HRT.1A Wickham Hall in Bishop's Stortford

Attestation

Wichehā 1086 DB, *Wickham* 1220, *Wicham* 1226, *Wycham* 1235, *Wykehamhall* 1492 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 203).

Location

Wickham Hall is a farm or manor-house site at TL474230, beside the parish and county boundary of Bishop's Stortford HRT with Farnham ESX. The medieval village of Wickham is presumed to have been near to Wickham Hall, though its full extent and location are uncertain (HHER 1024). Finds of medieval pottery around Wickham Hall are thickest on the county boundary west of the farm,

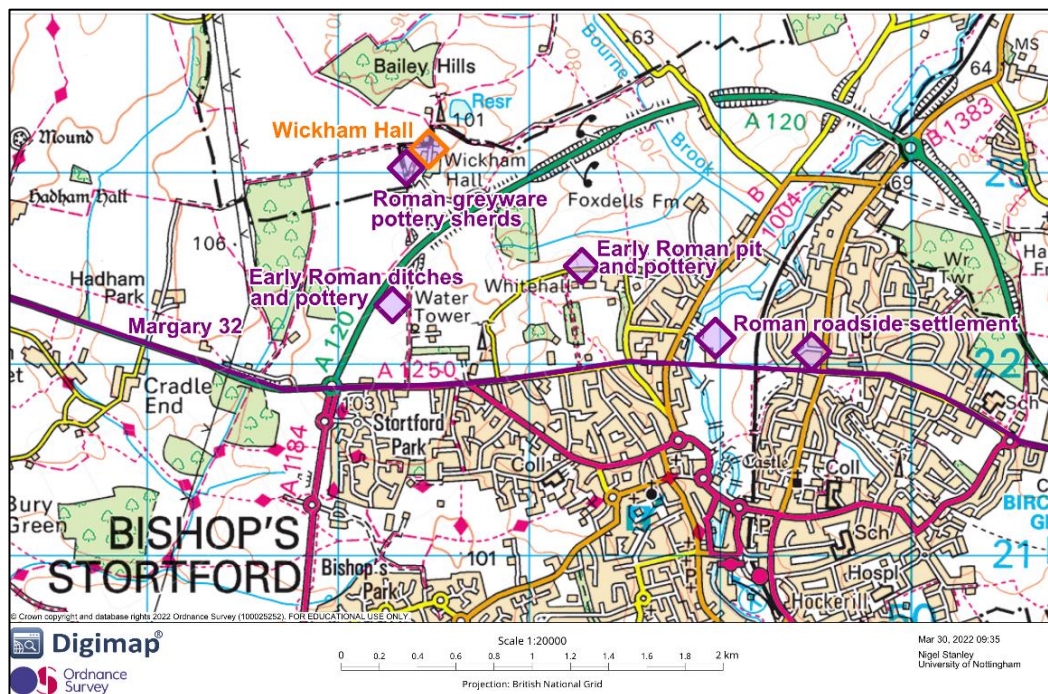around TL473229 (Essex HER 3869). The location is 1.2km north of Margary 32 through Bishop's Stortford.

Figure 10: Wickham Hall area, showing Roman archaeology north of Margary 32.

Roman archaeology

Around 1975, Roman pottery could be picked up 200m south-west of Wickham Hall, on the Hertfordshire side of the county boundary, at TL473229 (Essex HER 3870). Various excavations have taken place at Wickham Hall (HHER 10918), showing extensive medieval and post-medieval occupation; finds include seven sherds of Roman greyware pottery of uncertain date (Wilson 1999, SHT3582).

Major recent excavations have taken place of a Roman roadside settlement, previously known near Bishop's Stortford leisure centre around TL489221 (RRS site 3048). 800m south of Wickham Hall, evidence of Roman occupation includes cultivation ditches at TL473223, containing second and fourth-century pottery (HHER 30416), and a pit containing unspecified early Roman pottery at TL483225 (HHER 30301).

(6) KNT.1A: West Wickham

Attestation

Wichæmamearce 862 (S 331), 987 (S 864), *be westan Wichammesgemæru* 955 for ?973 (S 671), *Wicheham* 1086 DB, *Wicham* 1231, *Westwycham* 1284 (Wallenberg 1931: 208; Watts 2004: 678).

Location

West Wickham was a medieval village and parish just inside the western boundary of Kent, with a church at TQ388648. 120m south-east of the church is Wickham Court, a large fifteenth-century semi-fortified house. The church is 200m east of Margary 14, from London to Lewes.
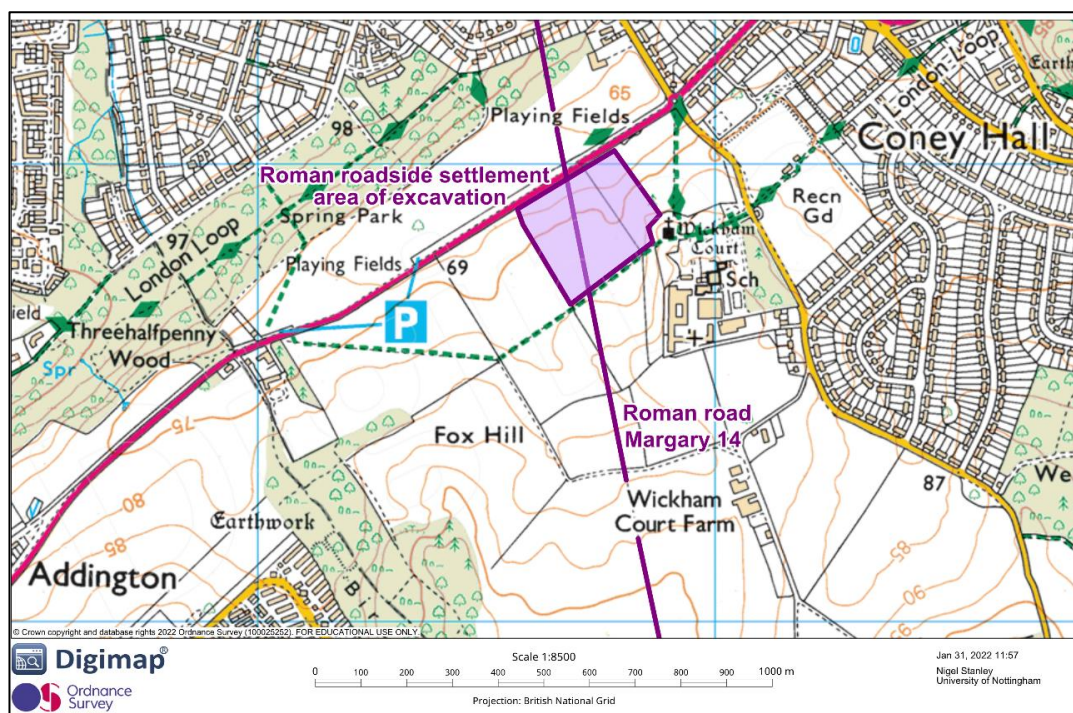

Figure 11: West Wickham KNT.

Roman archaeology

At West Wickham, beside Margary 14 from London to Lewes, there was an extensive Roman roadside settlement or small town (www.historicengland.org.uk Scheduled Monument 1001974). The site, covering at least 15 acres around

TQ387648, on land belonging to Wickham Court Farm, was surveyed and partly excavated in 1966, 1976 and 1998 (Philp 2000: 2–5, Philp 2021). The excavated area slopes downhill to the north, and the settlement is thought to have extended northwards on land now occupied by playing fields. Excavation has uncovered the central agger of Margary 14, 6m wide, with in-filled ditches on either side, and possible road-ways extending to the east and west. Remains of timber-framed buildings include post-holes, pits and chalk floors.

The excavations have produced around 220 Roman coins, ranging from the second to fourth centuries, including some fine coins from Reece period 5 (96–117). 180 of the coins date from the fourth century, especially Reece periods 17–20 (330–88). Reece (2021: 17) describes the coinage as following the normal pattern for Roman rural sites, but with relatively little minted from 150–260. The coins from Reece periods 19–21 reduce in number but with some surprises, such as a coin of Honorius, 394–95, suggesting late fourth-century occupation of the site. A distribution-chart of coinage from West Wickham KNT is included in section 3.4 below. Following the excavations, treasure-hunters have reported finds of over 90 coins and other small finds (historicengland.org.uk); however, the site has suffered from invasive intrusion.

Pottery finds include over 250 Gaulish Samian ware sherds, from over 180 vessels, and over 6,000 coarse ware potsherds, with a range of types from the first to fourth centuries, from kilns across south-eastern England and the Continent (Philp 2021: 43–45). Small finds include fragments of quernstones and other artefacts. Evidence of industrial activity includes, on the west side of the settlement, a possible blacksmith's workshop with a timber-lined storage-tank, and the complete iron rim of a wooden wheel, around 1m wide. Overall, the finds at West Wickham suggest a Roman roadside settlement engaged in agricultural and industrial production.

The Roman settlement of *Noviomagus* is listed in the second Antonine Itinerary as ten miles from London and 18 miles from *Vagniacis* at Springhead

(Rivet and Smith 1979: 157–59, 428, 485). The name *Noviomagus* derives from

Celtic *novio* 'new' and **magos* 'market' (Rivet and Smith 1979: 425, 428).

Noviomagus is located by some authors at Welling or Crayford in Kent, both on

Watling Street, Margary 1c (Margary 1967: 52, Rivet and Smith 1979: 159,

428); however, these identifications pre-date the publication of excavations at

West Wickham, and distances in the Antonine Itinerary do not correlate closely

with Welling or Crayford (Margary 1967: 52). Philp (2000, 2021) considers

Noviomagus to be the Roman settlement at West Wickham, which is ten miles

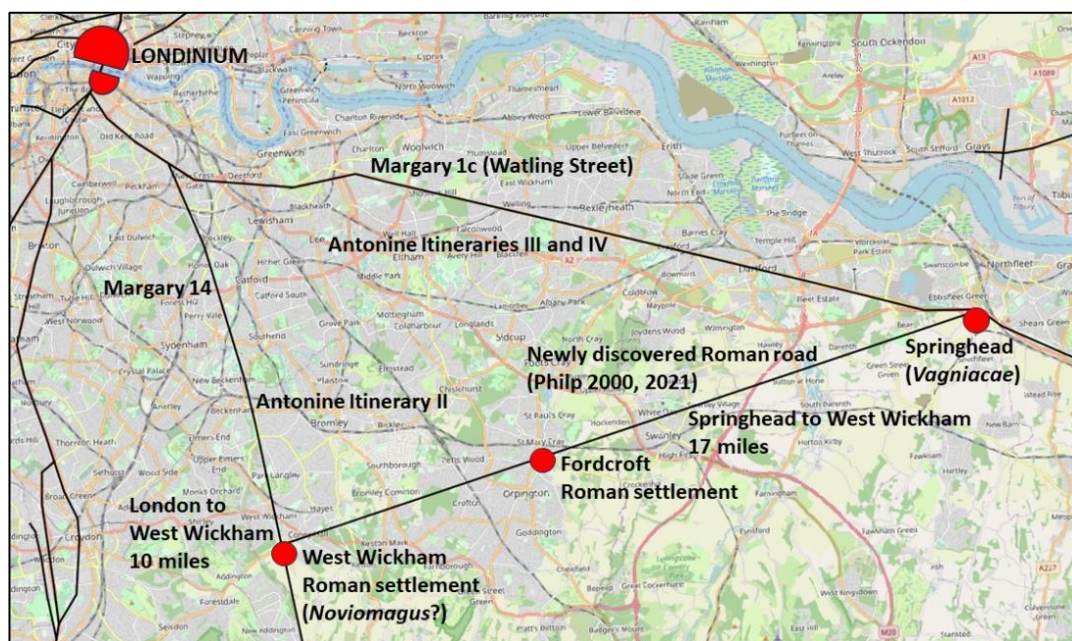from London and 17 miles south-west of Springhead (see Figure 12 below).

Figure 12: Roman roads around West Wickham KNT, after Philp (2000, 2021).

Four separate stretches of Roman road between Springhead and West

Wickham were found by West Kent Archaeological Group from 1963–88,

suggesting the likely route of the second Antonine Itinerary, via a Roman

settlement at Fordcroft (Philp 2000: 3, 2021: 45–47; Millett 2007: 161). Philp's

identification of *Noviomagus* as the Roman settlement at West Wickham is

accepted by Andrews (2004: 21) and seems fully justified, since West Wickham's

location corresponds closely with the distances in the second Antonine Itinerary.

(7) KEN.2A Wickham Bushes in Lydden

Attestation

Wiccham 944 (S 501): *de Wichā* 1226, *de Wykhā* 1240, *Wicham* 1242–43,

Wykham 1311 (Wallenberg 1931: 265); Wickham Bushes 1575 (WSRO Wiston

MS 4734); Wickham Court alias Wickham Bushes in Lydden and Wootton 1778

(Kent Archives F1987/10/T1/1).

Location

Wickham Bushes is a farm and hamlet with nearby woodland in a north-western

spur of Lydden parish, projecting into Wootton, at TR247456. The farm is 800m

south-west of Margary 1a from Dover to Canterbury and 8km north-west of
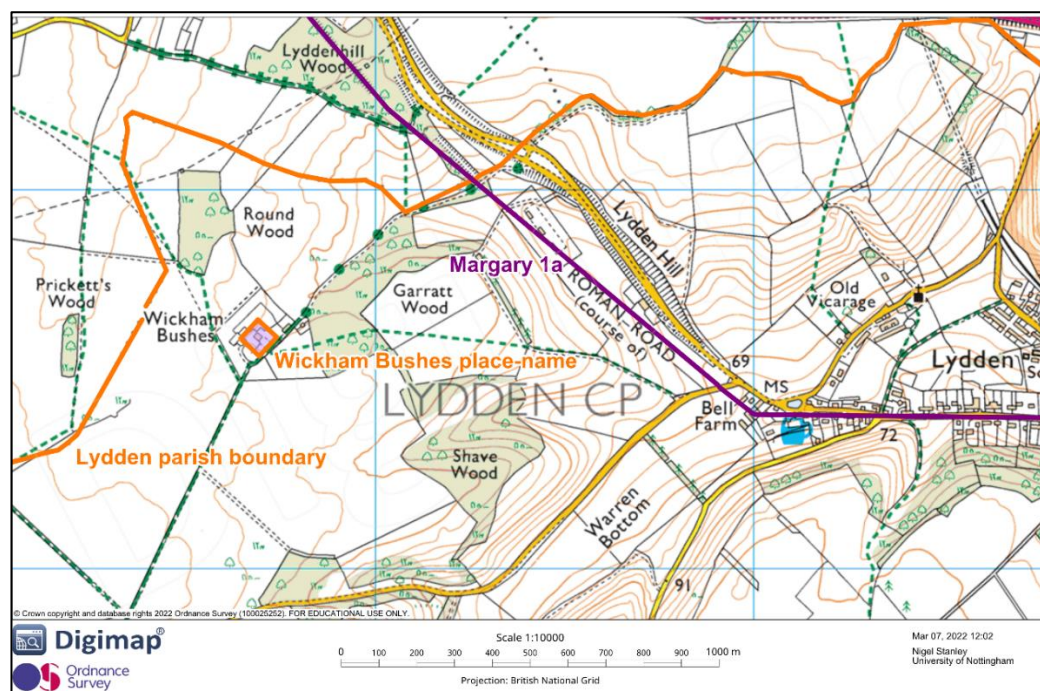
Dover (Roman *Portusdubris*).

Figure 13: Wickham Bushes in Lydden KNT.

Roman archaeology

An eighteenth-century farmhouse remains at Wickham Bushes (MKE87872);

however, no archaeological investigation here is recorded in the Kent HER, and

no Roman finds in Lydden are reported by the PAS.

(8) KEN.3A Wickhambreaux

Attestation

WIC HAM, Wicham 948 (S 535), *Wichehā, Wicheham* 1086 DB, *Wicham* 1087

(13th), c.1220; *Wikeham* 1071–80; *Wichā* 1236. With manorial affix from 1270:

Wykham Breuhuse, *Wyckham Breuse* etc. 'Wickham held by the Brewse family',

from Brioux in Normandy (Wallenberg 1931: 277).
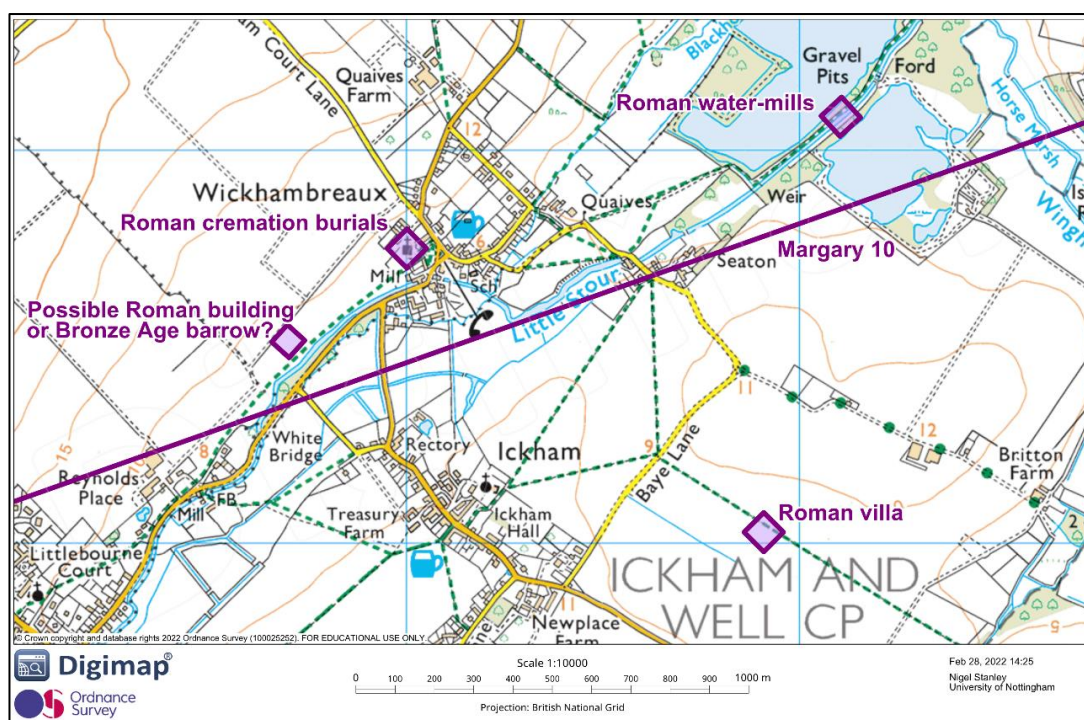
Figure 14: Wickhambreaux KNT.

Location

Wickhambreaux is a village and parish beside the Little Stour, centred at

TR220587, around 7km east of Canterbury, Roman *Durovernum Cantiacorum*,

and beside Margary 10 from Canterbury to Richborough. The full form of the

village's name is used for some buildings, such as Wickhambreaux Court, but not

for others, such as Wickham Mill, Wickham Court and Wickham House, now The

Old Rectory. The parish boundary between Wickhambreaux and Ickham and Well

is around 200m south of St Andrew's church.

Roman archaeology

Near Wickhambreaux church, at an uncertain location, Roman cremations were found in 1793, comprising a large red urn and two black urns (HER TR25NW11). South-west of the church, around TR217585, cropmarks known from aerial photography have been viewed as a possible Roman building (Historic England Mon. 1481557); however, another interpretation suggests a line of Bronze Age barrows and ring-ditches (HER TR25NW488). 1km east of Wickhambreaux, four Roman water-mills by the Lower Stour have been excavated around TR231591, three of which were in use during the fourth and early fifth centuries (Elder 2012: 351–52). A Roman villa is known in adjacent Ickham and Well, 1.5km from Wickhambreaux, at TR229580 (Scott 1993: 104–05). Seven lead seals found by fieldwalking, including four from the reign of Julian, AD 360–63, suggest an official function for the villa site (HER TR25NW8).

(9) KEN.4A Wickham in Strood

Attestation

Wycham 1100–07, 1215, *Wicham* 1147–82, 1242–43, *Wicheham* 1210–12, *Wycham* 1226 (Wallenberg 1934: 119); *Wykham iuxta Strode* 1346 (Green-Street 1876: 146).

Location

Wickham was a medieval manor in Strood and Cuxton parishes (Smetham 1899: 150). Around 1801–06, Wickham Farm in Strood and Cuxton consisted of 166 acres (KA U1644/T38B). The site of Wickham was around TQ727677, on the west bank of the River Medway. Wickham was 1.8km south of Margary 1c and the Roman bridge across the Medway, and 1.8km south-west of Rochester (Roman *Durobrivae*). The adjacent stretch of the Medway is still known as Wickham Reach.
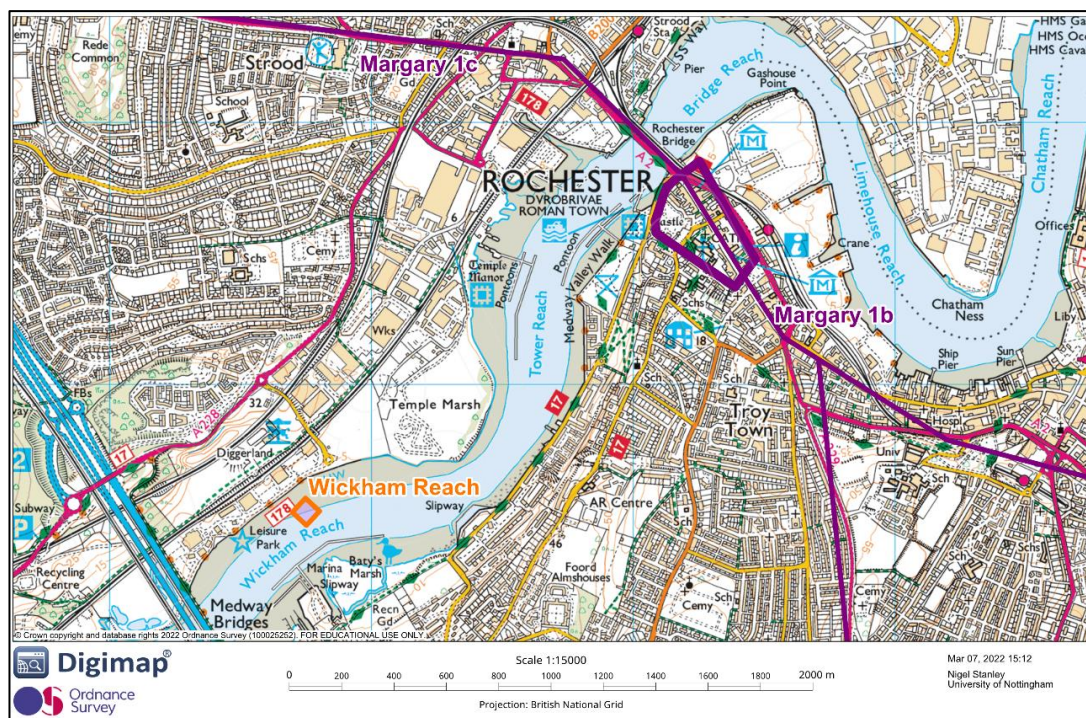
Figure 15: Rochester and Wickham Reach KNT.

OS mapping c.1870 shows Wickham Farm with an adjacent wharf, and Wickham Brick Field nearby. From 1890 onwards, Wickham Factory (also called Wickham Cement Works) was built alongside Wickham Farm, and gradually expanded to replace the farm. The cement works operated until 1986. Today, the site of Wickham is occupied by Medway Valley Leisure Park, beside Wickham Reach and the M2 crossing of the Medway.
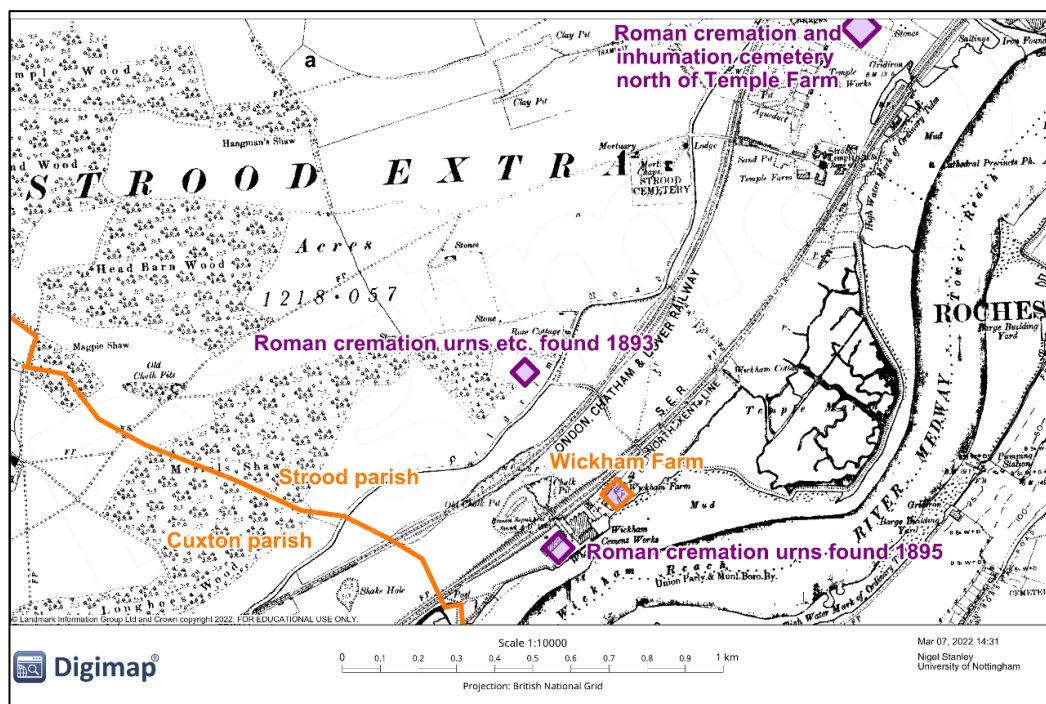
Figure 16: Wickham Farm in Strood KNT c.1900.

Roman archaeology

In 1893, three unspecified types of Roman cremation urn were found 400m north-west of Wickham Farm at TQ725680, apparently in a Roman rubbish pit, with animal bones, oyster shells, nails and Roman pottery (HER TQ76NW44). In 1895, four Roman cremation urns, along with Samian and Upchurch ware, were found at Wickham Cement Works at TQ725675, 200m south-west of Wickham Farm (Smetham 1899: 5; HER TQ76NW42). 1km north-east of Wickham Farm, a Roman cremation and inhumation cemetery was found around 1838 at TQ733690, near to Temple Farm, with a hoard of over 600 Roman coins dating from the first to fourth centuries (HER TQ76NW30). Finds at the same location include early medieval inhumations and grave goods, and Roman building materials, including flue-tile.

(10) LIN.1A Wykeham in Nettleton

Attestation

Wiham 1086 DB, *Uicheim* c.1115, *Wicham* 1200–1346, *Wikeham* 1236–1336, *Wycham* 12th–1535, *Wykam* 1242–1367, *Wickham Cloase* or *Whicum Close* 1794, *Wickham Well* c.1880 OS (Ekwall 1936a: 515; Cameron 1991, 2: 238–39).

Location

Wykeham is a deserted medieval village site around TF120973, 4km south of Caistor, the site of a Roman town. Situated in a narrow valley, Wykeham is a rather remote and wind-swept location, around 100m above sea level and 1km south-east of Nettleton Top, one of the highest points in the Lincolnshire Wolds. Wykeham was beside Nettleton Beck, whose sources include a spring called Wickham Well c.1880. Margary 270, also known as Caistor High Street, now the B1225, was 1.2km east of Wykeham.
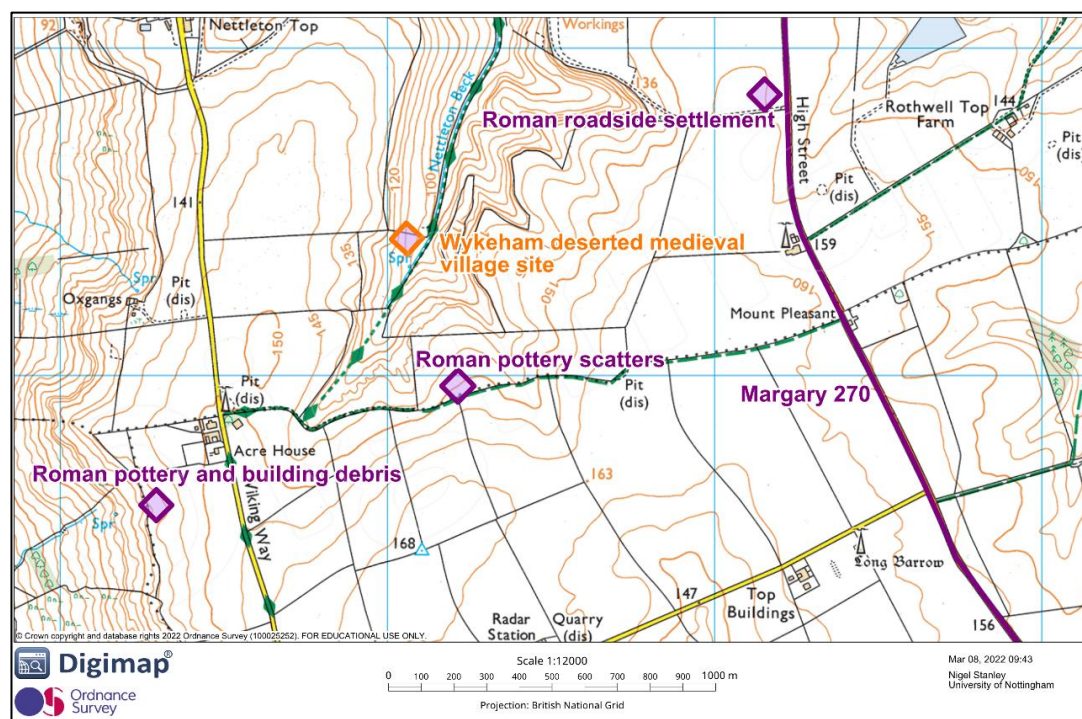

Figure 17: Wykeham in Nettleton LIN.

Roman archaeology

Around 1.3km north-east of Wykeham, beside Margary 270, a Roman roadside settlement and multi-period ritual complex in Nettleton and Rothwell has been extensively excavated around TF932178 (Willis 2013). Roman pottery scatters have been found 500m south-east of Wykeham at TF122969 (HER MLI50193), and third- to fourth-century pottery scatters 1km south-west at TF113966, near Acre House (MLI51582). However, the nature of any potential Roman settlement at Wykeham is uncertain, and quarrying before 1963 has largely destroyed the Wykeham site (HER MLI50191).

(11) LIN.2A West Wykeham and East Wykeham in Ludford

Attestation

Wicham, *Wiham* 1086 DB, *Wic*(*he*)*heim, Parva Wicheham* c.1115, *Estwicham*, *West Wicham* 1228 (Ekwall 1936a: 515).

Location

West Wykeham and East Wykeham, around 10km west of Louth, are a pair of deserted medieval villages in Ludford parish, situated 2–3km east of Ludford. Located around TF217885 is West Wykeham, one of Lincolnshire's most visible deserted village sites (HER MLI43549). 800m further east, at TF223882, is East Wykeham, including Wykeham Hall. Each village had its own medieval church. In Domesday Book there is just one entry for *Wicham*, as part of a manor at South Cadeby; by c.1115, East Wykeham was described as *Parva Wicheham.* The two Wykehams became de-populated following the Black Death around 1349 (Quinn 1991: 46).
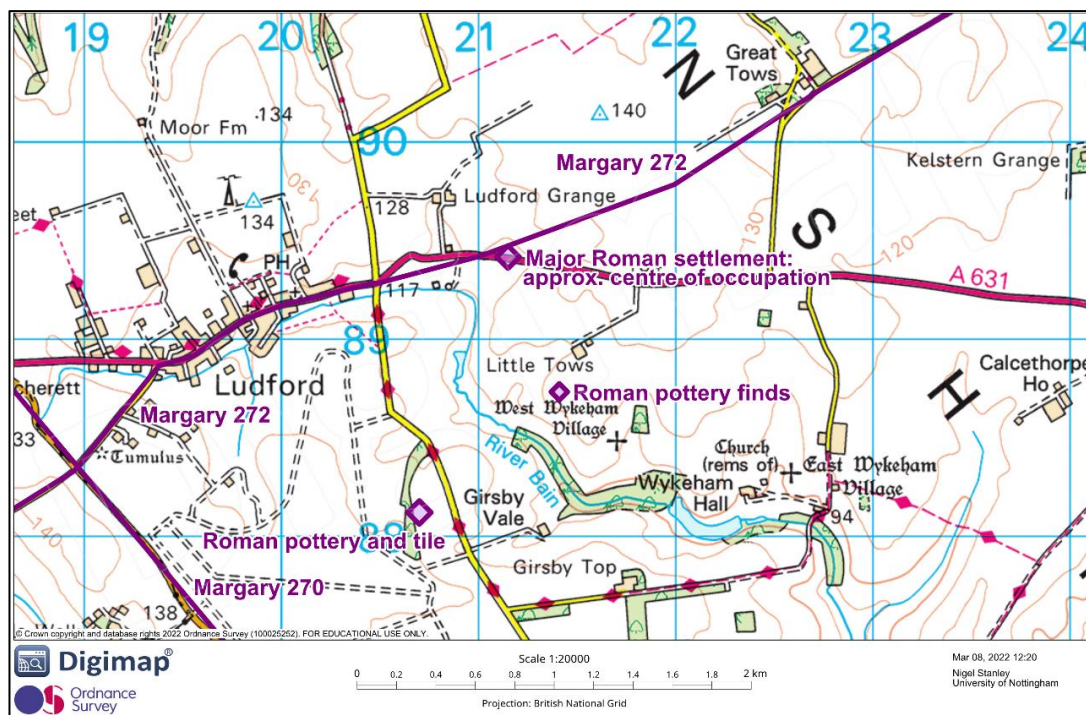
Figure 18: West Wykeham and East Wykeham in Ludford LIN (see also Figure 19 below).

Roman archaeology

West Wykeham and East Wykeham are 1.5–2km south of Margary 272. At TF214887, 250m north-west of West Wykeham, Roman pottery, mainly consisting of greyware rims and bases, has been found (HER MLI40621). No excavation is recorded across the scheduled sites of West Wykeham and East Wykeham, which extend across many hectares (see Figure 19 below). Roman greyware, colour-coated ware and tile, suggesting a building, have been found 1km south-west of West Wykeham, at TF207881 (MLI40572). Around 1.1km north-west of West Wykeham there was a major Roman settlement or town (MLI40610) between Ludford and Great Tows, centred around TF211893, with a zone of occupation extending several hundred metres along Margary 272. With origins in the Iron Age and early Roman period, the settlement's second main phase of occupation was during the third and fourth centuries. The settlement may have included a villa (Scott 1993: 123).
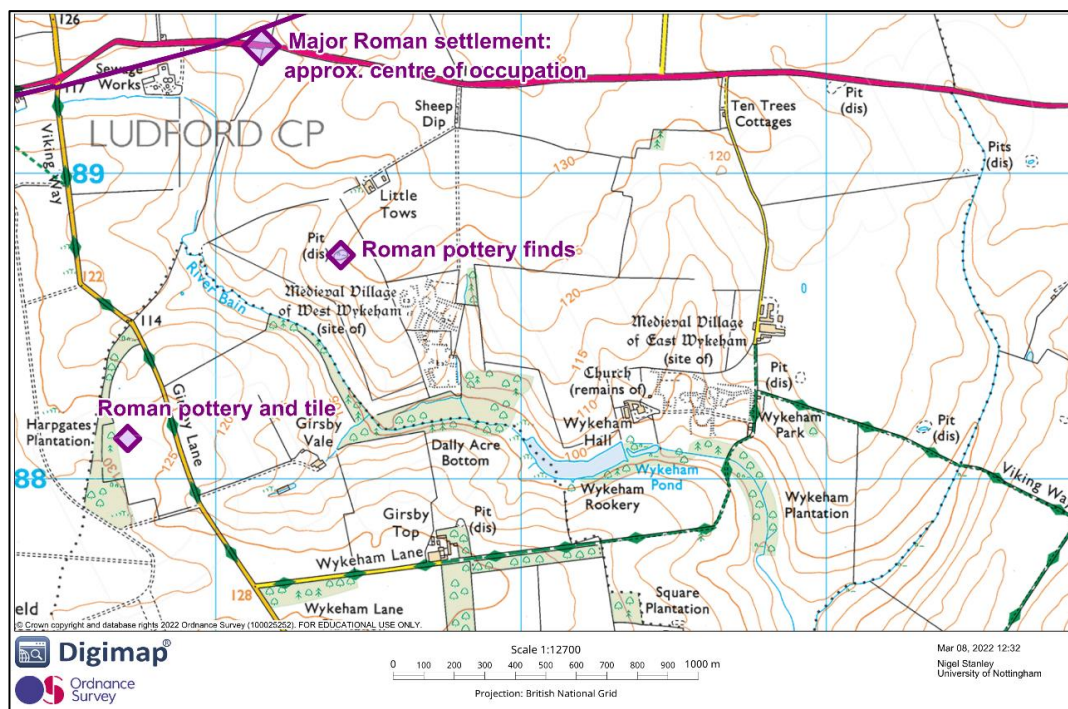
Figure 19: West Wykeham and East Wykeham LIN.

(12) OXF.1A: *wicham* in Wilcote

Attestation

(*æt*) *wic ham* 969 (12th, S 771); (*into*) *wicham* 1044 (12th, S 1001) (Gelling 1967: 101–03).

Location

The lost place-name *wicham* is known from two texts of Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries of Witney: a charter of 969 (12th, S 771) and another of 1044 (12th, S 1001). In the charters, *wicham* was situated somewhere beside a north-eastern spur of the Witney estate. The bounds of Witney in this area were discussed, but not mapped, by Grundy (1933: 76–85). Gelling was the first to map Witney's northern boundaries, with a detailed reconstruction based on the charter texts (1967: 92, 100–01, 1972: 134–40). A composite version of Gelling's mapping, showing also alternative suggestions from Baggs, Blair

Chance, Colvin, Cooper, Day, Selwyn and Townley (1990: 296), and Blair (1998), is shown in Figure 20 below.
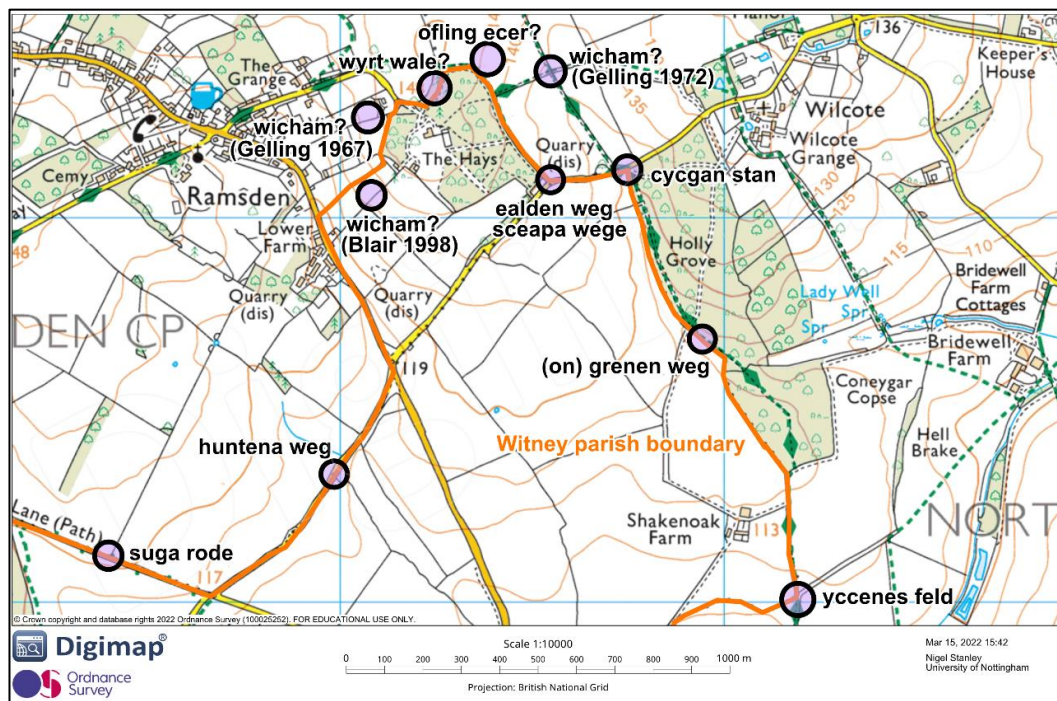
Figure 20: Witney charter boundaries: composite map of posited locations.

In mapping the charter boundaries, Gelling used the northern boundaries of Witney parish as depicted on OS six-inch mapping c.1880. However, various problems arise. Firstly, charter S 1001 describes a boundary running *and lang huntenan wege into wicham*, 'along the huntsmen's way into *wicham*', without mentioning any change of direction; however, the parish boundaries c.1880 include, west and south-west of The Hays, some deviations potentially worthy of mention in a charter. The parish boundaries c.1880 might possibly have differed from the late Anglo-Saxon estate boundaries. Secondly, Gelling omitted from her map various locations mentioned in the charter texts between *wicham* and *cycgan stan*. Thirdly, the place-name *wicham* may originally have referred to a wide area, rather than to a specific point on the landscape. Nonetheless, the location of *wicham* intended by the charters was apparently somewhere close to

the northern tip of Witney parish c.1880. Gelling seems to have produced a secure and plausible identification of *wicham*'s approximate position, though the precise location intended by the charters remains debatable.

A Roman site near Wilcote, beside Akeman Street, was reported in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was marked as a Roman village, south-west of The Hays, by Harden (1939: 266–67, 344). Gelling proposed (1967: 101) that *wicham*'s location corresponded closely to the Roman village discussed by Harden, also marking *wicham* south-west of The Hays at around SP359150, while describing *wicham*'s exact position as uncertain and noting the discovery of Roman artefacts east of this location. Subsequently, Gelling described the Roman village, and *wicham*'s location, as north-east of The Hays, around SP366154 (1972: 134–40). Gelling's discussions of *wicham*'s location (1967, 1972) were therefore influenced both by Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries and by an awareness of Roman archaeology, as Gelling acknowledged (1972: 138).
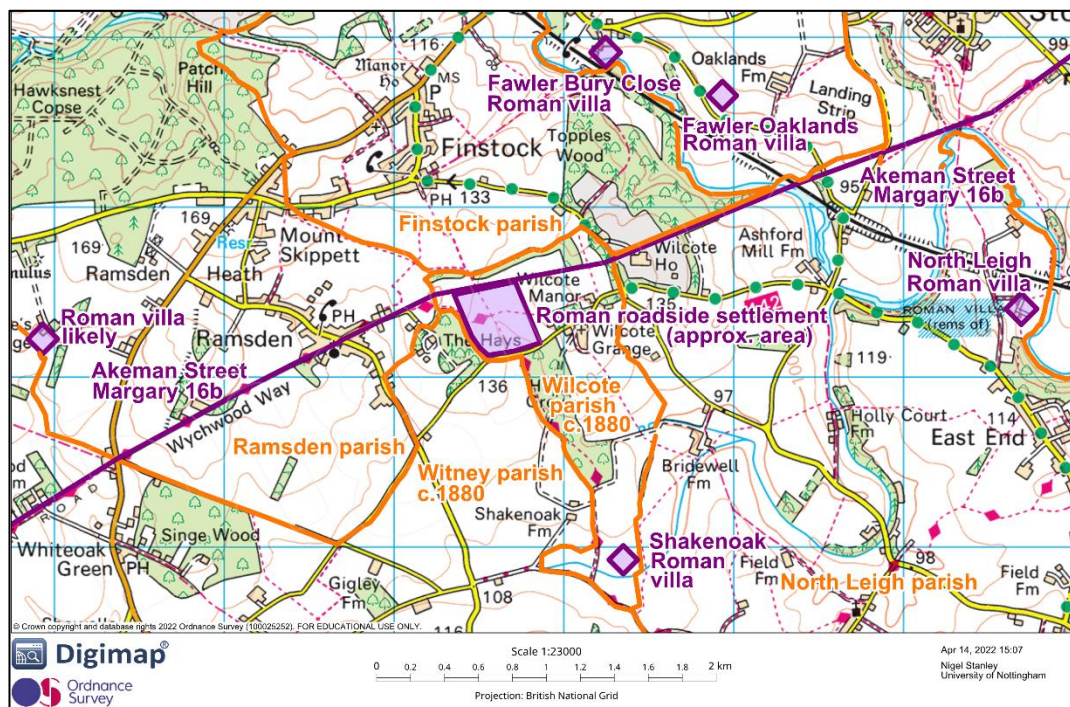
Figure 21: Roman archaeology near Wilcote OXF.

The descriptions of the boundaries in this area by Baggs et al. (1990), Blair (1998: 11, 131) and Townley (2004: 4–10, 227), including discussion of the location of *wicham*, likewise drew both on Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries and on pre-existing archaeological knowledge of the Roman site at Wilcote. Blair (1998) gave slightly different locations for some of the landmarks mentioned in the charter texts, and marked *wicham* as south-west of The Hays, but inside the boundary of Witney.
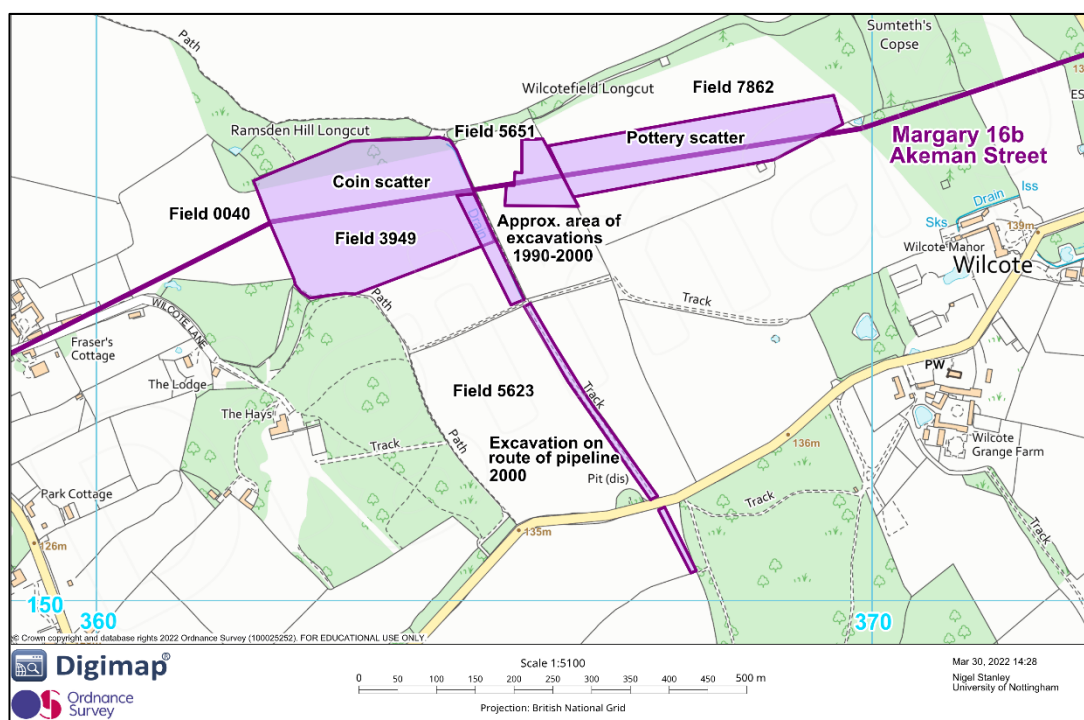
Figure 22: Wilcote: Roman roadside settlement.

Roman archaeology

Following excavations since 1990, the Roman settlement at Wilcote (HER MOX 12230) is now regarded as a roadside settlement, centred north-east of The Hays around SP365154, with a zone of occupation extending south of Akeman Street. Less than 10% of the settlement area has been excavated and surveyed since 1990 (Hands 1993, 1998, 2004; Henig and Booth 2000: 66). Excavations have taken place in fields 5651, 3949 and 5623 (see Figure 22 above). The

overall site, on land belonging to Wilcote Manor, is normally called Wilcote by archaeologists, and was in Wilcote parish, one of the smallest parishes in medieval Oxfordshire and now a small village around 300m south of Akeman Street. Roman occupation was initially thought to extend around 100 metres from the road, on both sides of the road, but evidence of Roman activity now seems largely confined to the south of the road, extending south by around 600m from SP365154 (Hands 2004: 334).

The settlement may also have extended along Akeman Street for around 500m to the south-west and north-east, from around SP360153 to SP369155, since surface finds of coins are numerous in these areas, close to the line of Akeman Street (Hands 2004: 2–3). Any extension of the settlement north or west of The Hays might correspond well with the charter texts and mapping by Gelling (1967) and Blair (1998).

The settlement may have originated early in the Roman occupation of Britain, in the Claudian period from AD 43–54, as an encampment for the construction and maintenance of Akeman Street, with adjacent stone and clay quarries; a large quarry (F.79 and F.82) has produced coins of Claudius and Domitian, and large quantities of pottery mostly dating from the first half of the second century (Hands 1998: 1–4). From the second to fourth centuries the site may have functioned as a stopping-place for travellers along Akeman Street, both military and civilian, and as a market centre at some times of year, linked to the economy of local villas (Hands 2004: 1–18); however, by the fourth century, the road here was in poor condition. Hands (2004: 335) suggested that the decline in the condition of Akeman Street near Wilcote probably resulted from a decline in activity at the settlement in the fourth century, though the reverse may also be possible if the road's poor condition reduced the settlement's economic viability.

Excavations around SP365154 have found three timber buildings, with evidence of scorched clay, ovens and hearths. One building dates from the later

first century. Industrial and economic activity included quarrying but also brick-making, an abattoir and meat-processing. Herds of livestock may have been kept nearby and traded at the settlement (Hands 2004: 335). Evidence also suggests the manufacture and repair of goods. A temple may have existed somewhere on the site from the second to fourth centuries, as finds include box-flue tiles, Purbeck marble wall veneer, painted wall plaster and votive objects (Hands 2004: 335). Many luxury items have been found, including an intaglio (seal) made of cornelian, with a figure of Daedalus, perhaps produced on the site. Jewellery finds include brooches.

Fourth-century occupation is known in the centre of the location, around SP365154, where a very large quantity of pottery occurs in the upper fill of quarry pits (Henig and Booth 2000: 66). Pottery found in excavations at Wilcote includes Samian ware, greyware, colour-coated ware and other Oxfordshire wares. Coarsewares date from the Flavian period to the late fourth century, with the majority probably dating from the second to third centuries (Hands 2004: 295–99). Shell-tempered pottery dating from after c.360 is scarce, perhaps suggesting that the temple was disused by then (Hands 2004: 335).

The issue of coinage found at Wilcote is complex, and no final analysis has been published. In a field adjacent to Akeman Street at SP363154, around 200m west of the central excavation area, thousands of Roman coins have been found, and bucket-loads of coins were apparently collected by schoolchildren around 1900. The exceptional volume of coinage might result from votive offerings, associated with the temple site suggested by Hands (2004: 335), rather than from a livestock market as earlier suggested (Hands 1993: 5, 23, 2004: 3). Coins have also been collected by modern field-walking in this area; around 30% are from the later third century and 65% Constantinian, while the last coin-issues (5%) date from the Valentinian period, AD 364–78 (Hands 2004: 334). A similar pattern is presented by 78 coins found in a quarry-pit during excavations from 1993–6 (Hands 1998: 44), with the following pattern of

chronology: Reece period 16 (317–30) 12%; period 17 (330–48) 66%; period 18 (348–64) 16%. Coins from the mid-late fourth century are not found in large numbers anywhere at the Wilcote site (Hands 2004: 335).

The overall picture presented by pottery and coinage is that the Wilcote roadside settlement may have originated c.50–150 and flourished in the early fourth century but underwent an economic collapse c.360. This might reflect a crisis in the economy of the local villas (Hands 2004: 9); alternatively, the collapse possibly resulted from economic crisis in Roman Britain at this time.

The Wilcote settlement was surrounded by five or more villas (Booth 2010: 17): the huge North Leigh villa (at SP396153, 3.2 km distant); Shakenoak Farm (SP374138, 1.6km); Fawler Bury Close (SP372168, 1.6km); Fawler Oaklands (SP379166, 1.8km), and perhaps Brize's Lodge, Ramsden (SP339152, 2.5km). Hands (2004: 11–18) suggests that the economy of the Wilcote settlement was closely tied to that of the local villas; for instance, sheep and cattle from villa estates may have been sold at market at Wilcote and processed at an abattoir there. Over 30,000 animal bones have been found at Wilcote, some of which have been extensively analysed (Hands 2004: 211–55). Evidence for an abattoir consists of primary butchery waste such as cattle mandibles and limb extremities, as well as horn cores (Hands 2004: 215–20).

The most extensively excavated local villa is Shakenoak, the closest villa to Wilcote and part of the large North Leigh villa estate in the third century. Shakenoak was certainly occupied up to around AD 420–30 and perhaps continuously occupied from the first to eighth centuries, though direct continuity through the sixth century is difficult to prove archaeologically (Brodribb, Hands and Walker 1972: 31–33; Baggs et al. 1990: 298).

(13) OXF.2A Wykham Park (Banbury)

Attestation

Wicham 1086 DB et freq with variant *Wycham* to 1346, *Wicheham* 1159–62, *Wykham* 1208–13 (c.1300), *Wikam* 1218, *Wykham* 1238 *et freq* with variants *Wikham*, *Wikeham* 1428, *Wicam* 1524, *Wickham* 1797 (Gelling 1954: 413–14).

Location

Wykham was a medieval manor, 3km south-west of Banbury, whose manor-house was at Wykham Park (HER 11119) at SP440379. On the same site, the seventeenth-century Wykham Park Hall is now occupied by Tudor Hall School. The site of the deserted medieval village of Wykeham (HER 1100) is thought to be centred around SP439378, just south-west of the manor-house. Wykham Park was around 200m south of Margary 56a from Ettington to Finmere, whose agger is visible at SP442380, south-west of Wykham Park Farm.
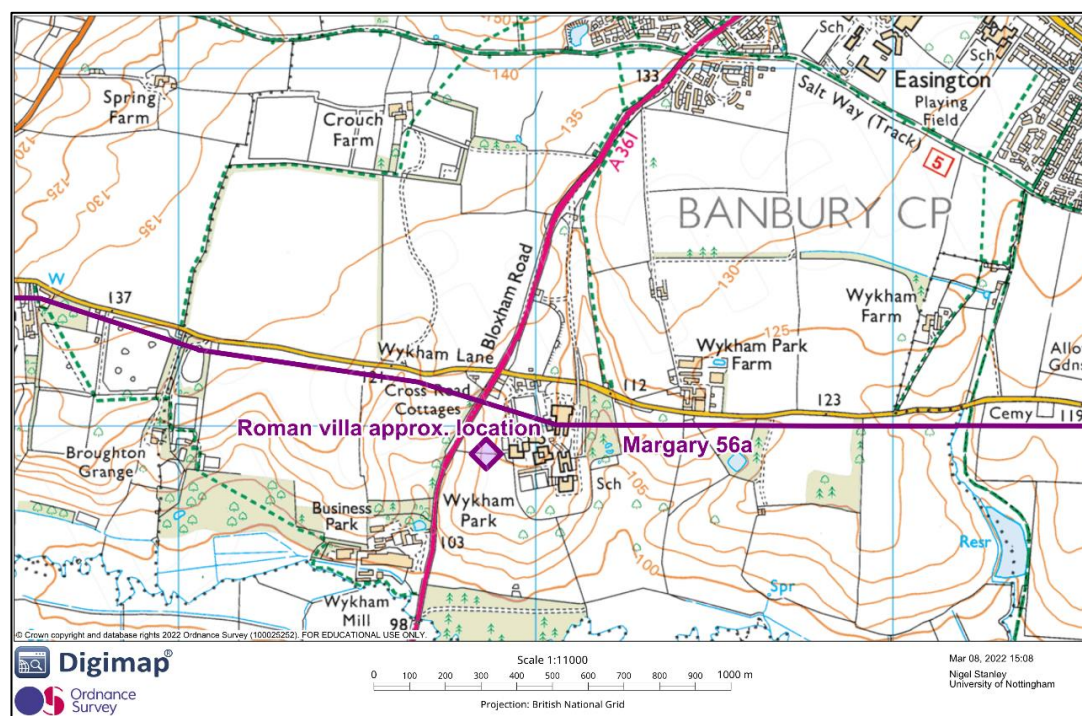

Figure 23: Wykham Park in Banbury OXF.

Roman archaeology

At Wykham Park there was a small Roman villa at around SP439379 (HER 1713). Remains discovered in 1851, marked on OS mapping c.1880, included stone walls, a coarse mosaic floor and a 'beehive stone-vaulted oven', paved with red tiles, possibly the remains of a kiln or hypocaust (Salzman 1939: 331). Roman pottery finds included Samian ware and many pieces of cinerary urns. 18 coins were found, dating from Reece period 12 (238–59) to period 19 (364–78). While limited in quantity, this coin-range suggests occupation of the site during the third and fourth centuries. Seven or eight human skeletons were also found, along with animal bones. Around 100m to the east, a well of uncertain date was found, 48 feet deep. The villa is marked on the OS RB map (2016), but not included by Scott (1993), Henig and Booth (2000: 80) or Booth (2010: 17). This was one of the northernmost Roman villas in Oxfordshire, 5km east of the Roman settlement at Swalcliffe Lea and 2km east of the large villa at Broughton Park, found in 2019.

(14) SFK.1A: Wickham Skeith

Attestation

Wicham, Wichā, *Wiccham*, *Wikhā* 1086 DB (opendomesday.org); *Uuicham* c.1100 (c.1207), *Wicham* 1203, 1254, *Wycham* 1281, 1327, *Wicham Skeyth* 1368, *Wykham Skeith* 1524, *Wickham Skeithe* 1568 (Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 153).

Briggs and Kilpatrick regard Wickham here as deriving from *wīc-hām*, as did Ekwall (1936a: 492) and Gelling (1967: 93). Ekwall mistakenly gave the DB form as *Wic(c)hamm*, though no form with <mm> appears in the DB text; Watts (2004: 677) repeated the DB form reported by Ekwall, and erroneously considered the name to derive from OE *wīc + hamm* 'the water-meadow with a dwelling'. The affix Skeith may derive from ON *skeið* 'racecourse' (Watts 2004: 677) or ODan *skeith* 'border, boundary' (Briggs and Fitzpatrick 2016: 153).

Location

Wickham Skeith is a village and parish around 7km south of Diss. The parish includes the hamlets of Wickham Green around TM093693 and Wickham Street around TM091698. The church is 1.5km west of Margary 3d, from Coddenham to Caistor St Edmund.
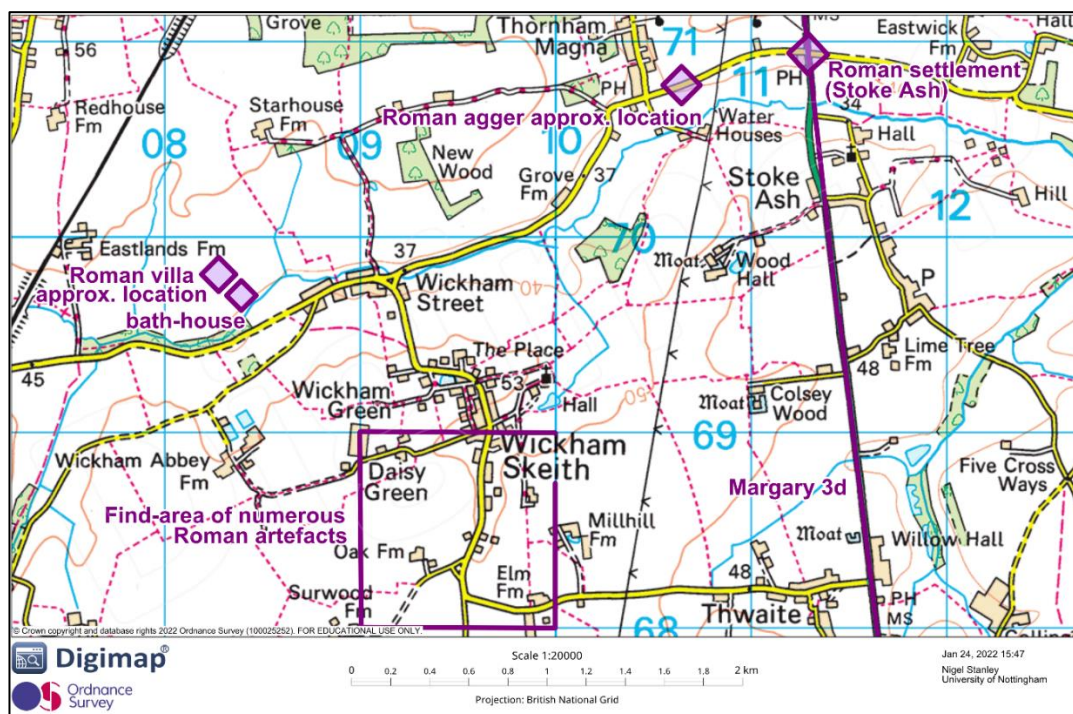
Figure 24: Wickham Skeith SFK.

Roman archaeology

Finds of flue-tile, roof-tile and window-glass suggest a Roman villa with a hypocaust in Wickham Skeith around TM083697 (HER WKS 003, 013; Fairclough 2010: 77). This location is 400m west of Wickham Street and 1.7km north-west of Wickham Skeith church. In the area of the villa, scattered artefacts found include third- to fourth-century coins, several Roman bronze brooches, silver and bronze finger-rings, narrow bracelets, hairpins, an end-looped cosmetic mortar, a spoon, a lead steelyard weight, glass vessel fragments and a glass gaming-piece. Pottery finds include Samian ware. Around 200m south of the main site,

by the stream alongside Wickham Road, Roman concrete footings with embedded floor-tiles suggest a latrine for a bath-house (Fairclough 2010: 77).

Around 1.5km south-east of the villa site, on the south-west side of Wickham Skeith village, scatters of Roman artefacts have also been found in the square kilometre TM09 68. The PAS in 2022 recorded 1,174 finds of Roman material in Wickham Skeith, including 876 coins, 81 sherds from ceramic vessels, 44 bow brooches, 24 brooches, 17 bracelets, 12 pins, 8 finger rings, 7 nail cleaners, 7 items of metal-working debris and 22 unidentified objects. At least 450 coins date from the fourth century, including an unusually high number of late fourth-century coins dating from Reece period 21, c.388–402 (see section 3.4 below, Table 4). This area, around 1.5km south-east of the villa and 1km south-west of the parish church, might possibly represent the location of a Roman *vīcus* or village settlement associated with the villa to the north-west.

Around 2km north-east of Wickham Street, by Clay Street in Thornham Magna, was another substantial Roman building with hypocaust, where finds range from first-century pottery to fourth-century coins (Fairclough 2010: 76). Wickham Street is 2km south-west of a Roman settlement at Stoke Ash on Margary 3d, around TM113709; this extended for about 1.5km from north to south, and at least 1km from east to west, perhaps suggesting a major market centre for surrounding Roman farms (Fairclough 2010: 114). A minor Roman road, from Stoke Ash west to Pakenham, may have run just north of Wickham Skeith (Fairclough 2010: 41, 43–44).

(15) SFK.2A Wickham Market

Attestation

Wikham 1086 DB, *Wicham* 1254, *Wikham*, *Wykham* 1286–1524, *Wickham Markett* 1674 (Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 153).

Location

Wickham Market is a village and parish centred around TM302558, just west of the River Deben and 500m south of Margary 340. Fairclough (2010: 41, 119, 262) provisionally extends the route of Margary 340 eastwards to the Roman settlement at Lower Hacheston, then north-east to Kelsale.
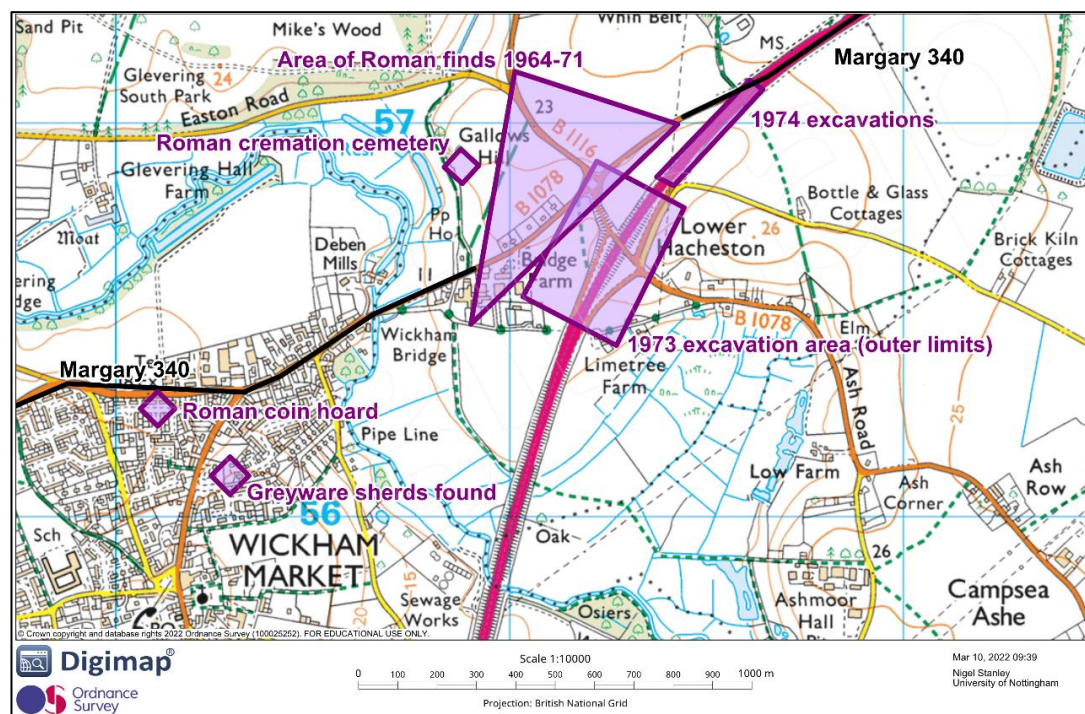
Figure 25: Wickham Market and Lower Hacheston SFK.

Roman archaeology

In Wickham Market, a third-century Roman coin-hoard has been found at TM300563, beside Margary 340, containing over 1,500 coins from the 270s (WKM 004). Four sherds of greyware have been found at TM303561 (WKM 068).

Around 1.4km north-east of Wickham Market there was an extensive Roman small town at Lower Hacheston, east of the Deben and centred around TM312568. Following finds recorded from 1964–71, excavations took place in 1973, within an area of approximately 400m by 200m, then further northwards in 1974, before by-pass construction. Traces of several Roman rectangular timber buildings were found, probably including shops, owing to the range and

number of small artefacts found. Finds included more than 3,000 Roman coins, including high numbers from 330–48 (Reece period 17) relative to other Suffolk sites, but very few after 364 (Blagg, Plouviez and Tester 2004: 75–85; Fairclough 2010: 120; see section 3.4 below for coinage analysis).

Eight pottery kilns are also known within the Hacheston settlement (Blagg et al. 2004: 150–86). Pottery production took place here from the first to third centuries, mainly of coarseware jars and bowls; however, more intense activity in the third century included oxidised products such as orange drinking-vessels and mortaria. There is currently no direct evidence that pottery production continued into the fourth century, though some sherds suggest that local production of oxidised ware possibly continued.

Beside the settlement was a Roman cremation cemetery at Gallows Hill, at TM309569 (HCH 013), where around twelve cremation burials in small pits have been found, including two in greyware pots (see Chapter 4 below for discussion of the place-name *Wicklaw*). The burials at Gallows Hill overlook the Roman settlement at Hacheston and presumably relate to it (Plouviez 1987: 237). Two sunken-featured buildings were found at the Gallows Hill site, where finds include Roman and early Saxon pottery (HCH 013). Another SFB was found in the main Roman town area.

The excavation of the Hacheston Roman settlement in 1973–74 strongly influenced Gelling's thinking on the meaning of *wīc-hām.* Gelling considered that in the name Wickham Market, *wīc-hām* refers to the Hacheston Roman settlement, and argued (1978: 69–76) that *wīc-hām* is also likely to refer elsewhere to Roman small towns. However, the parish church of Wickham Market is around 1.5km from the Hacheston Roman town; at this distance, Gelling's proposed association between the name Wickham Market and the Hacheston settlement is questionable. This may explain why Watts (2004: 677), in contrast to Gelling, declared that at Wickham Market there is no known association with Roman settlement, omitting mention of the Hacheston Roman

town. In the case of Wickham Market, therefore, *wīc-hām* might conceivably refer to a small Roman settlement or building west of the Deben, but archaeological evidence of Roman settlement in Wickham Market is currently limited to the greyware sherds noted above (WKM 068).

(16) SFK.3A Wickhambrook

Attestation

Wichā DB, *Wicham* 13th, *Wichambrok* 1254 (Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 153).

The thirteenth-century addition of *-brok* 'brook' may have distinguished the settlement in the village centre from other areas of the parish, or from West Wickham CAM, 15km south-west of Wickhambrook.

Location

Wickhambrook, situated 15km south-west of Bury St Edmunds, is a village and parish of dispersed settlement, containing eleven village greens and several moated manor-houses (see Figure 26 below). The parish church at TL753554, containing late Saxon flintwork and twelfth-century features, is regarded as the historic centre of the parish. 600m south-east of the church is the hamlet of Wickham Street, around TL758541. In the eastern extremity of the parish, at TL770538, is the medieval moated site of Gifford's Hall; 500m east is a lake called Wickham Stew, whose generic is ME *stewe*, *stuwe* 'fish-pond', from OFr *estui* (Smith 1956, 1: 151).

Wickhambrook was in a wide expanse of countryside in the Roman era, around 14km distant from Margary 24 to the south-west, 14km from Margary 33a to the east, and 12km north of a Roman settlement at Wixoe. Cole (2013: 65) believes that the name Stradishall, 2km south of Wickhambrook, may refer to an undiscovered Roman road; moreover, a fourteenth-century charter mentions a road in Wickhambrook called *le Stanstrete* (MSF11918), near Badmondisfield Hall. The combined evidence might suggest a Roman road

running north from Wixoe through Stradishall to Wickhambrook, then via

Badmondisfield, perhaps towards Icklingham.
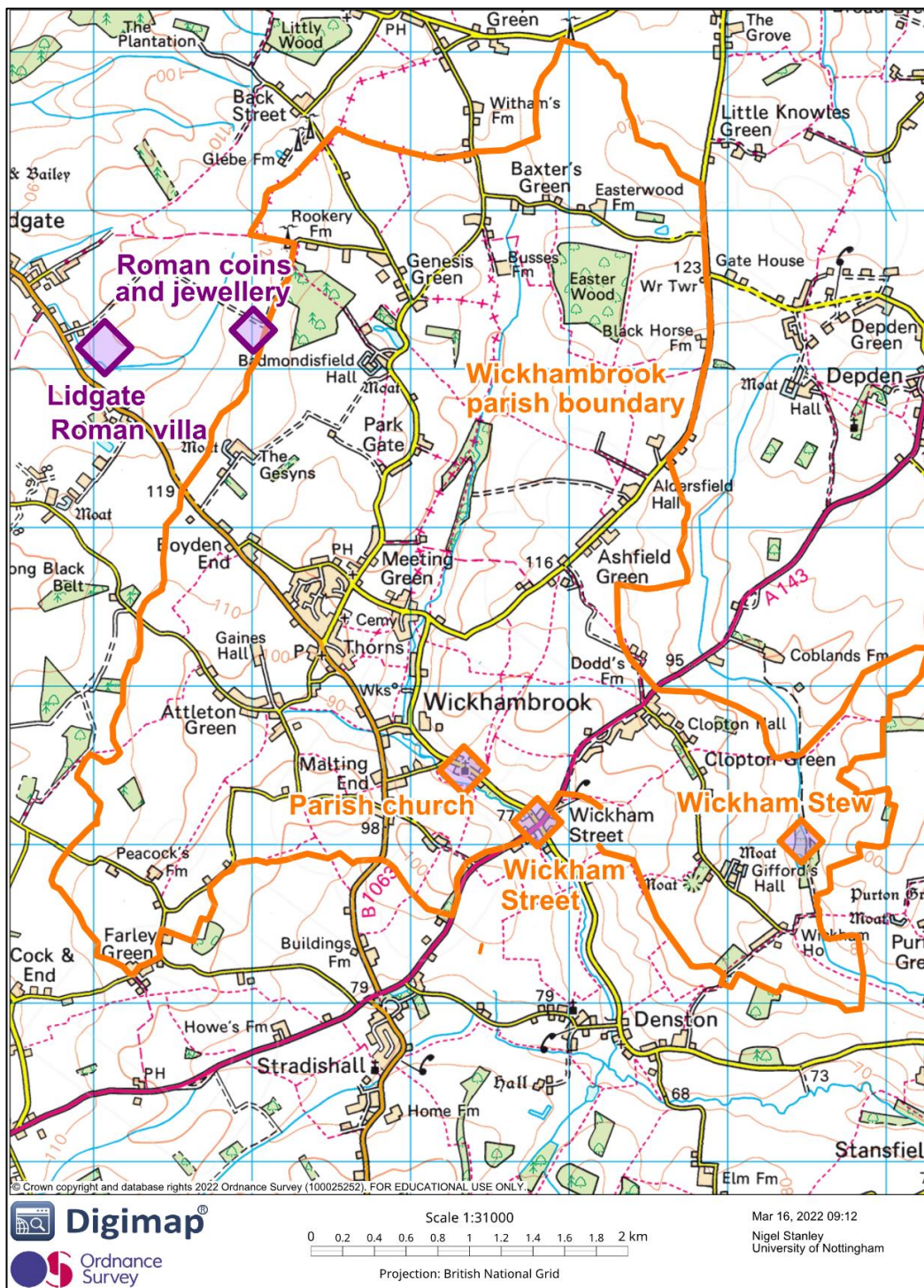
Figure 26: Wickhambrook SFK.

Roman archaeology

In 1971 a large Roman corridor-villa was discovered by aerial photography at TL731571 in Lidgate (Scarfe 2002: 47, 58; historicengland.org.uk, Scheduled Monument 1002971). The Lidgate villa is 800m from the parish boundary with Wickhambrook and 3.5km north-west of Wickhambrook parish church. Roman coins and jewellery have been found at TL740571 near Lodge Farm, on the parish boundary of Lidgate and Wickhambrook (Fox 1911: 320).

Following Gelling's (1978) line of argument, Fairclough (2010: 62, 128) believes that the name Wickhambrook implies a Roman town here, 'close to the villa at Lidgate'; however, this seems unlikely, owing to the distance of 3.5km between the Lidgate villa and Wickhambrook church, and the absence of any known Roman archaeology in the centre of Wickhambrook.

(17) SSX.1A Wyckham Farm in Steyning

Attestation

Wicam 1073 (1130), *Wicham* 1225, *Wykham* 1271, *Wycham iuxta Stenygge* 1307 (Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 237); *Wickham Farm* 1750 (WSRO GLY/2460–2494), Wyckham Farm c.1910 OS.

Location

Around 2km north-east of Steyning and 1km west of the River Adur, Wyckham Farm is located at TQ189130, with Upper Wyckham Farm at TQ190134 and Wyckham Dale Farm at TQ189128. These farms are the successors of the medieval manor of Wyckham (Baggs, Currie, Elrington, Keeling and Rowland 1980: 226–31). Traces of the deserted medieval village of Wyckham (HER MWS3373) are visible around TQ188132, 200m north-west of Wyckham Farm. Upper Wyckham Farm is alongside Margary 140, from Barcombe Mills to Hardham. Margary 140 crossed the Adur, presumably by ferry, near Stretham Manor and Stretham Farm (Margary 1967: 69).
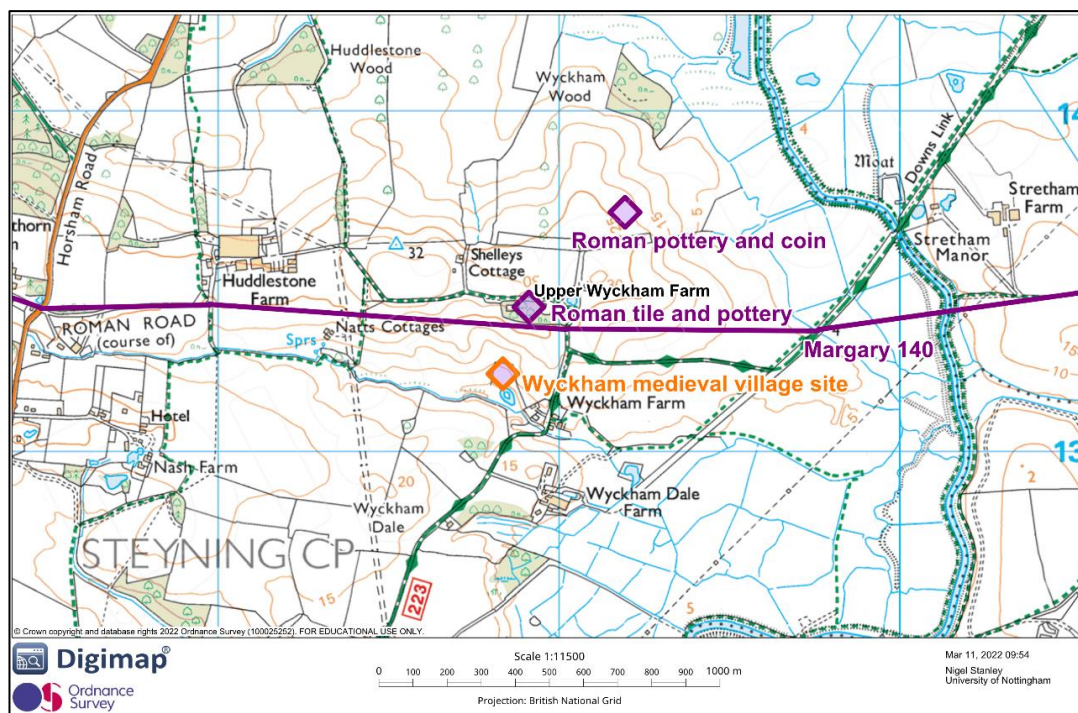
Figure 27: Wyckham Farm area, Steyning SSX.

Roman archaeology

A Roman tile and unspecified pottery sherds (MWS3836) have been found at TQ189134, beside Upper Wyckham Farm, while a coin of Faustina Junior (c.170) and Roman pottery of unspecified type (MWS1201) have been found 400m north-east of Upper Wyckham Farm, at TQ192137. These finds might suggest a Roman settlement site near Upper Wyckham Farm; however, the nature of Roman settlement here remains uncertain. Roman villas are known 2km south-west of Wyckham Farm at TQ179114, beside Steyning parish church, and 2.8km west of Wyckham Farm at Cherrytree Rough, TQ162136. The PAS records 29 Roman coins found in or near Steyning, in undisclosed locations.

(18) SSX.2A Clayton Wickham; SSX.3A Hurst Wickham

Attestation

Wichā DB (Morris 1977: 12.38), *Wykeham* 1279, *Wykham* 1332 (Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1930: 275); Clayton Wickham, Hurst Wickham c.1890 OS.

Location

Clayton Wickham is a hamlet in Clayton parish, around TQ295164, around 10km north of Brighton. Clayton Wickham Farmhouse has fourteenth-century features, and ESRO archives relate to the manor of Wickham in Clayton from 1448–1661. The manor extended into Hurstpierpoint parish, where Hurst Wickham is a hamlet 300m west of Clayton Wickham (www.jrnorris.co.uk/Wickhammanor).
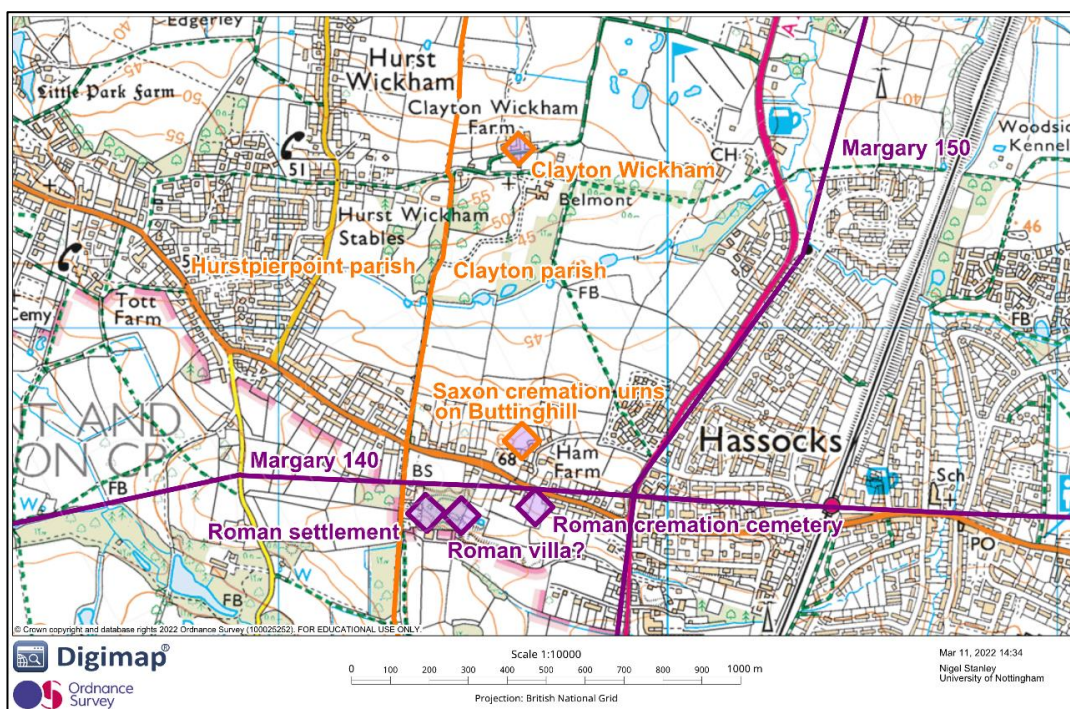
Figure 28: Clayton Wickham area, SSX.

Margary 140 (Barcombe Mills to Hardham) was around 800m south of Clayton Wickham, and Margary 150 (London to Brighton) around 800m to the east. The modern village of Hassocks was built beside the nineteenth-century railway, in Clayton and Keymer parishes.

Roman archaeology

Around 900m south of Clayton Wickham, and just south of Margary 140, a large Romano-British cremation cemetery was excavated in the 1920s at TQ296155 (now in Hassocks). The cemetery contained over 150 burial urns dating from around AD 70–270, with a majority from 140–190. Pottery, querns and mortar

vessels were also found. Coins from the site included third- and fourth-century issues, showing that Roman occupation of the area continued after the cemetery became disused (Couchman 1925: 34–61; Winbolt 1935: 57–58; Cunliffe 1973: 72–73; Russell 2006: 160). Just west of the cemetery, excavations in 1993 uncovered evidence of a domestic settlement (MWS4415) at TQ294155, where over 70 Roman features were found, including pits, post-holes and numerous small artefacts; alongside at TQ295155 was a small Roman building (MWS883), possibly a villa. Russell (2006: 160) concludes that the Roman settlement at Hassocks may have been a *mansio* designed to meet the needs of travellers, with a roadside settlement or small town alongside. At Buttinghill (TQ296197), just north of the Roman cemetery, an early Saxon cremation cemetery contained around twelve burial urns (Couchman 1925: 60–61; HER MWS892).

(19) SSX.4A Wickham Manor in Icklesham

Attestation

Wicham 1200, 1220 (ESRO AMS 2004), *Wickham* 1462 (Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1930: 512).

Location

Wickham Manor is at TQ898164, on a promontory in an exposed coastal setting, surrounded by present or former marshland such as Pewis Marsh to the north and Pett Level to the south. The location is 1km south-west of the medieval new town of Winchelsea, founded in the 1280s to replace the eroded site of Old Winchelsea (Pratt 2005: 37–49). Around 1285, John Bone of Wickham granted four acres on the east side of Iham Hill to Grey Friars, Winchelsea (www.historicengland.org.uk). The land of Wickham Manor, today 750 acres, extends around Winchelsea; the land north-west of Wickham Manor, suitable for sheep-grazing, contains various sheep-washes. The present Wickham Manor farmhouse, dating from c.1500, has been a National Trust property since 1975.
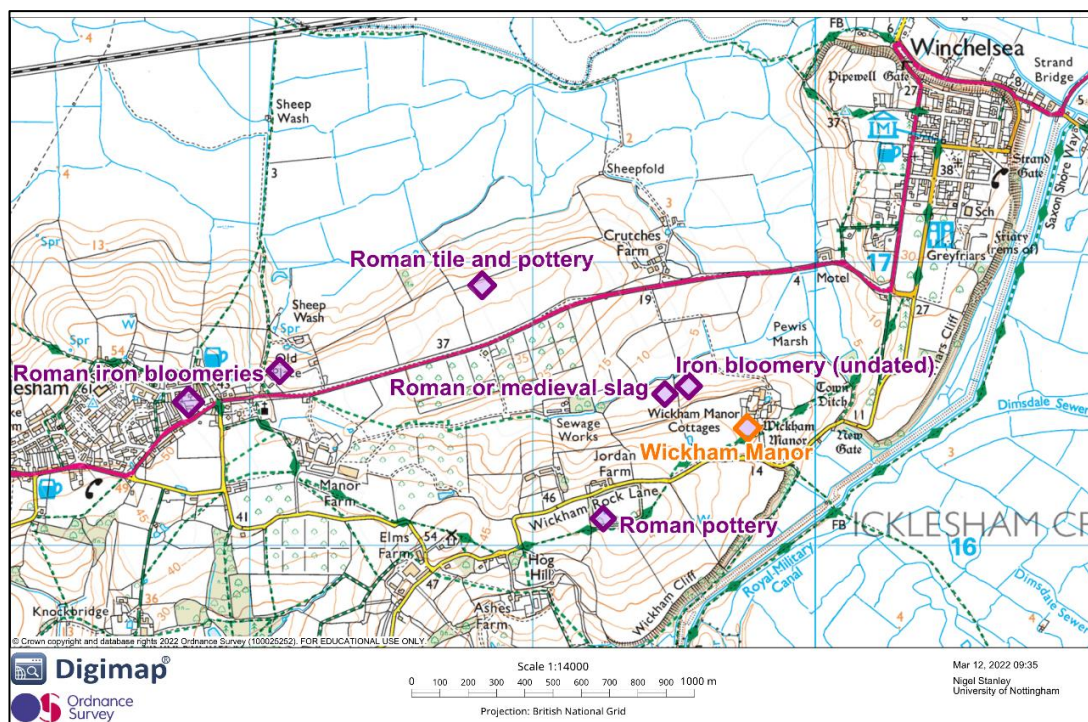
Figure 29: Wickham Manor in Icklesham SSX.

Roman archaeology

Farmsteads were the most common type of Roman site associated with iron production, perhaps with the aim of economic diversification (Allen, Lodwick, Brindle, Fulford and Smith 2017: 184–85). An undated iron bloomery is known 200m west of Wickham Manor at TQ895165 (MES4048); 100m further west, Roman or medieval slag has been found at TQ894165 (MES29440). The iron bloomery and slag within 300m of Wickham Manor might be associated with a Roman farmstead here, but this is uncertain. 600m south-west of Wickham Manor, Roman pottery has been found at TQ892161 (MES4049; Pratt 2005: 2). 1km north-west of Wickham Manor, Roman settlement is known from finds of 300g of Roman roof tile and 50g of Roman pottery sherds, at TQ888169 (heritagerecords.nationaltrust.org.uk, 140192/MNA126106). Roman iron bloomeries are known in Icklesham at TQ878165 and TQ881166, and in Pett at TQ882147 and TQ892145 (www.archiuk.com). Roman material such as tile and pottery has been found in Winchelsea at TQ908175.

(20) YON.1A Wykeham near Scarborough

Attestation

Wicam, Wicham, *Wiham*, *Wykham* 1086, *Wicheham* c.1180–1665, *Wykham* 1244, *Wickeham* 1295, *Wykeham* 1285, *Wycham, Wykam* 1328–1423 (Smith 1928: 99).

Location

Wykeham is a village and parish in North Yorkshire, centred at SE964833, 6km south-west of Scarborough (in Pickering Lythe Wapentake). The medieval parish contained Wykeham Abbey, a Cistercian priory, at SE961819.
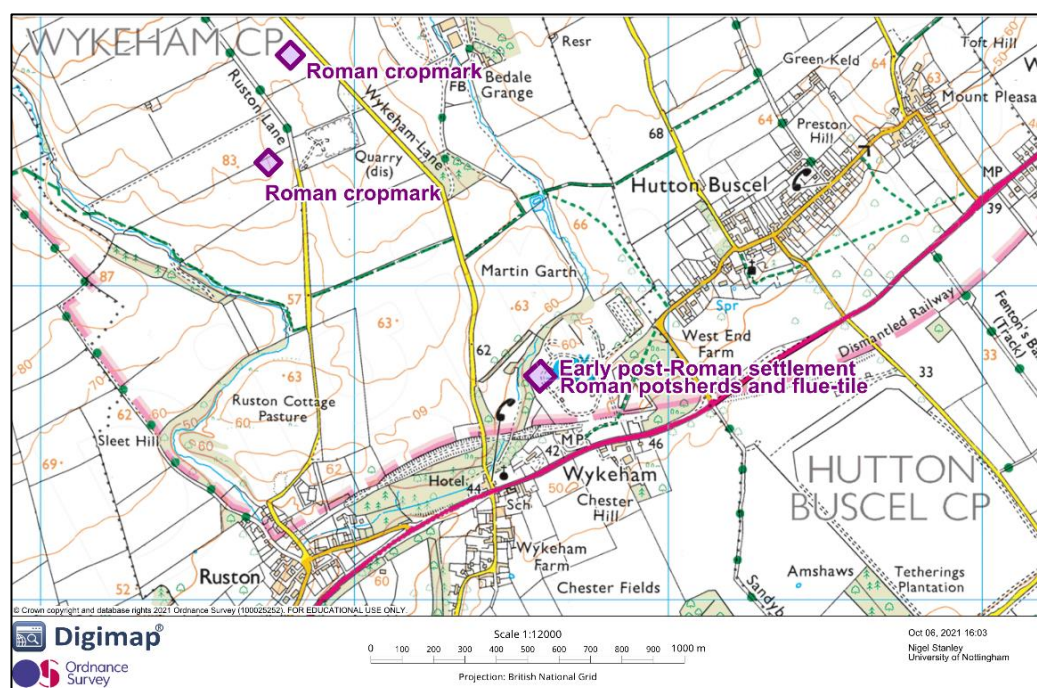
Figure 30: Wykeham near Scarborough YON.

Roman and early medieval archaeology

An extensive early medieval settlement was excavated in Wykeham from 1951–52 at SE966837, at 22 sites within an area of around three acres, around 350m north-east of the parish church (Moore 1965: 403–40). The settlement included several SFBs of circular or oval shape. Around 800 pottery sherds were found, of

decorated and plainwares. Moore (1965: 437–41) regarded these ceramic finds as 'predominantly Anglian in character', with parallels known in Schleswig and Denmark, concluding that the settlement was occupied in the fifth and perhaps early sixth centuries. However, the finds and settlement are more likely to date from the sixth or seventh century (heritagegateway.org.uk, Mon. 65456).

Finds from different locations across the site include around fifteen late fourth-century Romano-British potsherds, mainly greyware, a single piece of hypocaust flue-tile and two other pieces of Roman tile (Moore 1965: 417, 433–36). Bassett (2017: 18) believes that the hypocaust flue-tile piece suggests the likely presence of a nearby Roman villa.

Romano-British settlement locally is suggested by various cropmarks in Wykeham and in nearby Ruston, Sawdon and Hutton Buscel, as at SE977834. Margary (1967: 424–25) envisaged a Roman road (Margary 817) running north from Sherburn, through Wykeham and Hutton Buscel to Seamer, while the RRS map shows a Roman road running through Wykeham towards the Roman signal station at Scarborough; Bassett (2017: 28, n.15) is sceptical but accepts the presence of several minor Roman roads or trackways near Wykeham.

NOTE on gazetteer content:

Gelling (1967: 89) regarded Wickham St Paul's ESX as deriving from *wīc-hām*. The present gazetteer follows Gelling (1978: 68) in excluding Wickham St Paul's, owing to the form *Hinawicun* c.1000, suggesting derivation of the generic from OE *wīcum* (Dodgson and Khaliq 1970: 47).

3.4: Roman archaeology at *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200: synoptic discussion

Roadside settlements and proximity to Roman roads

Roman roadside settlements occur much more commonly in the south and east of Britain than elsewhere (Smith et al. 2016: 10). These are a small type of nucleated settlement, whose classification as a roadside settlement is based on a direct association with the Roman road network, in a location beside a major metalled road (Smith et al. 2016: 38). Civilian roadside settlements are distinct from military *vici* beside forts, which may have had a different range of functions. Typically, roadside settlements had a 'ribbon' pattern of settlement alongside the road, though some also extended away from the road.

At least four of the twenty *wīc-hām* locations under discussion are within 600m of the sites of Roman roadside settlements where occupation is known from extensive excavation: Wickham in Welford BRK (Margary 41b); Wickham HMP (Margary 421); West Wickham KNT (Margary 14); and *wicham* in Wilcote OXF (Margary 16b, Akeman Street). To this list might be added Wickhambreaux KNT, 250m north of Margary 10, and Wyckham Farm SSX, 250m south of Margary 140; in both locations there is some evidence of Roman occupation, though the nature of Roman settlement is uncertain in each case. Wykham Park OXF is the site of a small villa 200m from a Roman road (Margary 56a).

Ten of the twenty *wīc-hām* sites occur at distances of 0.5–2km from Roman roads. The sites up to 1km from a road include Wickham Market SFK (500m), Wickham Bushes KNT (800m), Clayton Wickham SSX (800m) and West Wykeham LIN (1km); sites more than 1km from a road include Wickham Hall HRT (1.2km), Wykeham in Nettleton LIN (1.2km), West Wickham CAM (1.5km), Wickham Skeith SFK (1.5km), Wickham Bishops ESX (1.8km) and Wickham in Strood KNT (1.8km). At two sites, the distance from a Roman road is uncertain, as the presence of a Roman road is likely but unconfirmed: Wykeham YON

(0.1km?) and Wickhambrook SFK (0.5km?). Only one site is remote from a known metalled road: Wickham Manor SSX (8.5km).

Villa settlements close to *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200

Of the twenty *wīc-hām* place-names of Type A, only one is the location of an excavated Roman villa within 600m: Wykham Park in Banbury OXF, where a modest villa is suggested by stone walls and a floor with coarse tesserae. It is uncertain whether the mosaic floor found at Wickham HMP, 100m north of Margary 421, belonged to a villa or a roadside *mansio*. Roman ceramic finds at Wykeham YON include, alongside Roman greyware, a single piece of hypocaust flue-tile which might suggest a nearby villa. Roman stone window-balusters in the church at Wickham BRK might have come from a high-status local building, though such material might have been transported further during construction of the church.

At West Wickham CAM, extensive finds of Roman pottery have been made in the centre of the parish, and villas occur 1.5km north, at Yen Hall, and 1.5km south, at Streetly Hall in Horseheath. Similarly, the central area of Wickham Skeith SFK has produced extensive finds of Roman material, while 1.5km north-west is a villa site within the parish. However, in West Wickham CAM and Wickham Skeith SFK, the distance of 1.5km between the villa and the specific location called *wīc-hām* might suggest that *wīc-hām* refers here to a Roman settlement associated with the villa, such as a village, rather than to the villa itself. A ritual building or cult site is suggested by finds at Wilcote OXF.

Economic activity at *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200

Various evidence of Roman economic and industrial activity has been found at *wīc-hām* sites. At West Wickham KNT, finds include post-holes, pits, chalk floors and a wheel-rim, consistent with a blacksmith's workshop. At Wilcote OXF, quarrying and brick-making took place, while timber buildings, hearths, ovens

and animal bones suggest an abattoir and meat-production. Pottery kilns have been found at Wickham HMP; at Yen Hall in West Wickham CAM, a kiln and metal-working site are known. The iron bloomery and slag found within 300m of Wickham Manor SSX might date from the Roman era, but this is uncertain. At West Wickham KNT and West Wickham CAM, Roman quernstones have been found, indicating corn-grinding by hand; 1km east of Wickhambreaux, four Roman water-mills are known, three of which were used during the fourth and early fifth centuries, but it is unclear how these might have related economically to any Roman settlement at Wickhambreux. Metalwork and jewellery such as bronze brooches, bracelets and rings have been found at several sites, such as Yen Hall in West Wickham CAM, Wilcote OXF and Wickham Skeith SFK. The jewellery may suggest wearers of high wealth or status at the two villa sites, Yen Hall and Wickham Skeith, but more likely jewellery manufacture at Wilcote.

Roman burials at *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200

Evidence of Roman burials has been found at five of the twenty sites. At Wykham Park OXF, up to eight skeletons have been found, indicating inhumation, along with many fragments of undated cinerary urn. Elsewhere, the place-name *wīc-hām* is more commonly found in association with Roman cremation. The most extensive burial evidence in the vicinity of the twenty *wīc-hām* sites is the Roman cremation cemetery at Hassocks, 900m south of Clayton Wickham, where over 150 cremation urns were found, dating from AD 70–270. Around twelve cremations have also been found at Gallows Hill, Hacheston; located 1.2km north-east of Wickham Market SFK, the cemetery is alongside the Roman town at Hacheston, but potentially might also have served other nearby Roman settlements. Undated Roman cremation urns have been found in the centre of Wickhambreaux KNT, and at two locations within 400m of Wickham in Strood KNT. In one site at Wickham in Strood, the discovery of Samian and Upchurch ware in the same rubbish-pit might suggest a cremation date from the

first to third centuries. Viewing overall the five *wīc-hām* sites where cremations are known, the cremations seem to date predominantly from before AD 270 and to provide useful evidence of the presence of settlement in the vicinity of these *wīc-hām* sites, and of funerary practices, from the first to third centuries.

Roman pottery at *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200

In dating the occupation of the twenty *wīc-hām* sites, Roman pottery is an important form of archaeological evidence. Roman pottery has been found within 600m at 80% of *wīc-hām* locations (16 of 20), and it seems that no systematic archaeological investigation has occurred within 600m of the other four *wīc-hām* locations, namely Wickham Bishop's ESX, Wickham Bushes KNT, Wickhambrook SFK and Clayton Wickham SSX. At some *wīc-hām* sites, Roman pottery finds are extensive, as at West Wickham KNT, where over 6,000 sherds have been excavated, dating from the first to fourth centuries.

Samian ware, produced and imported before AD 200, is known at 30%–35% of the twenty sites: Wickham BRK, Wickham Skeith SFK, West Wickham KNT, Wickham in Strood KNT, Wykham Park OXF and Wilcote OXF, as also at Hacheston near Wickham Market SFK. At several *wīc-hām* sites the most numerous finds of pottery are of greyware, a type of coarse ware which was the dominant fabric of practical domestic pottery. Greyware has been found at 50% of the twenty *wīc-hām* sites: Wickham BRK, Wickham HMP, West Wickham CAM, Wickham Hall HRT, West Wickham KNT, West Wykeham LIN, Wickham Market SFK, Wyckham Farm SSX, Wykeham YON and Wilcote OXF. Roman greyware pottery, wheel-turned and kiln-fired, is difficult to date with precision and might potentially date from the later first century, around AD 70, to the fourth century. Other wares from Romano-British pottery kilns are notable at some sites, such as Dorset black burnished ware at Wickham BRK, Upchurch ware at Wickham in Strood KNT, dating from the first to third centuries, and Oxfordshire wares including colour-coated ware at Wilcote OXF. At Hacheston, 1.5km from

Wickham Market, eight kilns produced coarse ware jars and bowls from the first to third centuries, and oxidised orange wares such as mortaria in the third century; however, there is no direct evidence that production continued in the fourth century (Blagg et al. 2004: 186, 200). Some of the mortaria found at Hacheston may be fourth-century items from elsewhere in East Anglia or further afield (Blagg et al. 2004: 158).

Fourth-century Roman pottery styles are particularly important in suggesting settlement towards the end of the Roman era, and have been found at 30% of the twenty *wīc-hām* sites: Wickham in Welford BRK, West Wickham CAM, West Wickham KNT, Wickham Skeith SFK, Wyckham Farm in Steyning SSX and *wicham* in Wilcote OXF. The Wilcote site has produced a particularly large volume of fourth-century pottery, buried in quarry pits.

Roman coinage at *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200

In dating the occupation of the twenty sites, Roman coinage is another particularly important form of archaeological evidence. Roman coins have been found at many of the *wīc-hām* locations, through excavation, metal-detecting or field-walking. Roman coin-hoards have been found at Wickham BRK and Wickham Market SFK; however, hoards can be deposited in transit and might not derive from settlement in the immediate vicinity. For five sites where over 50 coins have been found, an analysis of coinage is given below. Using the system employed by Walton (2011: 50), this thesis assesses coinage in terms of coins per thousand (*per mill*), at individual sites or parishes, and includes comparison with regional or national means. This method requires the total number of coins from each period to be divided by the total number of coins in the collection and multiplied by 1000.

Table 4: Numbers of coins by Reece period, in locations where more than 50 coins have been found

Reece period	Dates	CAM.1A West Wickham (PAS)	KNT.1A West Wickham (Reece)	OXF.1A *wicham* in Wilcote (Hands) *	SFK.1A Wickham Skeith (PAS)	SFK.2A Hacheston (EAA report 106)
1	BC–41		1		2	4
2	41–54	1			1	5
3	54–68				1	3
4	69–96	1	1		7	38
5	96–117		3		5	28
6	117–138	1	2		6	45
7	138–161				9	47
8	161–180		1		3	18
9	180–192		1		3	12
10	192–222	1			5	36
11	222–238		1		2	17
12	238–259				6	9
13	259–275	10	10		51	467
14	275–294	8	3	2	81	48
15	294–317	11	1	1	9	53
16	317–330	3	10	16	39	133
17	330–348	89	84	82	187	1198
18	348–364	12	36	20	69	159
19	364–378	11	29	1	52	45
20	378–388		9		6	1
21	388–402	1	1		25	6
	Totals	149	193	122	569	2372

*Note 1: figures for Wilcote from quarry F77 only (Hands 1998: 44).
Note 2: figures per mill are shown in analysis below.
Note 3: Hacheston is included owing to its proximity to Wickham Market SFK.2A.

Analysis of Roman coinage by Reece period

At all five sites, coin-finds show varying degrees of fourth-century settlement, with a concentration in each case of coinage from Reece period 17, AD 330–48. This itself is an important finding, showing that these five *wīc-hām* sites were all occupied during the mid-fourth century. At four of the sites, West Wickham CAM, West Wickham KNT, Wickham Skeith SFK and Hacheston SFK, coin-loss continued in the later decades of the fourth century, whereas at Wilcote only one coin post-dates AD 364.

A site's function can perhaps be diagnosed through its coin profile (Walton 2011: 30). In contrast to military and urban sites, rural sites in general can be identified by above-average quantities of fourth-century coinage but also

by a major peak of coin-loss during Reece period 17, AD 330–48. Temple sites might have a similar profile to rural sites; in Wiltshire, however, temple sites show a peak in coin-loss during Reece period 19, 364–78 (Walton 2011: 32). The five sites under review all had rural functions in terms of their locations, but also in terms of their Roman coinage: all five demonstrate a strong peak of coin-loss during Reece period 17, 330–48. Wilcote OXF has an unusually high level of coin-loss in one small field, possibly the site of a temple or livestock market.

Wilcote OXF Roman coinage
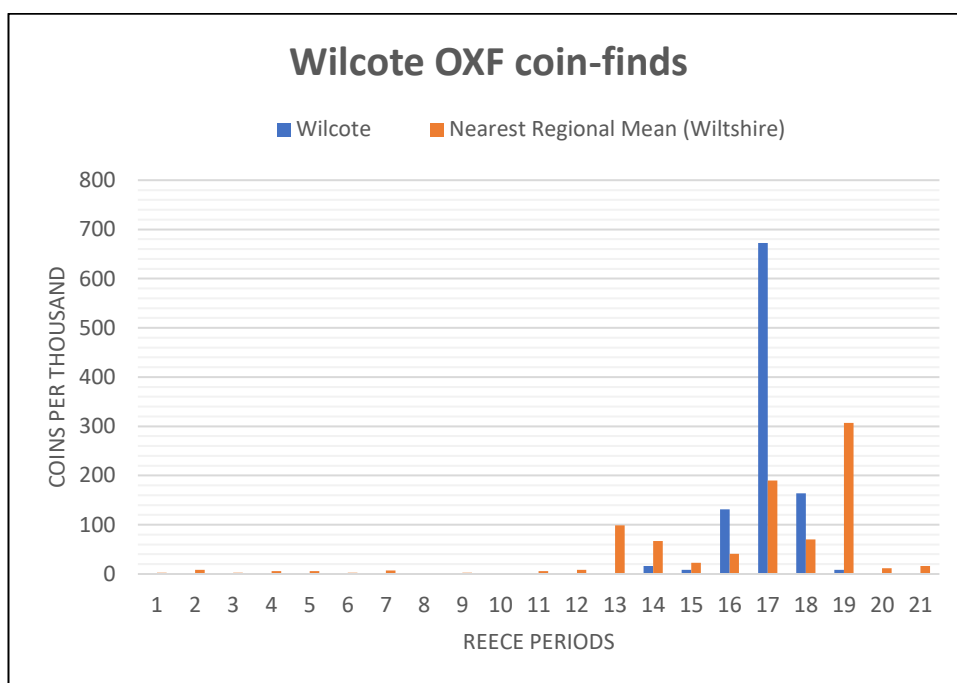
Figure 31: Wilcote OXF: Roman coinage.

At Wilcote OXF, excavation at quarry F.77 has produced 77 official coins and 45 imitations whose period of production is known (Hands 1998: 41–44; see Figure 22 above). The following totals of chronological distribution emerge: Reece period 16 (317–30) 131 *per mill*; period 17 (330–48) 672 *per mill*; period 18 (348–64) 164 *per mill*; period 19 (364–78) 8 *per mill*. While no mean figures are available for Roman coinage found in Oxfordshire, comparison with the Wiltshire Mean is appropriate, since Wilcote is only ten miles east of the Wiltshire

boundary. For Reece period 17, Wilcote shows a much higher figure, 672 coins *per mill*, than the Wiltshire Mean of 190 *per mill*, but for Reece period 19, a much lower figure, 8 *per mill*, than the Wiltshire Mean of 307 *per mill*. These Wilcote figures imply not only a rural site, but also a developing local economic crisis after around AD 360 (see section 3.3 gazetteer above). At Wilcote, thousands of Roman coins have apparently been found by field-walking around field 3949, but not systematically recorded, making accurate analysis difficult; however, a private collection of coins from this area seems to produce a chronological pattern similar to quarry F.77 (Hands 1998: 46–48).

West Wickham KNT Roman coinage
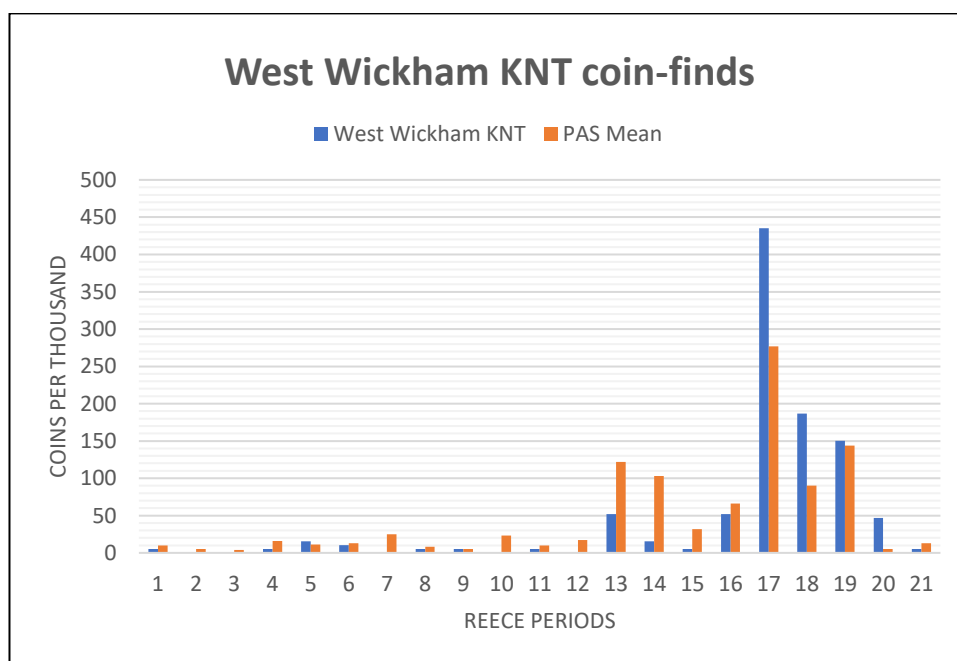
Figure 32: West Wickham KNT: Roman coinage.

The coinage from West Wickham KNT (see Figure 32 above) dates from the first to late fourth centuries, with 435 *per mill* from Reece period 17, 337 *per mill* from periods 18–19, and 47 *per mill* from period 20. For Kent, no mean figures are available, but comparison can be made with the overall PAS Mean. This shows a higher concentration for West Wickham KNT during Reece period 17, at

435 *per mill*, than the PAS Mean of 277 *per mill*. The figures follow normal rural patterns and show continued occupation and economic activity at West Wickham KNT into the late fourth century (Reece 2021: 17).

West Wickham CAM Roman coinage
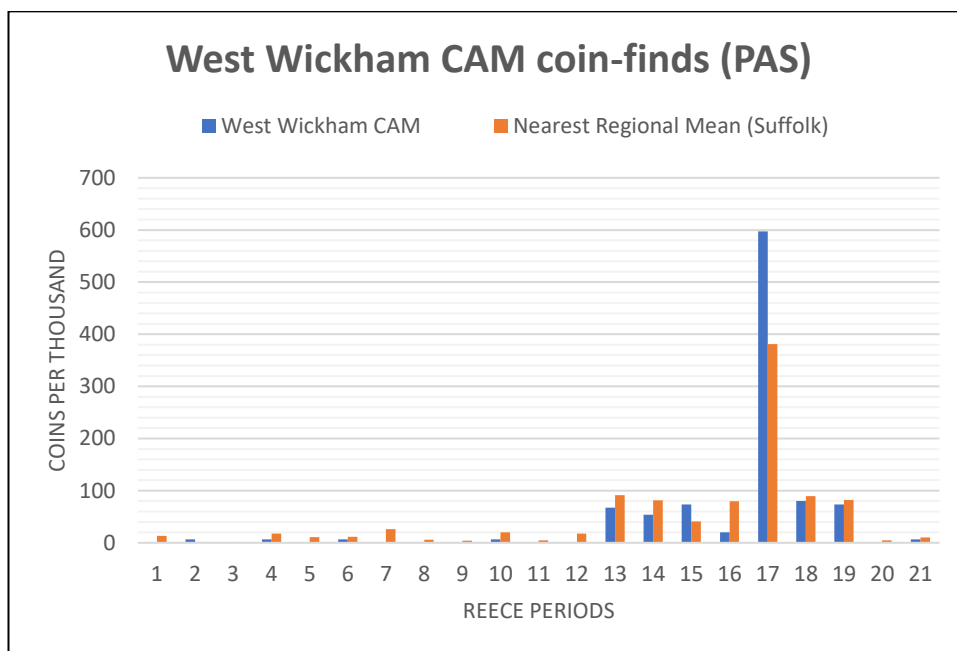
Figure 33: West Wickham CAM: Roman coinage.

At West Wickham CAM (see Figure 33 above), out of 149 reported coins whose date is clearly defined by the PAS, 597 *per mill* are from Reece period 17 (330–38), and 154 *per mill* from periods 18–19 (348–78), with only 7 *per mill* from periods 20–21 (378–402). For Cambridgeshire, no mean figures are available, but comparison is possible with the Suffolk Mean, since West Wickham is only 3km west of the Suffolk boundary. This shows a higher concentration for West Wickham CAM during Reece period 17, at 597 *per mill*, than the Suffolk Mean of 381 *per mill*.

Wickham Skeith SFK Roman coinage
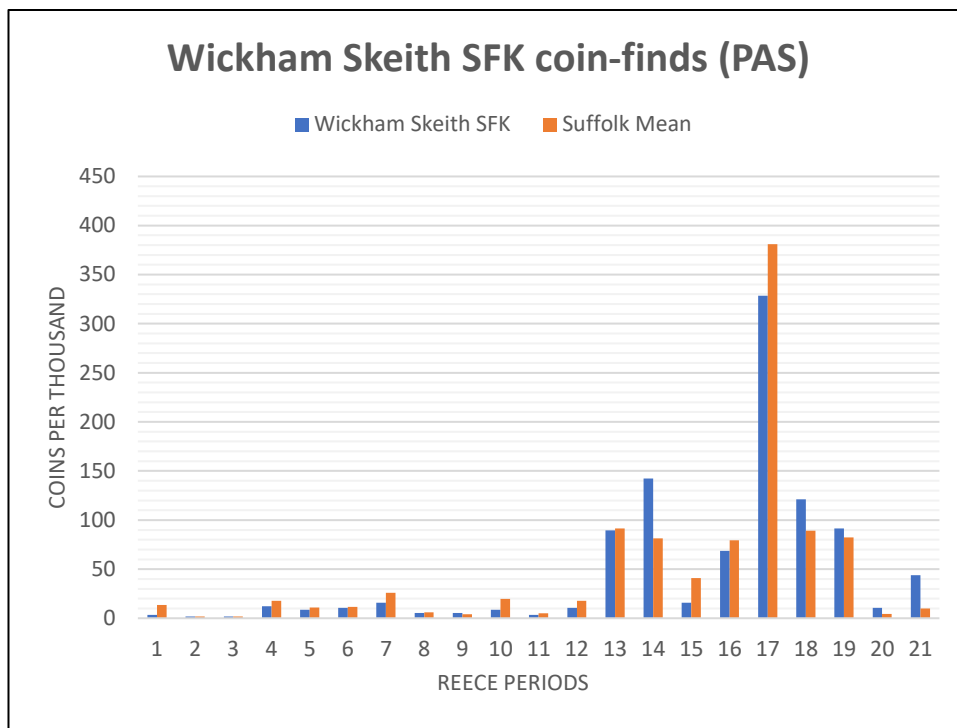
Figure 34: Wickham Skeith SFK: Roman coinage.

At Wickham Skeith SFK (see Figure 34 above), of the 569 coins defined by the PAS, 232 *per mill* are from Reece periods 13–14 (259–94), 329 *per mill* from period 17, and 213 *per mill* from periods 18–19. At Wickham Skeith, the overall profile of finds by Reece period is very similar to the Suffolk Mean figures. However, 44 coins *per mill* date from period 21 (388–402); this figure is higher than the Suffolk Mean of 10 *per mill* (Walton 2011: 422) and is the highest amongst the five sites analysed here. The figure shows occupation and economic activity at Wickham Skeith in the late fourth and possibly early fifth century.

Hacheston SFK Roman coinage

Finally, Roman coinage found at Hacheston deserves comment. As noted above (in section 3.3 gazetteer), it is a matter of debate whether the place-name Wickham Market refers to the Hacheston Roman town or not, owing to the distance of around 1.5km between Wickham Market and the Roman town site.

Nonetheless, Hacheston illustrates the chronology of Roman settlement in the nearby area, and the coinage found at Hacheston is therefore relevant to the place-name Wickham Market. The overall profile of Hacheston coinage is broadly similar to the Suffolk Mean (see Figure 35 below); however, Hacheston shows slightly higher figures for Reece period 13 (259–75) and Reece period 17 (330–48). For the latter, the Hacheston figure is 505 *per mill*, against a Suffolk Mean of 381 *per mill*. The Hacheston coinage shows a dramatic decline in coin-loss during the third quarter of the fourth century, with very few coins dating from Reece periods 20 (378–88) and 21 (388–402). According to Blagg et al. (2004: 199), this might suggest that the town site was largely abandoned by the 370s, though we should note the later coinage, showing some continued occupation.

Figure 35: Hacheston SFK: Roman coinage.

Roman archaeology at *wīc-hām* sites (Type A): a summary table

The proximity of Roman archaeology to the twenty *wīc-hām* sites, discussed in section 3.4 above, is summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Proximity of Roman archaeology to twenty *wīchām* sites (Type A) attested by 1200: distances in km

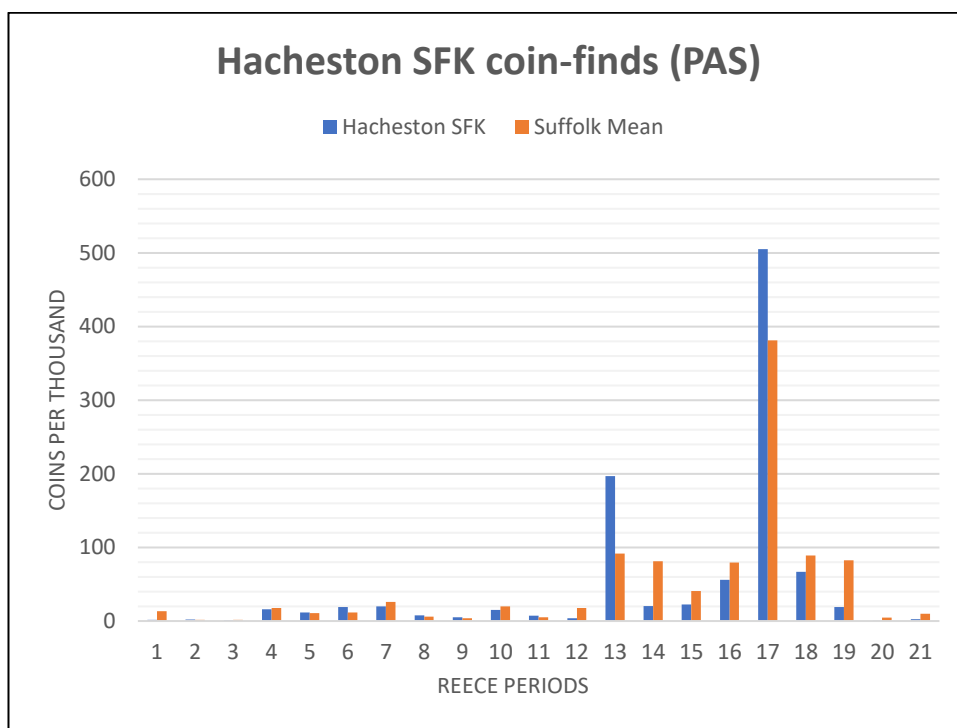| No.	PLACE-NAME (AND PARISH)	Roman burials	Roman industrial activity	Roman ceramic material (any type)	Roman building materials	Roman pottery (any type)	Fourth-century Roman pottery	Fourth-century Roman coinage	Distance to Roman road km	Distance to Roman villa km	Distance to Roman town* km
1	Wickham BRK.1A (Welford)			0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	3.9	0.1
2	West Wickham CAM.1A		1.5	0.1	1.5	0.1	0.3	1.5	1.5	1.5	12.0
3	Wickham Bishops ESX.1A			0.1	0.1				1.8	1.0?	8.0
4	Wickham HMP.1A		0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3?		0.3	0.2	0.3
5	Wickham Hall HRT.1A (Bishop's Stortford)	1.7		0.1		0.1	0.1?	1.7	1.2	2.7?	2.0
6	West Wickham KNT.1A		0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	3.1	0.2
7	Wickham Bushes KNT.2A (Lydden)								0.8	8.5	8.0
8	Wickhambreaux KNT.3A	0.2?	1.0	0.2?	1.0	0.2?			0.3	1.5	7.0
9	Wickham KNT.4A (Strood)	0.2		0.2	1.0	0.2		1.0	1.8	4.5	1.8
10	Wykeham LIN.1A (Nettleton)		1.3	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.0	1.3	1.2	2.9	1.3
11	West Wykeham LIN.2A East Wykeham LIN.3A (Ludford)	1.0		0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3?	1.1	1.0	1.0?	1.1
12	*Wicham* OXF.1A (Wilcote)		0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.6	0.3
13	Wykham OXF.2A (Banbury)	0.1		0.1	0.1	0.1		0.1	0.2	0.1	5.0
14	Wickham Skeith SFK.1A			1.0?	1.0	1.0?		1.0	1.5	1.7	2.0
15	Wickham Market SFK.2A	1.3	1.4	0.3	1.4	0.3	0.3?	1.4	0.5	1.4?	1.4
16	Wickhambrook SFK.3A								0.5?	3.5	12.0
17	Wyckham Farm SSX.1A (Steyning)			0.3	0.3	0.3			0.3	2.0	11.0
18	Clayton Wickham SSX.2A (Clayton) Hurst Wickham SSX.3A (Hurstpierpoint)	0.9		0.9	0.9	0.9		0.9	0.8	0.9?	0.9
19	Wickham Manor SSX.4A (Icklesham)		0.2?	0.6	1.0	0.6			8.5	9.3	14.5
20	Wykeham YON.1A			0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4		0.1?	0.2?	21.0
	Mean distances								**1.1**	**2.6**	**5.5**

*distance to Roman town, city, fort or roadside settlement. Note: if a cell is blank, no proximate data is available.

3.5: Gazetteer Parts AP and B: possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200 and 1350: attestations, locations, Roman archaeology

In addition to the twenty locations described in sections 3.3–3.4 above, where *wīc-hām* is attested by 1200, another fifteen place-names attested by 1350 may possibly derive from OE *wīc-hām*. Three are attested by 1200: Witchampton DOR.1AP, Wycomb in Scalford LEI.1AP, and Wickhampton NFK.1AP. Owing to some uncertainty over whether these names derive from *wīc-hām*, these have been categorized as possible *wīc-hām* sites attested before 1200, Type AP, rather than as Type A sites where the etymology of the name is more firmly established. At another twelve locations, place-names first attested from 1201 to 1350, called Type B in this thesis, may possibly derive from *wīc-hām*. Together, names of Types AP and B form the subject-matter of sections 3.5, a gazetteer, and 3.6, a synoptic discussion of Roman archaeology at and near to these sites.

When Type B names were first attested, between 1201 and 1350, these were predominantly either field-names or the names of small settlements such as manor-houses, farms or small villages. Amongst Type B names, East Wickham KNT.5B (*Wikam* 1242) is exceptional as the only location with parochial status. Type B names typically have fewer recorded attestations than Type A names, and in various cases are lost field-names or lost settlement-names. Names of Type A, attested by 1200, carry more weight as evidence of the place-name *wīc-hām*, partly because of their early date of attestation, but also because of their higher frequency of attestation; the latter allows confidence that these are genuine examples of *wīc-hām* rather than, for example, names derived from *wīcum*. Locations of Type A names are also mostly known with a higher degree of geographical accuracy than Type B names. Nonetheless, the twelve Type B names still form an important tranche of evidence for detailed consideration. It should be remembered that not all counties have received full treatment in EPNS volumes, and therefore that some other potential *wīc-hām* names might be attested in archives pre-dating 1350.
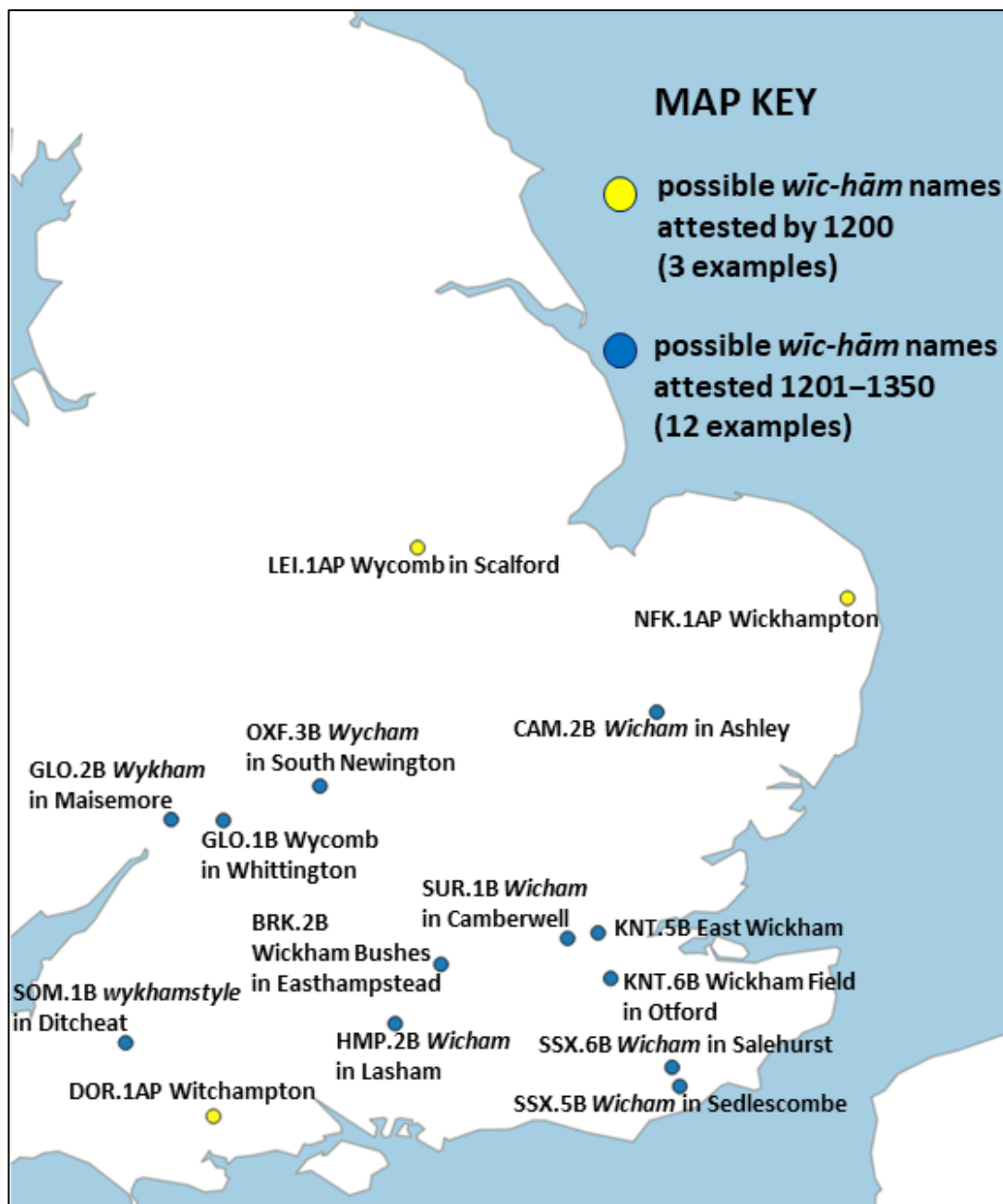
Figure 36: Possible examples of *wīc-hām* first attested by 1200 (Type AP) and by 1350 (Type B).
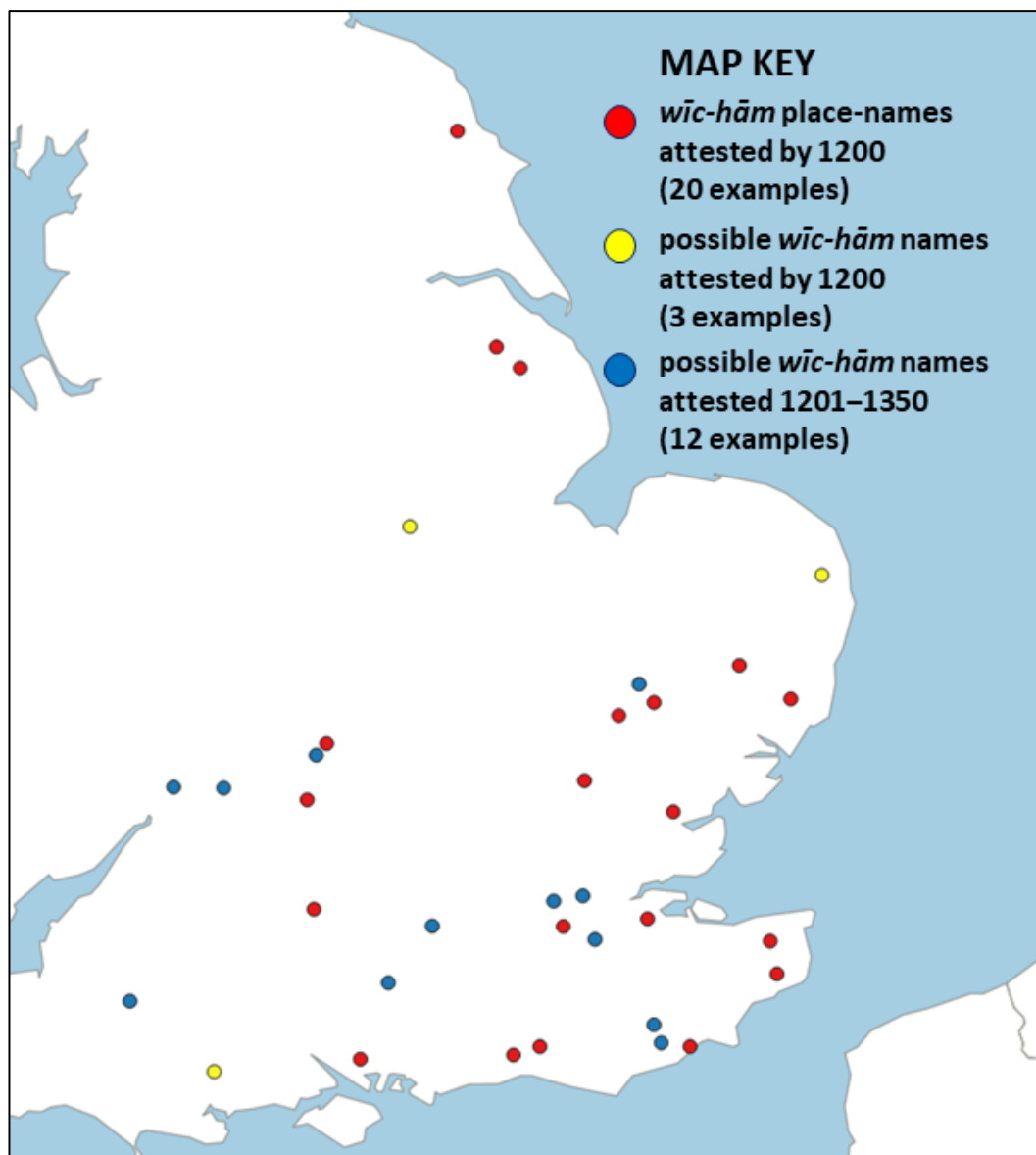
Figure 37: Possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 and 1350 (Types AP and B), in relation to the core corpus of *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (Type A).

Table 6: Possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (Type AP)

No.	REF.	PLACE-NAME (AND PARISH)	APPROX. GRID REF.	EARLY FORM	DATE ATTESTED
21	DOR.1AP	Witchampton	ST988064	*Wichamatuna*	1086 DB
22	LEI.1AP	Wycomb (Scalford)	SK774248	*Wiche Wicham*	1086 DB late 12th
23	NFK.1AP	Wickhampton (Freethorpe)	TG427054	*Wichamtuna*	1086 DB

Table 7: Possible *wīc-hām* names first attested 1201–1350 (Type B)

No.	REF.	PLACE-NAME (AND PARISH)	APPROX. GRID REF.	EARLY FORM	DATE ATTESTED
24	BRK.2B	Wickham Bushes (Easthampstead)	SU864648	*Wikhamgate*	1329
25	CAM.2B	Wickhams (f.n.) (Ashley cum Silverley)	TL692616	*Wicham, Wikham*	c.1280–1300
26	GLO.1B	Wycomb (Whittington)	SP028201	*Wickham*	1248
27	GLO.2B	Wickham (f.n.) (Maisemore)	SO826204	*Wycham*	c.1263–84
28	HMP.2B	*Wicham* (f.n.) (Lasham)	SU687420	*Wicham*	1207
29	KNT.5B	East Wickham	TQ468768	*Wikam*	1242
30	KNT.6B	Wickham Field (f.n.) (Otford)	TQ517594	*Wycham*	c.1284–85
31	OXF.3B	*Wycham* (f.n.) (South Newington)	SP398332?	*Wycham*	c.1250
32	SOM.1B	*Wykhamstyle* (f.n.) (Ditcheat)	ST650343?	*Wykhamstyle*	c.1308–10
33	SUR.1B	*Wicham* (f.n.) (Camberwell)	TQ348776	*Wicham*	1224
34	SSX.5B	*Wicham* (Sedlescombe)	TQ782179	*Wicham*	c.1220
35	SSX.6B	Wickham (Salehurst and Mountfield)	TQ744223	*Wicham*	c.1220

GAZETTEER

(21) DOR.1AP Witchampton

Attestation

Wichamatuna, *Wichemetune* 1086 DB, *Wichamton*(') 1216–88; *Wycham*(*p*)*tone* 1263–1456; *Wichehampton* 1271–80; *Wychehampton* 1278–1494, etc. (Mills 1980: 260–63).

Ekwall (1936a: 502) considered Witchampton to mean 'the *tūn* of the dwellers at the *wīc*'. Gelling (1967: 104) regarded Witchampton as probably deriving from *wīc-hām*, commenting that early forms suggest OE *Wīchǣmatun* but that this is ambiguous, potentially meaning either 'farm of the dwellers at a place called *Wīchām*' or 'farm of the dwellers at the *wīc*'. Mills (1980: 260) considered the former definition to be more likely; however, Mills later (2011: 504) gives the meaning as probably 'farmstead of the dwellers at a village associated with an earlier Romano-British settlement'. Watts (2004: 690) regarded the more likely meaning of Witchampton as 'village associated with a Romano-British settlement or *vicus*'. However, these various proposals are far

from certain. The palatalised modern form Witchampton is not explained by previous scholarship, and suggested meanings such as 'farm of the dwellers at the *wīc*' cannot be excluded.

Location

Witchampton parish church is at ST988064, near the River Allen. Witchampton is 5km north-east of the Roman settlement of *Vindocladia* at Crab Farm, Shapwick, and 1km east of Margary 4c, from *Vindocladia* to Old Sarum.
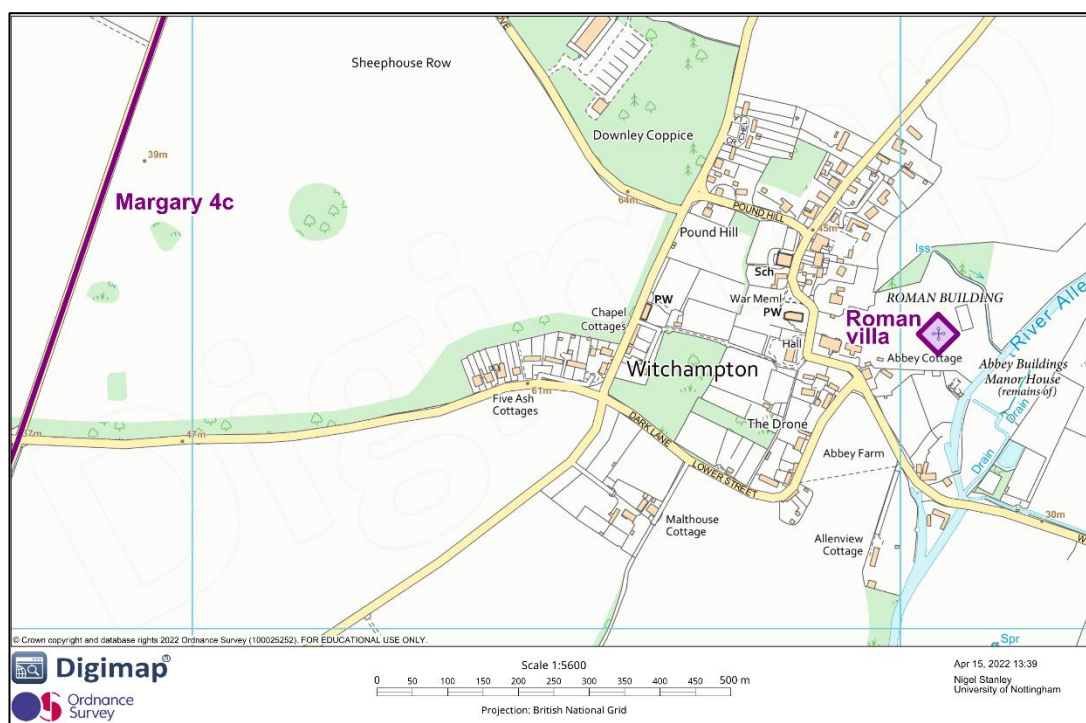
Figure 38: Witchampton DOR.

Roman archaeology

The site of a Roman villa or temple was excavated in 1905 at Abbey Mead near the centre of Witchampton, at ST990064. A group of rectangular stone building foundations was found, along with coloured plaster and other building materials, and a circular building interpreted as a Roman temple or mausoleum (HER MDO6398; Collingwood and Taylor 1924: 235–37; Scott 1993: 55; Putnam 2007: 96). Finds included Samian ware, along with New Forest ware, a fine

tableware produced and distributed from around AD 260–370. A few coins were found from Reece period 13 (259–75), period 17 (330–48) and period 19 (364–78). 2.5km west of the Abbey Mead villa, at East Hemsworth in Witchampton, ST963058, was another Roman villa, whose mosaic floor was excavated in 1923–24; lifted sections depicting various motifs are in the British Museum.

In discussing the place-name Witchampton, Mills (1980: 260) noted the extensive Roman remains there; Watts (2004: 690) was aware of the East Hemsworth villa and believed that the name Witchampton refers to this, but was apparently unaware of the Abbey Mead villa. There is a risk, however, that awareness of Roman archaeology may have influenced Mills and Watts in their interpretations of the place-name.

(22) LEI.1A Wycomb in Scalford

Attestation

Wiche 1086, *Wicham* late 12th, 1207, 1282 *et freq* to 1317, *Wicam* c.1250–1300, *Wichham* 1282x91, *Wickham* 1543–1604, *Wikeham* 1440–1719, *Wikham* late 13th, 1317–1520, *Wycam* c.1250–1510, *Wycham* early 13th, 1284–1519, *Wyckham* 1524–67, *Wykam* c.1300–1505, *Wykeham* 1502–1694, *Wykham* 1278–1582, *Wycomb*(*e*) 1811, 1846 *et freq* (Cox 2002: 218–20).

Ekwall (1936a: 515) included just two forms of the name, *Wiche* DB and *Wicham* 1316, considering Wycomb to derive from OE *wīcum*, dative plural of *wīc* 'dairy-farm', without comment on the 1316 form *Wicham*. Gelling (1967: 91) considered the etymological evidence inconclusive but regarded Wycomb as deriving from *wīc-hām* 'with eccentric spellings in Domesday Book and the Hundred Rolls'; the form in the latter is *Wyham* 1276. Following Ekwall, Coates (1999a: 102) accepted derivation from OE *wīcum*, describing Wycomb as a 'true dative' name, without comment on the 1316 attestation *Wicham*. However, Cox (2002: 218–20) gave a wide range of early forms of Wycomb and believed that the name represents OE *wīc-hām*. Overall, a large majority of the early attested

forms of Wycomb do allow derivation from *wīc-hām*; the DB form *Wiche* might be a scribal error, but this form should not be discounted entirely. Therefore, Wycomb seems a likely, but not definite, example of *wīc-hām*.

Location

Wycomb, a hamlet in Scalford parish, is centred around SK774248, 6 km north of Melton Mowbray and 2.1km south of Margary 58a. Wycomb shared its open fields with Chadwell in the thirteenth century and was possibly the centre of a DB estate whose boundaries survived later (Cox 2002: 220; McLoughlin 2006: 151–53).
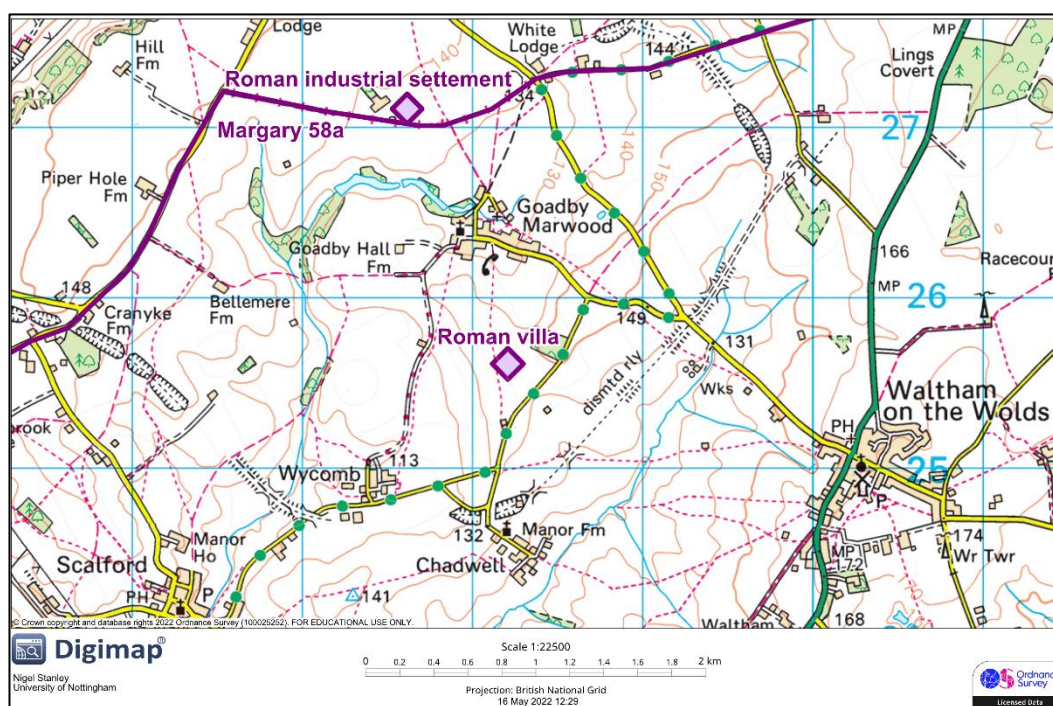
Figure 39: Wycomb in Scalford LEI.

Roman archaeology

At Wycomb there was a Roman villa of courtyard or winged-corridor type (HER MLE4024), unknown to Gelling, at SK782256, 1km north-east of Wycomb village. This was discovered in 1950, field-walked from 1979–85 and excavated in 2003–04 (D. Stanley 2004). Finds have included hundreds of tesserae, a bath-

house with mosaic floor, and painted wall-plaster, along with pottery and coins from the first to fourth centuries. At Goadby Marwood, 1.5km north of Wycomb villa and beside Margary 58a, was a small Roman town or industrial settlement at SK776270, where buildings, large quantities of pottery, coins from the third and fourth centuries and ironstone workings have been found (HER MLE3653).

(23) NFK.1AP Wickhampton

Attestation

Wichamtuna 1086 DB; *Wichamton* 1206 (Ekwall 1936: 492); Wickhampton 1315, 1473 (Blomefield 1810: 135–37).

Ekwall regarded this name as *wīc + hām-tūn*, believing the meaning to be the same as that of Wickham, while Gelling considered that the name possibly derives from *wīc-hām + tūn* 'farm by a place called Wickham' (1967: 98, 1978: 85). Watts (2004: 678) included both possibilities.

Location

Wickhampton was a medieval village and parish, with St Andrew's church located at TG427054, now within Freethorpe civil parish. This site overlooks extensive marshland, through which the River Yare flows. In the Roman era the Yare estuary, or Great Estuary, was around 4km wide at this point, extending east to the Roman fort at Burgh Castle, providing access to the local river-system (Davies 2009: 207–27). Wickhampton was 4.8km west of Burgh Castle, 11km south-west of the Roman town at Caister-on-Sea and 20km east of the Roman provincial capital at Caistor St Edmund, Roman *Venta Icenorum*.
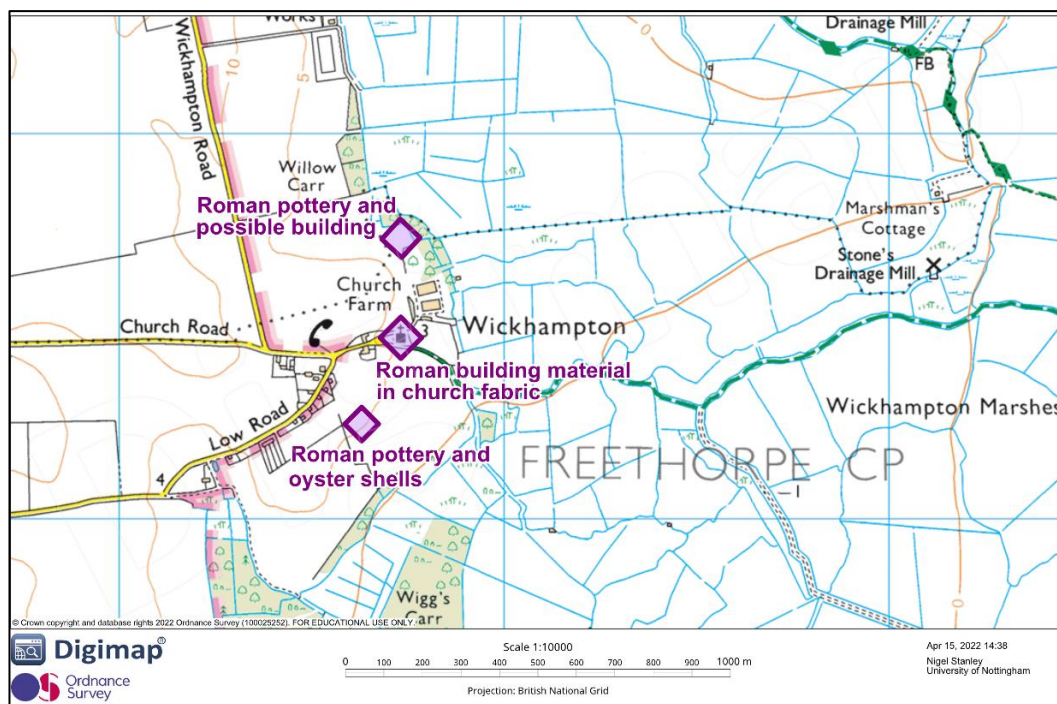
Figure 40: Wickhampton NFK.

Roman archaeology

Roman building material is found in St Andrew's church, Wickhampton (NHER 10396) and in All Saints' church, Freethorpe (NHER 10397). 300m north of St Andrew's church, Wickhampton, near Church Farm, aerial photography suggests a possible Roman building at TG427057, and a scatter of at least thirteen Roman greyware sherds has been found here (NHER 14774). Oyster shells, and maybe also Roman pottery, have been found just south of Wickhampton at TG426052 (NHER 1772). Within a few hundred metres of Wickhampton, other finds include a Roman coin of Constantine I and the handle of a Roman key (NHER 24595, 39573). Large areas of Wickhampton show cropmarks suggesting a coaxial field system of late Iron Age or Roman date (www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk: Parish Summary: Freethorpe).

(24) BRK.2B Wickham Bushes in Easthampstead (Crowthorne)

Attestation

Wikhamgate 1329, Wickham Bushes 1607, 1761, 1800 (Wethered 1898: 165;

Gelling 1967: 89, 94, 1973: 23–24, 1978: 69).

Location

Wikhamgate in Easthampstead is attested in 1329 as the location of the murder

of a traveller on horseback, Thomas de Tynmuth (Wethered 1898: 165). The

form Wickham Bushes appears from 1607 on maps of the area; this location is

now in Crowthorne parish, around SU865648. The site is 400m north of Margary

4a from Silchester to London, and 500m south of an Iron Age hill-fort called

Caesar's Camp. *Wikhamgate* probably means 'the gate to *Wikham*'; the generic

OE *geat* 'a hole, an opening, a gap' refers, for instance, to the entrances to parks

and enclosures (Smith 1956, 1: 198). The account of 1329 does not specify the

precise location of *Wikhamgate*, but as the site of a traveller's murder, this

might have been on the old route from Silchester to London (see Figure 41).
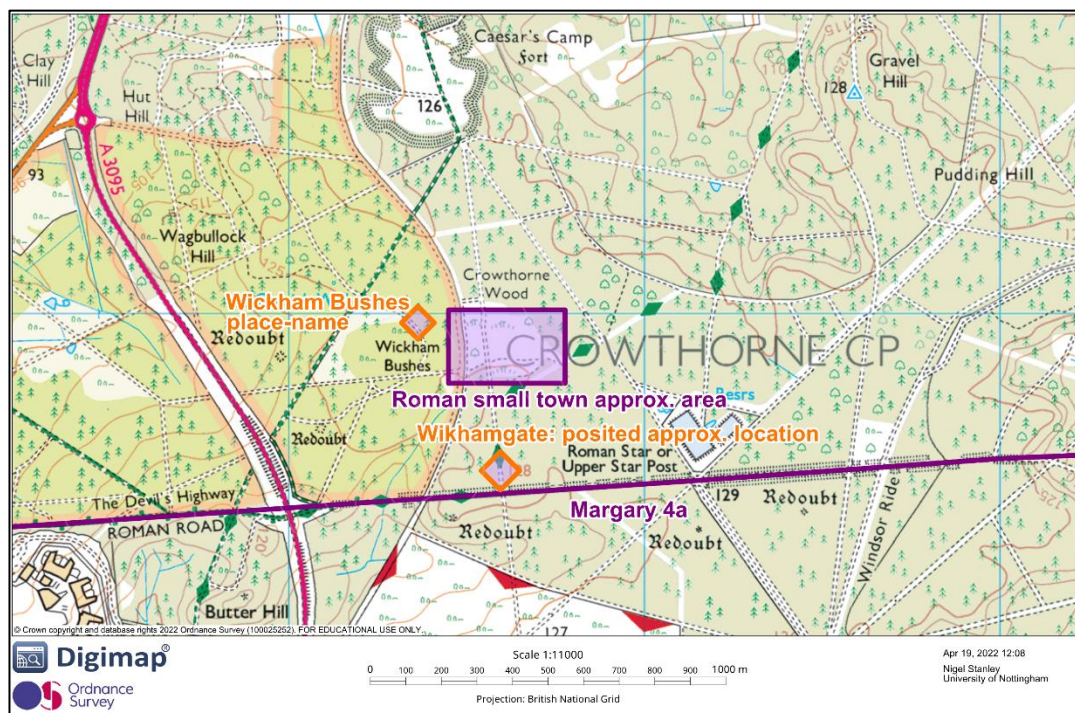
Figure 41: Wickham Bushes BRK.

Roman archaeology

Alongside Wickham Bushes, in an area called The Town on OS mapping c.1880, is the site of a Roman settlement around SU866649, with a long history of investigation. Details of the site were first published in 1783, and traces of Roman houses, pottery and coins were excavated in the nineteenth century (Ditchfield and Calthrop 1906: 206). Thereafter, numerous other excavations and searches took place, and by 1980 over thirty reports had been written on the site (Berkshire HER 00412.00.000), accompanied by invasive searches without reporting. Several excavation trenches were dug from 1983–85 by Berkshire Field Research Group and Reading University. More recently, the area of The Town, around 3 hectares, was cleared of pine woodland and surveyed in 2004–05. The survey showed the stratigraphy of the site to be largely intact, with earthworks suggesting the northern and eastern boundaries of the settlement (Ford 2005: i, 6–7). Roman material has been observed up to 300m west of the surveyed town zone, in the area labelled as Wickham Bushes on OS mapping, with a possible total settlement area of around 20 hectares (Ford 2005: 3).

The settlement is now regarded as a Roman small town or large village with some high-status features (www.historicengland.org.uk, Scheduled Monument 1016330). Constructed soon after AD 43, the settlement was occupied throughout the Roman period. The settlement may have been in existence before Margary 4a was constructed, as it is not alongside the projected route of the road, 400m to the south; either Margary 4a deviated at this point, to approach the settlement, or else the settlement connected with the road by tracks (Ford 2005: 3).

Dwellings included several large, multi-roomed buildings, represented archaeologically by robbed-out walls and floors. Copious volumes of ceramic building material were found before 2005, when the latest survey found 1,636 fragments, including brick, roof-tiles including tegula and imbrex, some floor-tile,

flue-tile and tesserae. The finds demonstrate buildings with tiled roofs, including one or more prestigious buildings with mosaic flooring on the western side of the site, along with small industrial workshops and agricultural structures elsewhere (Ford 2005: 2–8).

Large quantities of pottery and other artefacts have also been found, and the survey of 2004–5 recovered 417 sherds by field-walking (Ford 2005: 4–6, Appendix 1). Occupation from the first century onwards was suggested by a sherd of Silchester ware, and by grog and flint-tempered ware. However, 75% of sherds were fourth-century greywares. Late Roman occupation of the site is also indicated by colour-coated wares, dating from the later third century into the fourth century. Items found included sherds of jars, bowls, dishes, drinking-vessels and fragments of glass. Earlier work at the site has produced a brooch and other artefacts, and a few coins from AD 117–383 (HER 00412.00.000). According to Reading Museum (personal communication), only three coins can now be identified: one from Reece period 13 (259–75), another from periods 17–18 (330–64), and a third from periods 18–20 (348–88). Only one unidentified coin was found in the excavations from 2004–05.

Overall, the range of evidence at the town site suggests a series of successive phases of occupation, dating from the first century and lasting well into the fourth century. It is notable that on the site of the Roman town, no post-Roman settlement is evident archaeologically. One interpretation of the high-status building material, such as tesserae and flue-tile, is that the settlement may have included a *mansio* or resting-place for imperial officials or messengers travelling along Margary 4a, from London to Silchester (historicengland.org.uk, Scheduled Monument 1016330).

(25) CAM.2B *Wicham* in Ashley cum Silverley

Attestation

Wicham, *Wikham* c.1280–1300; Wickhams c.1943 (Reaney 1943: 364).

Location

Ashley cum Silverley, normally called Ashley, is 5.5km south-east of Newmarket and 2km west of the Cambridgeshire boundary with Suffolk. A field attested c.1280–1300 as *Wicham*, *Wikham* was located somewhere west of Ashley village (Lewis 2002: 31); a posited location is around TL692616 (see Figure 42 below). The modern form Wickhams, noted by Reaney (1943: 364), occurs in a collection of field-names by the local school c.1943, but the field's location cannot be identified in the Ashley Enclosure Map and Enclosure Award of 1814 (Cambridgeshire Archives, personal communication).
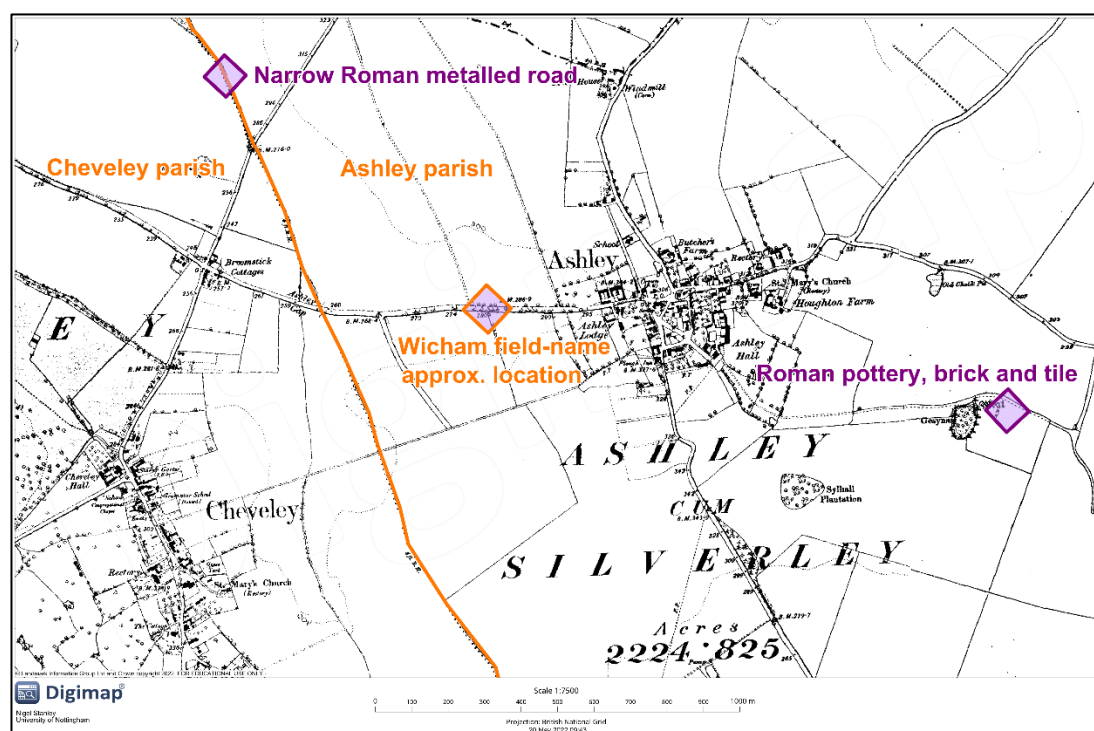
Figure 42: Ashley CAM c.1880.

Roman archaeology

Finds of unspecified Roman pottery, brick and tile (CHER 07680) are known at TL707613, near the Gesyns moated site, 900m south-east of Ashley village and around 1.5km east of the posited location of *Wicham*. The PAS records two Roman brooches found in 'Ashley cum Cheveley', presumably near the boundary of these two parishes. A metalled road of single-track width (CHER 08429), thought to be Roman, is known at TL685621, along the parish boundary between Ashley and Cheveley; this perhaps headed north-west towards Exning and Newmarket. Ashley is 8km south-east of a Roman villa at Exning and 5.5km north-west of Lidgate Roman villa.

(26) GLO.1B Wycomb in Whittington

Attestation

Wickham 1248, *Wikham* 1361, *Wickham* c.1705, 1838, *Little Wickham* 1838, *Wicombe*, *Wiccombe* 1824, Wycomb 1864 (Smith 1964: 185; Gelling 1967: 90, 1978: 68; Timby 1998: 337–40).

Location

The site of Wycomb is around SP025200, south-west of Syreford Farm in Whittington parish (see Figure 43 below). The 1838 Whittington TA includes fields called Wickham (24 acres) and Little Wickham (1 acre), beside the parish boundary with Andoversford and around 400m from the centre of Andoversford village. Wycomb is 3km from two minor Roman roads: the White Way to the west, and Salt Way to the east (Margary 1967: 55, 145–46).
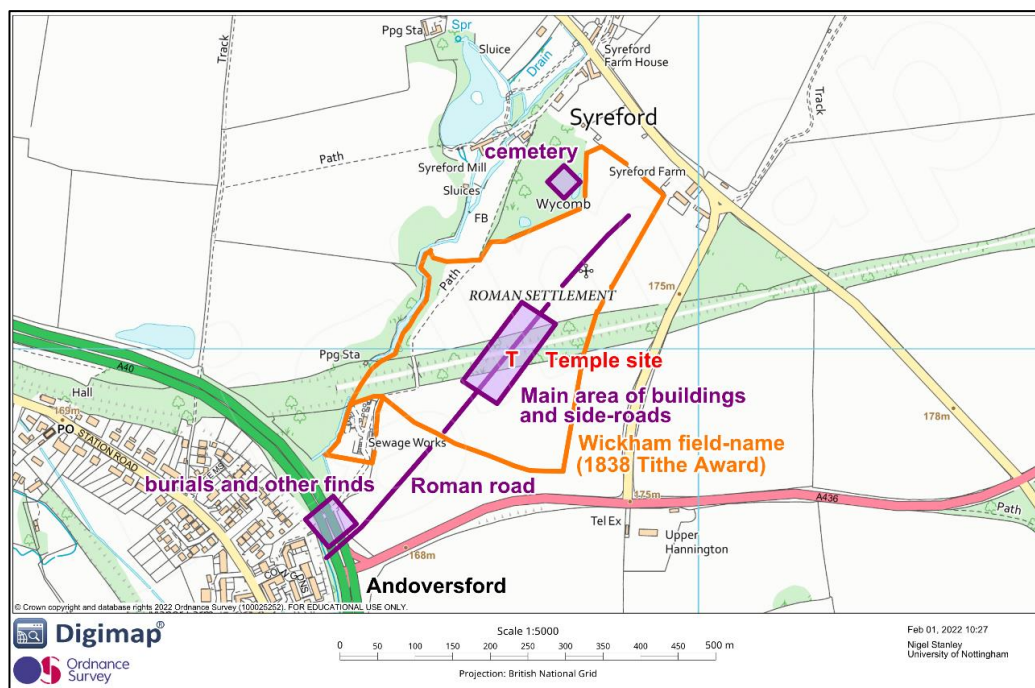
Figure 43: Wycomb in Whittington GLO.

Roman archaeology

Wycomb has been known as a Roman site since the early eighteenth century and is now regarded as the location of a Roman small town or large village (Historic England Scheduled Monument 1019101). The site was partly excavated, photographed and reported in 1864 by W.L. Lawrence, who recorded extensive stone foundations of Roman buildings all over Wycomb field, and published a plan showing streets, buildings and other structures including a temple. Lawrence's finds included around 1100 coins and many other items (Timby 1998: 297–99, 337–39). A railway embankment was built across the site later in the 1860s. Further excavations took place from 1969–71 at the south-western end of the site, and from 1973–77 at the northern end of the site, near Syreford Mill, along with various surveys at other dates.

Various finds, including coins of the Dobunni and late Iron Age brooches, suggest that the settlement originated in the late Iron Age. Timber structures dating from the AD 70s or earlier were soon replaced by stone buildings. The Roman settlement had an area of around 11–12 hectares (27–30 acres), with a

single metalled main street running from south-west to north-east, but also metalled side-streets running north-west and south-east (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 201).

A Romano-Celtic temple forms an important central feature of the site and may have been responsible for the settlement's prosperity; finds associated with the temple include stone panels showing local deities, a small bronze statuette of Mars and a piece of temple lamp (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 201). Other buildings found by Lawrence include a villa-type building with hypocaust and a possible bath-house.

During excavations from 1969–71 beside the Andoversford by-pass, at the south-western end of the Roman site, burials were found from the Roman era but of uncertain date. A late Roman cemetery on the northern side of the town was excavated from 1973–77, south of Syreford Mill, containing at least eight but perhaps eleven inhumation burials from the late third or fourth century (Timby 1998: 315–18).

A rich variety of pottery from various regions dates from the first century BC onwards but mainly from the early and later Roman period (Timby 1998: 328–30; Copeland 2011: 108). Fourth-century pottery includes Oxfordshire ware, Dorset Black Burnished Ware, New Forest and Nene Valley colour-coated wares, Midlands grog-tempered ware and Midlands shelly ware. Miscellaneous finds include tools and agricultural implements (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 201–02; Timby 1998: 419). Over 500 coins have been found in the temple area, dating from the Flavian period (AD 69–96) through to the late fourth century. The most common coins from the site date from Reece period 21, AD 383–408 (see section 3.6 below for coinage analysis). The presence of coinage of Arcadius (AD 383–408) suggests that some occupation of the Wycomb site may have continued into the early fifth century (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 202); however, the interpretation by Burnham and Wacher (1990: 202) that the temple site and town settlement at Wycomb may have declined as a result of the

arrival of Christianity by the later fourth century is hypothetical, and Timby (1998: 351) regards the fate of the Wycomb temple as unknown. Timby considers that the fields occupied by the Roman settlement at Wycomb were totally abandoned by the early medieval period and that they have remained unoccupied by human settlement to the present day.

(27) GLO.2B Wickham in Maisemore

Attestation

Wycham 1263–84 (Hart 1865: 88–89), *Wykham* 1316 (Smith 1964, 3: 162; Gelling 1978: 71), Wickham 1650 (Gloucester Archives D 1740/E).

Smith regarded *Wykham* here as a form of *wīc–hām*, supposedly meaning 'homestead with a dairy-farm' (1964, 3: 162). However, Wickham in Maisemore occupies a riverside location where the generic *hamm* would be fully appropriate topographically (see 'Location', below). It is notable that in Maisemore, attestations of *hamm* include Maisemore Ham 1867, Town Ham 1867, Port Ham 1867 (*Portehomme* 1266, *Port*(*e*)*ham* 1542), and *Huppinghomme* (13th) (Smith 1964, 3: 162). Owing to its riverside topography and the presence of nearby names with generic *hamm*, caution is essential regarding the name Wickham in Maisemore, which might derive either from *wīc-hām* or from *wīc-hamm*. If the latter is correct, the name would still require inclusion in this thesis, as a compound place-name with specific OE *wīc* and another generic (*hamm*).

Location

The field called *Wycham* c.1263–84 was probably around SO826204, in Maisemore Meadow on Alney Island, on the banks of the East Channel of the River Severn. This location was 1.6km north of Gloucester (Roman *Glevum*).
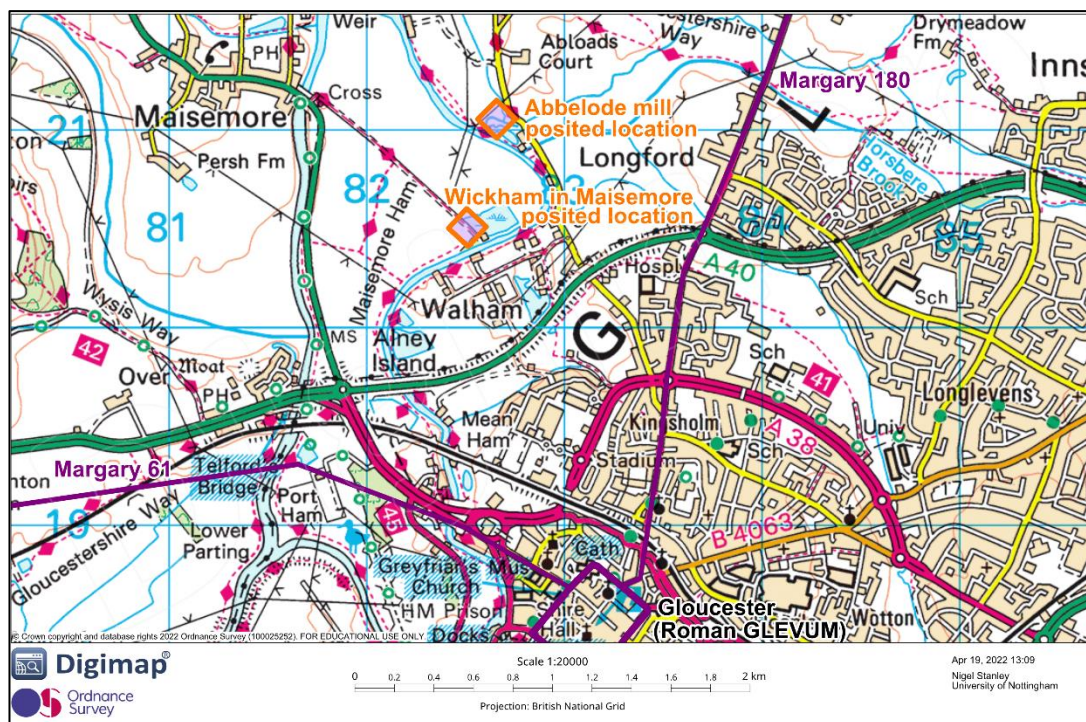
Figure 44: Gloucester and Maisemore GLO.

Between 1263 and 1284, the abbot of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, granted to Ricardus de Prestone an acre of meadow (Hart 1865: 88–89); this was situated *in Wycham ex opposito molendini nostri de Abbelode quam Ysabella le Prestes aliquando de nobis tenuit in manerio nostro de Mayesmore*, 'in Wycham, on the opposite side to our mill of Abbelode which Ysabella le Prestes once held from us, in our manor of Mayesmore'. *Abbelode* was an early form of the name Abloads Court in Sandhurst (Smith 1964, 2: 152). Smith (1964, 2: 167) erroneously duplicated the attestations of 1263–84 (from Hart 1865) and listed *Wycham*, *Prestone* and *Uppingham* as field-names in Hempsted; Smith's mistake was repeated by Gelling (1967: 90, 1978: 71).

In 1650 the Barnwood estate, held by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Abbey, included land at Wickham in Maisemore Meadow on Alney Island, where tenants took hay from half-an-acre every other year (Herbert 1988: 415). This location seems likely to be the same as that of Maisemore Meadow, belonging to Barnwood, on a map of Gloucester 1796–99 (Gwatkin

1994); this was later the site of Barnwood Brick Works on OS maps c.1880. Clay-extraction has now produced a series of low-lying ponds.

The precise parameters and size of the land called Wickham in Maisemore are uncertain. The area of Maisemore Meadow in 1796–99, and later of Barnwood Brick Works, was around 9.5 acres, but the location called Wickham might once have covered a larger area.
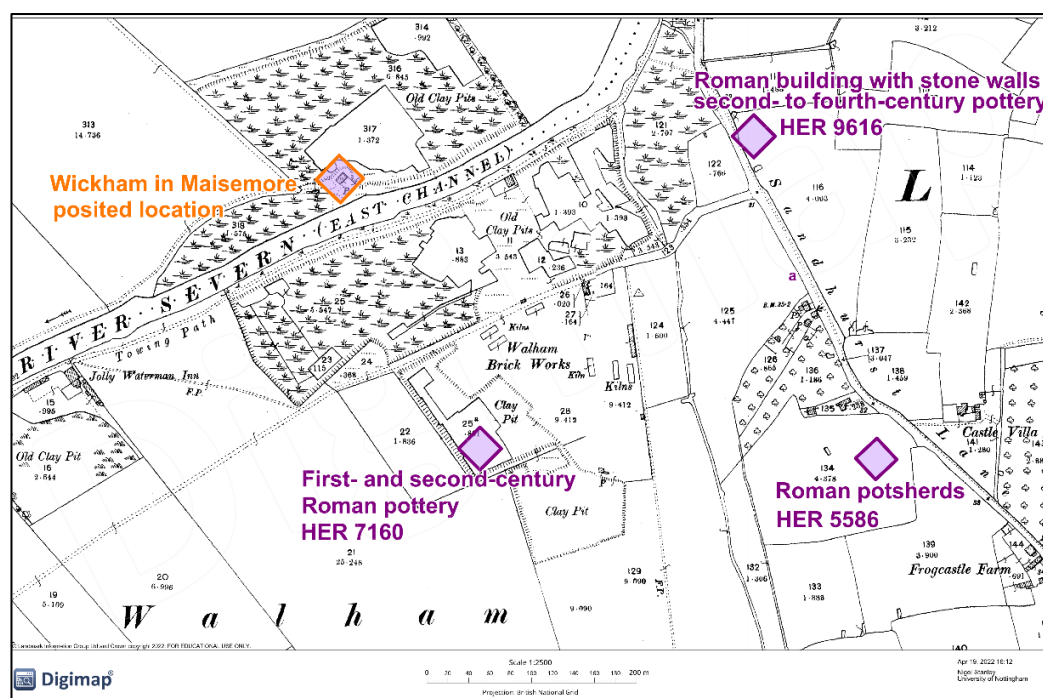
Figure 45: Wickham in Maisemore GLO: posited location.

Roman archaeology

No Roman archaeology is currently known at the posited site of Wickham in Maisemore on Alney Island; however, Roman occupation is known within 400m, across the Severn, around Walham in the parish of Longford. There is no evidence of a Roman bridge across the river here, but the East Channel of the Severn is only around 25m wide, potentially allowing easy passage across the river by boat. The limestone walls of Roman buildings are known at SO830205, perhaps representing the corner or lower courses of a large building with walls 0.8m wide, along with sandstone tiles and mortar (HER 9616; Historic England

Mon. 872095). The size of the walls suggests a possible villa. At the same site, pottery from the second to fourth centuries has been found, including a black burnished ware vessel, along with two coins from AD 330–37 and a bronze harness-ring. At Walham Brick Works, extensive Roman greyware from the first and second centuries has been found (HER 7160), along with unspecified Roman potsherds (HER 5586) west of Sandhurst Lane.

(28) HMP.2B *Wicham* in Lasham

Attestation

Wicham 1207 (Page 1911: 81; medievalgenealogy.org.uk CP/25/1/203/3, number 14, Feet of Fines Hampshire).
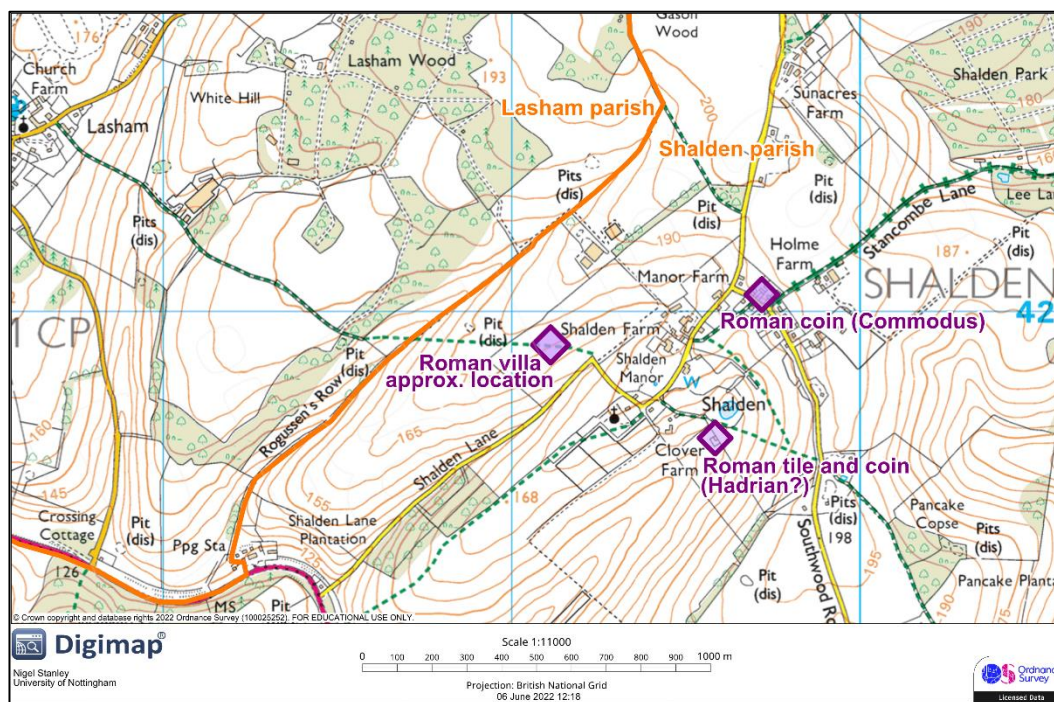
Figure 46: Lasham and Shalden HMP.

Location

The village of Lasham is around 5km north-west of Alton. The lost field-name *Wicham* is attested in 1207, when land is recorded with an area of '1 acre, 1 perch in *Wicham* to the south'. This suggests that the land in question was in the southern part of *Wicham* field. Lasham is around 5km west of Margary 155 from Chichester to Silchester, and 6.4 km west of the Roman settlement at Neatham.

Roman archaeology

No Roman archaeology seems evident in Lasham; however, 250m south-east of the Lasham parish boundary, a Roman building in Shalden, probably a villa, is marked on OS mapping c.1880 at SU692419. The villa's mosaic floor, close to Shalden Manor, was found in 1854 (HER 240060; Scott 1993: 87). The PAS records two brooches, one vessel and 18 Roman coins found in Shalden in unspecified locations. Four of the coins date from Reece periods 2–4 (AD 43–96), four from periods 13–14 (AD 259–94) and four from periods 16–19 (AD 317–78). Roman tile and one coin, possibly of Hadrian (Reece period 6) have been found in Shalden at SU695416 (HER 240112), and another Roman coin of Commodus (Reece period 9) around SU697420 (HER 240087).

(29) KEN.2B East Wickham

Attestation

Wikam 1242, *Estwycham* 1284, *Est Wycham* 1292, East Wickham c.1762 (Wallenberg 1934: 15; Gelling 1967: 90, 1977: 10, 1978: 71–72).

Location

East Wickham was a small medieval parish in north-west Kent. On OS mapping c.1870, East Wickham Farm is at TQ466768, and St Michael's church at TQ468768, with adjacent watercress beds. The church borders the parish of

Plumstead to the north. East Wickham is 1km north of Welling, and 1km north of

Margary 1c from Rochester to London, now the route of the A207.
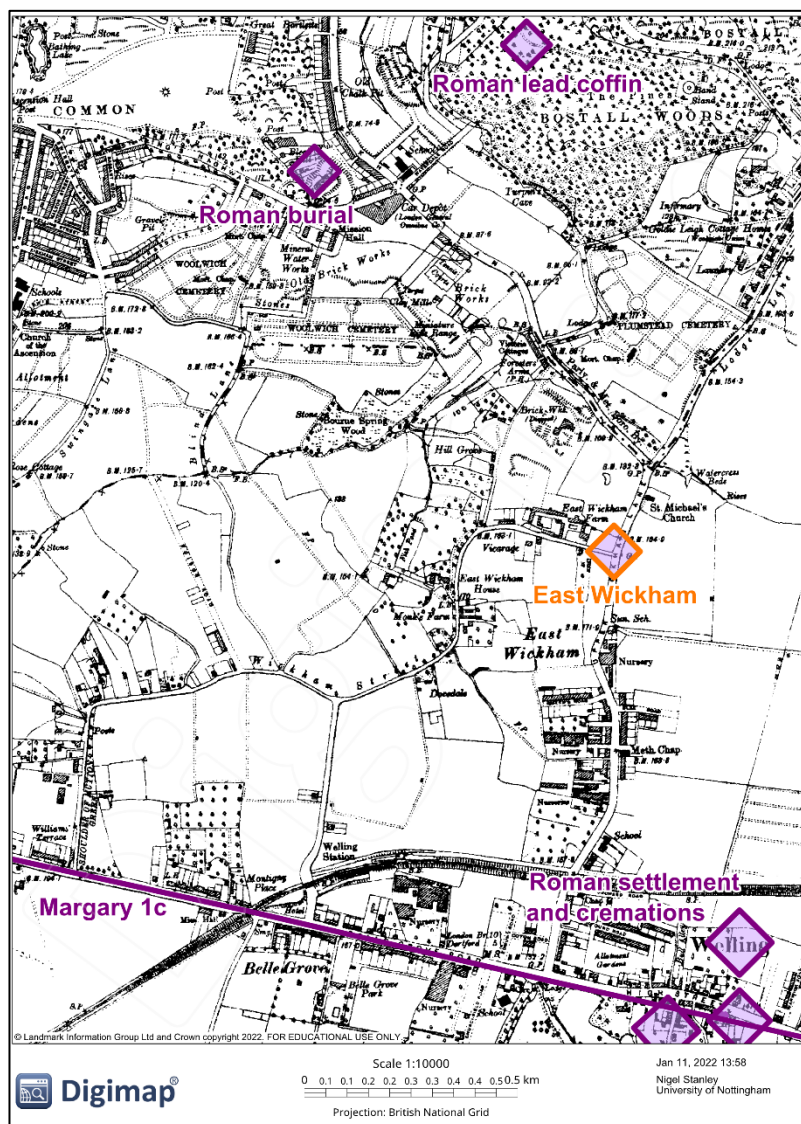
Figure 47: East Wickham and Welling KNT c.1870.

Roman archaeology

No Roman archaeology is currently known in East Wickham. At Welling, 1km to

the south, there was a Roman settlement around TQ470757, with finds dating

from the first to fourth centuries (Garrod and Philp 1992: 1–28). Nine coins have

been found: three from the first or second century, two from the third century

and four from the fourth century, including two from Reece period 17 or 18,

330–64. Ten cremations, probably from around AD 140–200, are known from

four different locations, including TQ469757 and TQ470759 (HER MLO77725). Around 300 coarse pottery vessels have been identified, including 24 from the fourth century. In Plumstead, 1km north of East Wickham, a Roman lead coffin has been found at TQ465780, and a Roman cremation burial at TQ462776, along with a jug, mortarium, vase and beaker (HER 070300/00/00).

(30) KNT.6B Wickham Field in Otford

Attestation

Wycham c.1284–85 (Clarke and Stoyel 1975: 57), *Wickham* c.1425 (Hewlett 1973: 108–09), *Wykham* 1516 (Gelling 1988a: 246), Wickham Field c.1870 OS.

Location

Wycham was a medieval farmstead and field of over 26 acres, around 300m west of the River Darent, belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury as part of the manor of Otford (Hewlett 1973: 106–09; Clarke and Stoyel 1975: 57). The centre of Wickham Field today is around TQ517594.
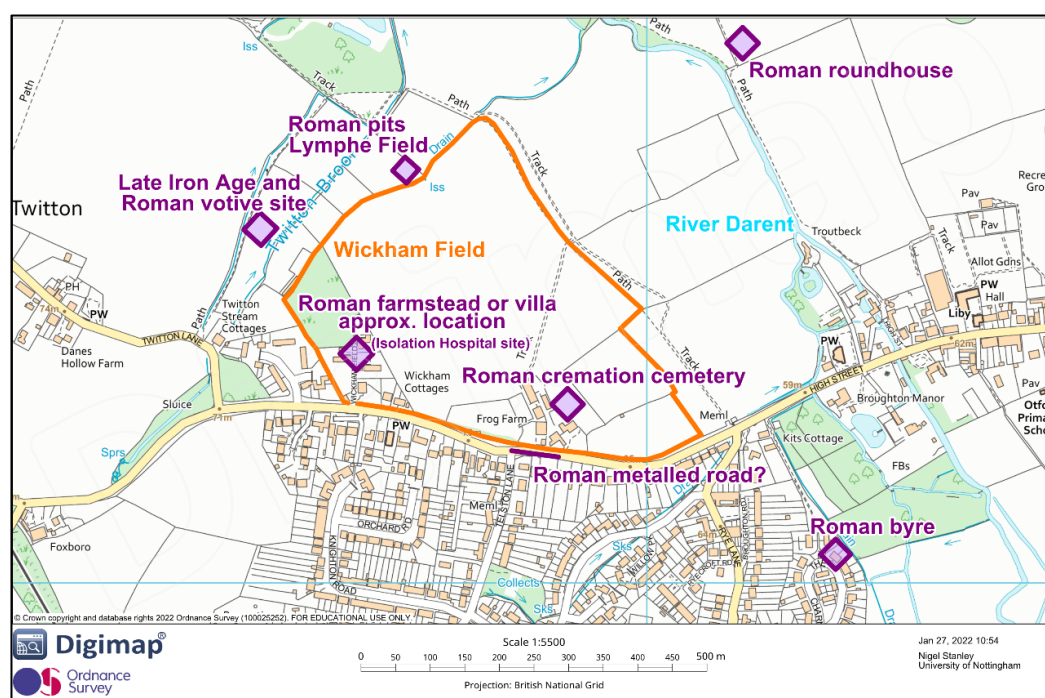
Figure 48: Wickham Field in Otford KNT.

Running along the southern edge of Wickham Field was a route sometimes called the Pilgrims' Way, perhaps of prehistoric origin and possibly a valuable connecting link between various Roman sites at the foot of the North Downs; this ran around 1.5km south of the parallel North Downs ridgeway (Margary 1965: 259–62). However, Andrews (2004: 20) marks the North Downs ridgeway as a Roman route, rather than the Pilgrims' Way. Otford means 'Otta's ford' (Watts 2004: 454); this refers to the ford across the Darent, 300m east of Wickham Field and 400m west of Otford village centre.

Roman archaeology

Excavations have taken place in the south-western area of Wickham Field, on the site of the former Isolation Hospital around TQ516593, and in the south-eastern area of the field, around TQ518592, north-east of Frog Farm. Excavation in 1930 was confined to the digging of test pits; more thorough work was conducted in 1966–67, in the 1970s and in 2005. On the Isolation Hospital site (HER TQ 55 NW 9), excavations have found over 100 sherds of Roman pottery, many of Patch Grove type dating from AD 60–100, but also Samian, Upchurch and Castor wares. Other finds in this area include fibulae, many nails, part of a steelyard, first- and second-century brass coins, second-century bronze brooches, and a late third-century barbarous radiate. Finds on this site suggest activity around AD 69–130, with some indications of third-century occupation. Some of the features found were initially interpreted as rubbish-pits but are now viewed as kiln sites where Patch Grove pottery was produced (Ward 1990; otfordheritagevillage.org.uk). Roof tiles and one hypocaust tile have also been found on this site.

300m east of the hospital site, a large Romano-British cremation cemetery is known at Frog Farm on Wickham Field, around TQ518592 (HER: TQ 55 NW 36; Scheduled Monument 409691). By the 1970s, 74 grave groups had been discovered, with pottery and cremation urns dating from around AD 150–

250. Items found in the graves included food vessels and platters. A high proportion of the graves (42%) contained Samian ware, and a very small proportion had jewellery and other metal objects such as brooches and spoons. Foundations of walls suggest a later Roman mausoleum constructed above the cemetery around AD 300 (Ward 1990); this was contemporary with the Church Field villa (see below). No definite limit was found to the cemetery in any direction in the 1970s. North of Frog Farm, excavation in 2005 revealed 36 more cremations from the first and second centuries, with one dated 240–370, and a ditch interpreted as the northern boundary of the cemetery. 110 cremations are now known at the Frog Farm site.
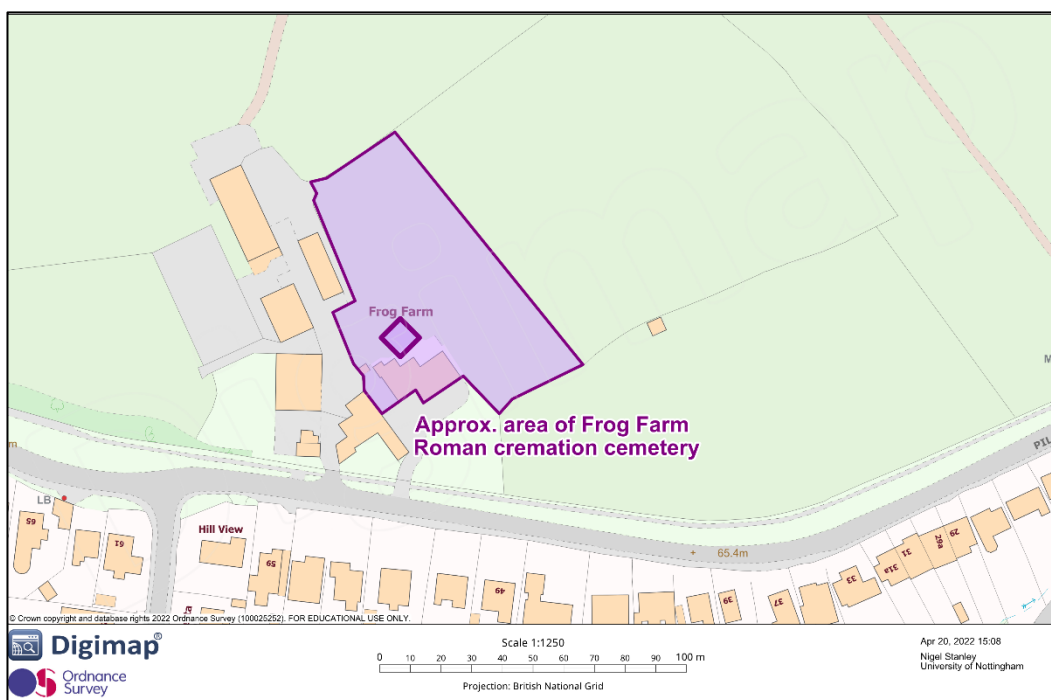
Figure 49: Frog Farm in Wickham Field, Otford KNT.

Other Roman archaeology is also known in Wickham Field and nearby (see Figure 48 above). In the 1960s, field-walking in Wickham Field revealed 25 coins from the first to fourth centuries, and over a dozen Romano-British bronze brooches (Clarke and Stoyel 1975: 16). In 1927 a large layer of stone obstructed

workmen digging the main road (Pilgrims' Way) close to Frog Farm; not investigated by archaeologists, this might have been a section of metalled Roman road, or possibly the stone foundations of a Roman building (Clarke and Stoyel 1975: 20–21; Ward 1990).

Interpretations of Roman archaeology and settlement on the Wickham Field site have varied. Around 1966–68, the Isolation Hospital site was viewed as a Romano-British farmstead whose main occupation was in the first and second centuries (Ward 1990); however, from the discovery of roof tiles and one hypocaust tile at the hospital site, and the relatively high number of burials at the Frog Farm cemetery, Clarke and Stoyel (1975: 15–18) concluded that there was probably a Roman villa at Wickham Field, not yet precisely located. Finds of surface objects in Wickham Field suggest that occupation of some form continued into the fourth century. Ward (1990) concluded that Wickham Field was the site of a Romano-British settlement which flourished throughout the Roman period, perhaps acting as a market-centre for the surrounding countryside, with similar religious customs to those in larger settlements and towns in south-eastern Britain and a comparable standard of living.

(31) OXF.3B *Wycham* in South Newington

Attestation

Wycham c.1250 (Gelling 1954: 278, 1967: 92).

Location

Wycham is a lost field-name in South Newington, where the parish church is at SP407333. The parish boundary with Wigginton is around 200m north of the church. South Newington is 5km south of Margary 56a, 6km south of the Roman settlement at Swalcliffe Lea, and 2km west of a Roman road running north to Broughton (RRS map). South Newington church is 5.6km south-west of Wykham Park OXF.2A in Banbury.
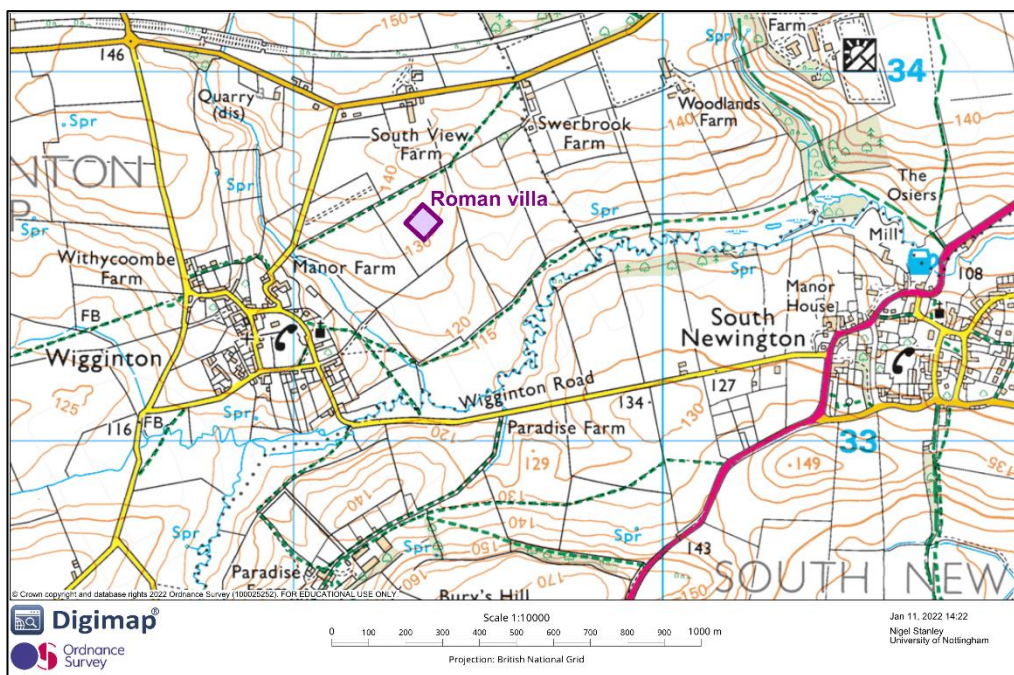
Figure 50: Wigginton and South Newington OXF.

Roman archaeology

No Roman archaeology seems evident within the parish boundaries of South Newington. However, 300m north-west of the boundary, and 1.4km from South Newington church, was a Roman villa in Wigginton at SP393335 (HER 1617; www.historicengland.org.uk, Scheduled Monument 1021460). Discovered in 1824, this was a courtyard villa; a plan of the bath-house was published in 1841 (Taylor 1939: 309). Following re-excavation in the 1960s, it became clear that while some features dated from the third century or earlier, most walls dated from the fourth century, and some from the late fourth century (Henig and Booth 2000: 88). Excavations in 2004–05 revealed numerous walls, mosaics, bath-suites, wall-plaster with painted fresco, and connected tessellated walkways. Villas such as Wigginton and North Leigh in Oxfordshire were palatial, and represented centres of power for their owners, who were probably *curiales*, engaged in cantonal government (Henig and Booth 2000: 44, 145). The nearest cantonal capital to Wigginton was Cirencester (Roman *Corinium*), 48km to the south-west.

(32) SOM.1B *Wykhamstyle* in Ditcheat

Attestation

Wykhamstyle 1308–10 (Costen 1992: 58), Wickham Ash 1840 TA.

Location

Wykhamstyle is the lost name of an arable field in which Glastonbury Abbey held 1.5 acres (British Library: Egerton 3321, ff. 98–104b). The generic *style* may derive from OE *stigel* 'stile, steep ascent', as in Huntstile SOM (Smith 1956, 2: 152); *Wykhamstyle* might thus mean 'steep ascent at (or leading to) *wīc-hām*'.
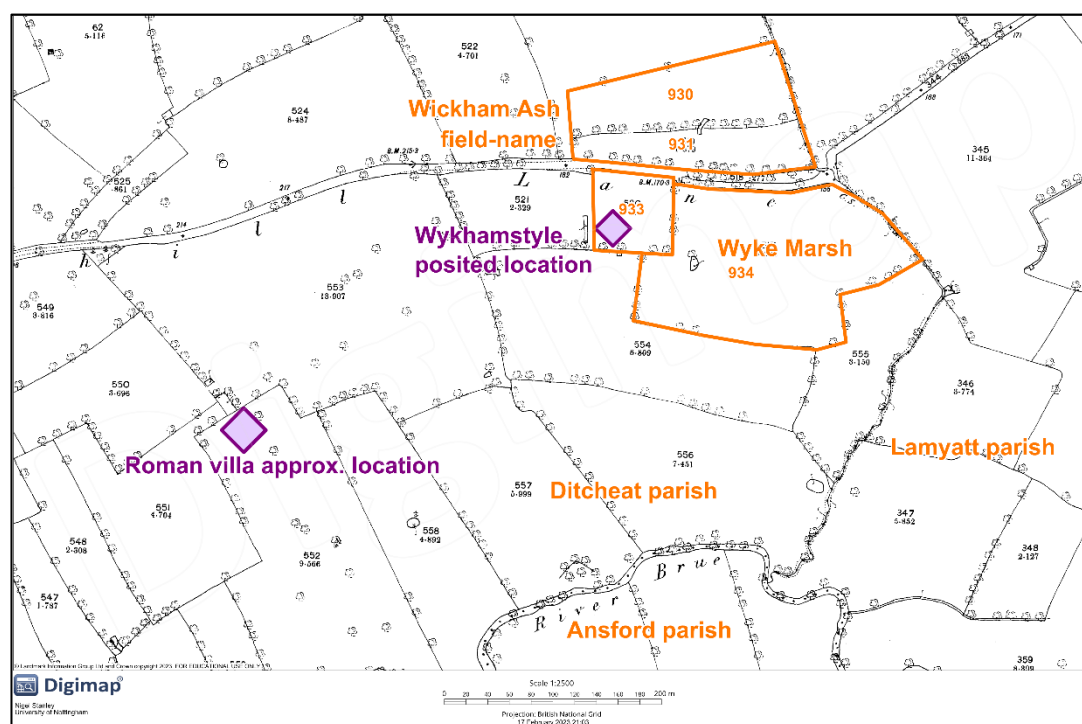
Figure 51: Ditcheat SOM, East Hill area.

Costen (1992: 58–59) associated *Wykhamstyle* with the 1840 field-name Wickham Ash (see Figure 51 above). The fields called Wickham Ash in the 1840 Ditcheat TA (fields 930, 931 and 933; HER PRN27311) were located around ST649347, in the south-eastern area of Ditcheat parish, beside Easthill Lane. The generic *style* 'steep ascent' is appropriate to local topography, on the steep

eastern slope of East Hill. In the name Wickham Ash, the generic element Ash is from OE *æsc* (Angl, WSax) 'an ash-tree'; *æsc* sometimes occurs in OE boundary clauses with a descriptive specific element (Smith 1956, 1: 4). Here, the fields called Wickham Ash lie along the boundary of Ditcheat and Lamyatt. If Wickham Ash derives from an earlier OE form *wīchām æsc*, this field-name might mean 'the ash-tree at (or leading to) *wīchām*'. It is possible, though not certain, that *Wykhamstyle* equates to field 933 in the 1840 TA, since both fields have an area of 1.5 acres. If so, *Wykhamstyle* might have been re-named as Wickham Ash, the name of two adjacent fields to the north in 1840. In the TA, the adjacent field to the south, Wyke Marsh (934), was pasture, not marshland, and this name may be an elliptical form of Wickham Ash, perhaps influenced by the name Wyke Champflower, 1km to the east.

Roman archaeology

On the south side of East Hill at ST645344, a large rectangular enclosure is known from aerial photography. Narrow parallel compartments suggest the possible site of a Roman corridor villa (www.somersetheritage.org.uk, HER PRN23379; Scott 1993: 167). The supposed villa site is around 400m south-west of the Wickham Ash fields (1840) and of the posited location of *Wykhamstyle* (c.1308). No excavation of the supposed villa site seems to have occurred.

1km west of the likely East Hill villa was another Roman villa in Ditcheat, sometimes called Laverns, at ST635340; 1km north-east of East Hill was a villa with a temple site in Lamyatt, at ST656356 (Costen 1992: 75).

(33) SUR.1B *Wicham* in Camberwell

Attestation

Wicham 1224 (Flower 1955: 523–24; Gelling 1988a: 247).

Location

In 1224, Celestria of London won a court-case against the Prior of Bermondsey in a dispute over a field called *Wicham* in Peckham, in Camberwell parish, and four acres called *le Hope*. The latter name derives from OE *hop*, meaning 'remote enclosed place', 'enclosure in marsh or wasteland' or 'remote valley' (Gelling and Cole 2014: 133–35). The litigation recorded mentions that *Wicham* and *le Hope* were separated by the *magna via* or 'great road'; this was almost certainly Kent Street, later called the (Old) Kent Road, the medieval route from London to Canterbury which ran through Peckham. The original route of Margary 1c ran around 150m to the south.

Figure 52: Sketch-map based on John Rocque's map *The Country near Ten Miles Round* [London], c.1744–46, showing the Kent Road running diagonally south-east (from top left) through the fields of Peckham.

For a traveller heading north-west to London on the Kent Road, entering Camberwell parish from Deptford, a stretch of road around 1.2 km long ran through fields in the eighteenth century, as shown on Rocque's map c.1744–46 (Tames 1997: 8–20). The location of *Wicham* alongside this road is uncertain, and only North Field is named on Rocque's map. No fields are named on the Camberwell tithe map and apportionment c.1842 (Southwark Archives, personal communication). A proxy location for *Wicham*, probably accurate to within a few hundred metres, is around TQ348776, mid-way along the 1.2km stretch of road, where Halfway House is named on Rocque's map; however, *Wicham* may have been elsewhere along this stretch of road. *Wicham* in Camberwell was around 5km south-east of London (Roman *Londinium*) and is the closest known *wīc-hām* site to London.
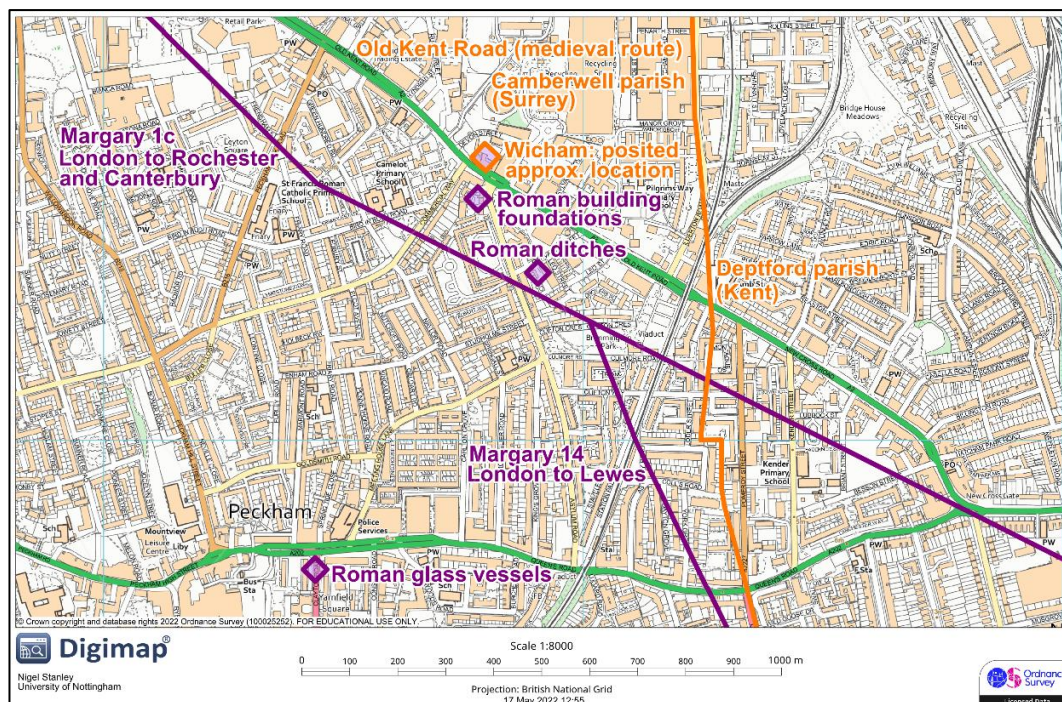
Figure 53: Peckham in Camberwell SRY, showing the Old Kent Road running diagonally south-east.

Roman archaeology

Limestone and ragstone foundations of a Roman stone building are known around TQ347775, at numbers 4–10 Asylum Road, Peckham, excavated in 1993 (MLO58925). While not definitive, these findings might possibly suggest a Roman villa. This site is around 100m south of Halfway House on Rocque's map c.1744. Roman ditches are known 180m south-east of the Roman building, at TQ349773. Finds of Roman glass vessels on Peckham High Street may suggest burials and a nearby Roman settlement (Bird 2004: 136).

(34) SSX.5B *Wicham* in Sedlescombe

Attestation

Wicham c.1220–50 (ESRO HEH/BA/ BOX 11/1174), *Wickham* (*melle*) 1383–85 (Searle 1974), *Wykham* (*Hille*) 1528 (Lucey 1978).
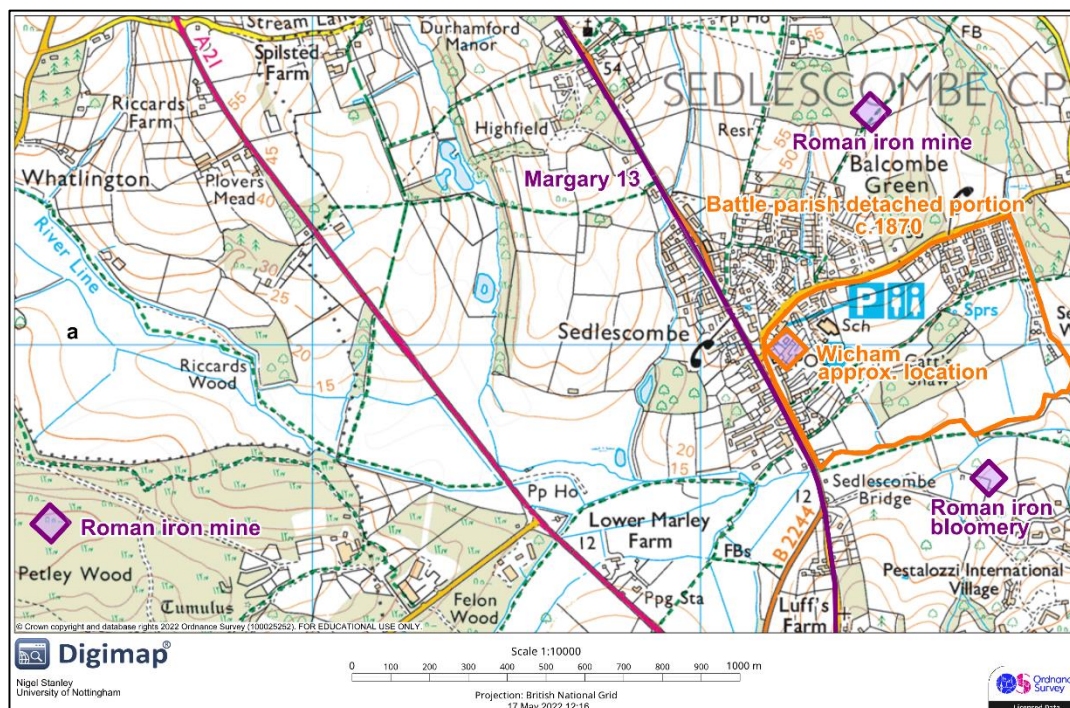
Figure 54: *Wicham* in Sedlescombe SSX.

Location

Wicham was a medieval manor in the south of Sedlescombe parish, probably around TQ782179, in the area later called Sedlescombe Street. Various lands were granted to Battle Abbey by Olive de Wicham c.1220–50, and the manor was gradually acquired by the abbey (Searle 1974: 146, 159, 325–35).

A conveyance c.1220 transferred land between Petley Wood (*Petle*) and the meadow of the men of Whatlington (*Watlingetun*) and of Wickham (*Wicham*) (ESRO HEH/BA/BOX 11/1174). Some of the lands at *Wicham* granted to Battle Abbey may be represented by a detached portion of Battle parish to the east of Sedlescombe Street c.1870, containing around 80 acres, where properties were copyholds of Battle manor (Lucey 1978: 118). Around 1383, Wickham manor included a water-mill and water-meadow beside the River Line or Brede (Searle 1974: 146 ff.). In 1528, a local bequest left money for repair of 'the King's Highway between Wykham Hille and Sedlescombe Hill' (Lucey 1978: 28).

Roman archaeology

Situated 7km south of the Roman naval settlement at Bodiam, which included villa-like buildings, *Wicham* in Sedlescombe was beside Margary 13 from Rochester to Bodiam and Hastings, whose route allowed transportation of iron to the River Rother at Bodiam (Margary 1967: 46). A Roman iron mine or bloomery (HER MES3346) is known in Petley Wood at TQ763175, 1.8km west of Margary 13, while another bloomery (HER MES2572) was 700m south-east of Sedlescombe Street at TQ787176. A Roman iron mine, not in the HER, is listed around 700m north-east of *Wicham* at TQ784186 (www.archiuk.com). Around 3.5km south-east of *Wicham* was the Roman bath-house at Beauport Park, TQ786144, where the bloomery for the British fleet, the *Classis Britannica*, was the third largest ironworks in the Roman empire (Russell 2006: 245–49). In northern Sedlescombe, various types of Roman pottery dating from the first to

fourth centuries, and a roof-tile, have been found north of Durhamford Manor (Lucey 1978: 24–25).

(35) SSX.6B Wickham Farm in Salehurst and Mountfield

Attestation

Wicham c.1220–30; *Wickham* 1617, 1653; *Wickham Farm* 1683 (ESRO archives).

Location

Wicham (later Wickham Farm) in Salehurst and Mountfield seems to have been a medieval manor south of Robertsbridge, possibly close to Walter's Farm at TQ743223. Around 1220, James, rector of Sedlescombe, granted to the abbot and convent of Robertsbridge three acres and three quarters of brookland called *Seggesbroc* in *Wicham*; witnesses included Alan de Robertsbridge and Richard de Wicham (ESRO HEH/BA/BOX 36/1230). Around 1230, Richard, son of William de Wicham, granted to the abbot and convent of Robertsbridge all his land in *Wicham* (ESRO HEH/BA/BOX 36/1221). The reference c.1220 to brookland in *Wicham* suggests a gift of land near the Rother or one of its tributary streams.

The nineteenth-century parish boundary between Salehurst and Mountfield ran through Walter's Farm, and it seems that the manor of *Wicham* once contained land in both parishes. ESRO holds various documents from 1486–1839 mentioning Wickham in Salehurst and Mountfield, including a detailed Mountfield Tenement Analysis (ESRO HBR9/30).
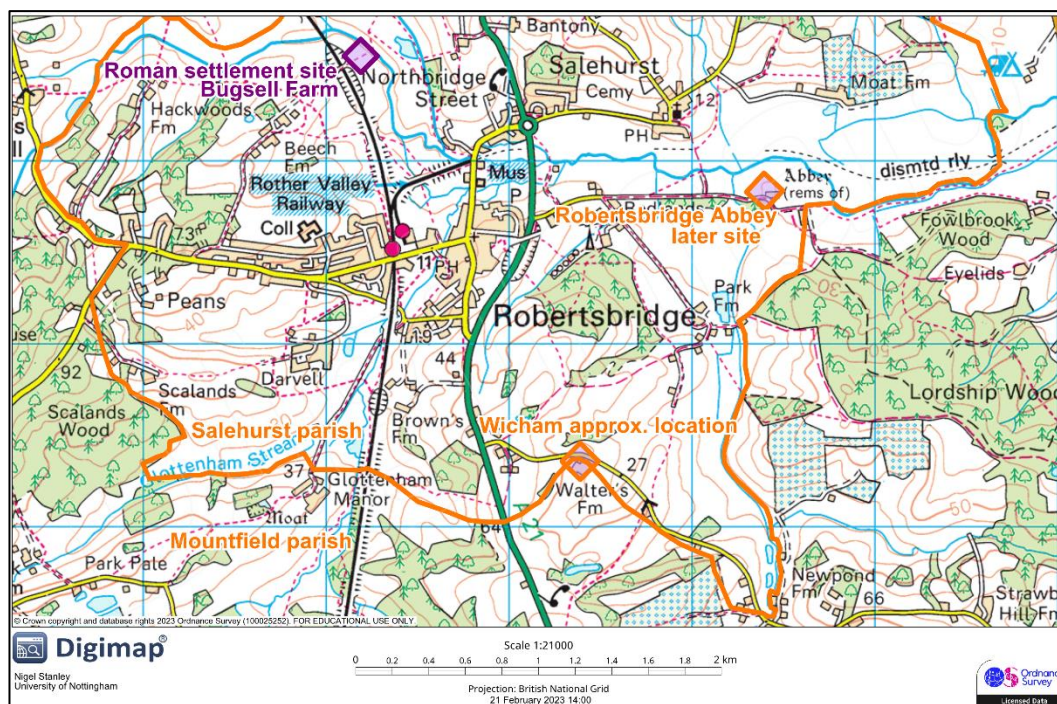
Figure 55: Salehurst and Robertsbridge SSX, showing nineteenth-century parish boundaries.

In 1653, seven parcels of land (30 acres) called Wickham were leased in Salehurst and Mountfield (ESRO BH/P/ES/FD/13). After 1600, the apparent remnants of the manor, including a Wickham Farm (but no farmhouse), were south-west of Walter's Farm, abutting the road to Sedlescombe (ESRO HBR9/30: P/59, P/60).

Roman archaeology

Walter's Farm is around 4km west of Margary 13, which crossed the River Rother at Bodiam. No Roman archaeology is currently known near Walter's Farm. 3km north-west, a Roman settlement site (HER MES2304) is known in Robertsbridge at Bugsell Farm, TQ732246, beside the Rother.

NOTES on gazetteer content:

Discussing Wickham Green in Urchfont WLT, Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1939: 316) gave the attestations *Wicham* 1237, *Wykeham leyes* 1460. However, the 1237 archive referenced (Calendar of Charter Rolls 1903) does not specify the county of *Wicham*, whereas another 1237 archive (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1906) indicates that the *Wycham* in question was in Suffolk. Wickham Green is therefore omitted from this gazetteer, as the first attestation (1460) post-dates 1350. The 1460 attestation should read *Wykeham heyes* 1460–61 (Wiltshire Notes and Queries).

3.6 Synoptic discussion: Roman archaeology at possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200 and 1350 (Types AP and B)

Proximity to Roman roads

The proximity of sites of Types AP and B to Roman roads is illustrated below.
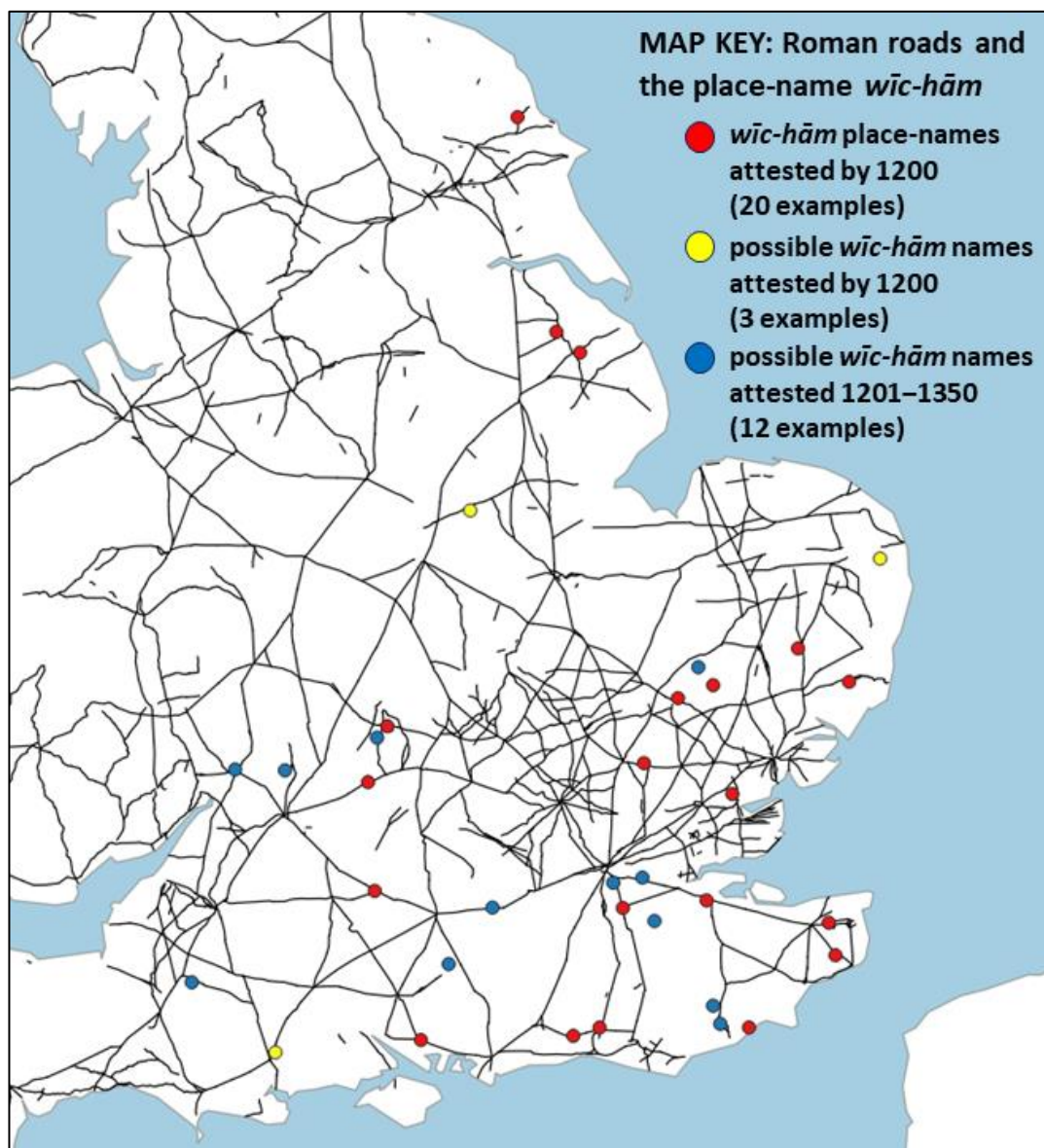
Figure 56: Roman roads and the place-name *wīc-hām*.

At least four of the fifteen possible *wīc-hām* sites under discussion (Types AP and B) are situated less than 500m from a metalled Roman road: *Wicham* in

Camberwell SRY (0.1km, Margary 1c), *Wicham* in Sedlescombe SSX (0.1km, Margary 13), Wickham Bushes in Easthampstead (0.2km, Margary 4a), and Wycomb in Whittington GLO (0.1km, road unnamed). To this list might be added Wickham Field in Otford KNT (0.1km?), if the adjacent road on its southern side, the Pilgrims' Way, was a track-way or metalled road used in the Roman era. Six of the fifteen *wīc-hām* sites occur at distances of 0.5–2km from Roman roads: *Wicham* in Ashley CAM (0.5km), Witchampton DOR (1km), *Wicham* in Maisemore GLO (1km), East Wickham KNT (1km), *Wykhamstyle* in Ditcheat SOM (1.2km), and *Wycham* in South Newington OXF (2km). Wycomb in Scalford LEI is 2.1km from a Roman road.

Villa settlements at possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1350

At least two of the fifteen locations show a possible association of the name *wīc-hām* with villa settlements, where a villa has been excavated: Witchampton DOR and Wycomb in Scalford LEI. At another three locations there is a possible relationship of the name to a villa or large building, known from excavation or aerial photography: *Wicham* in Camberwell SUR (with stone foundations), *Wicham* in Maisemore GLO (with stone foundations), and *Wykhamstyle* in Ditcheat SOM (from aerial photography). At two more locations, *Wicham* in Lasham HMP and *Wycham* in South Newington OXF, *wīc-hām* appears as a field-name of uncertain location, while the adjacent parish has a Roman villa within 400m of the respective parish boundary; it is therefore possible, but not certain, that *wīc-hām* might refer to the villa in the adjacent parish, or else to a separate smaller settlement dependent on the villa. In the case of Wickham Bushes BRK and Wycomb in Whittington GLO, a possible villa or *mansio* is suspected from finds of high-status building material, while at Wickham Field in Otford KNT, a villa is suspected from the discovery of a hypocaust tile, though the villa's presence remains unconfirmed.

Roman burials at possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1350

Two or three of the fifteen sites (up to 20%) have evidence of Roman burials.

Firstly, Wickham Field in Otford has around 110 burials known at the Frog Farm

cremation cemetery, dating from around AD 150–370. Secondly, at Wycomb in

Whittington GLO, from eight to eleven inhumation burials are known, dating

from the late third or fourth century, along with other Roman burials of uncertain

number, date and type. Thirdly, East Wickham KNT is located 1km north of

Welling, where ten cremations seem to date from around AD 140–200, though

the name *wīc-hām* might possibly refer here to a settlement separate from the

Welling Roman settlement.

Roman pottery at possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1350

Large quantities of Roman pottery have been found at Wickham Bushes BRK and

Wycomb GLO, and smaller quantities of Roman pottery at five other possible

wīc-hām sites: Witchampton DOR, Wycomb in Scalford LEI, Wickhampton NFK,

Wicham in Maisemore GLO, and Wickham Field in Otford KNT.

At some possible *wīc-hām* sites, pottery finds suggest early Roman

occupation. At Wickham Field KNT, Patchgrove ware was produced in kilns from

around AD 60–100, while other early wares include native Upchurch and Castor

wares, along with Samian ware imported before AD 200. Samian is also known

at Witchampton DOR. At Wickham Bushes BRK, occupation from the first century

onwards is suggested by Silchester ware, grog and flint-tempered ware.

At other possible *wīc-hām* sites, pottery finds suggest later Roman

occupation. New Forest ware from around AD 260–370 is known at Witchampton

DOR, while at Wickham Bushes BRK, later Roman occupation is indicated by

colour-coated wares from the later third or fourth century. At Wycomb GLO, six

different types of fourth-century wares have been found: Oxfordshire ware,

Dorset Black Burnished Ware, New Forest and Nene Valley colour-coated wares,

Midlands grog-tempered ware and Midlands shelly ware. Unspecified pottery

from the second to fourth centuries has been found 400m from the posited site of *Wicham* in Maisemore, while greyware of unspecified date has been found at Wickhampton NFK and Wickham Bushes BRK. Roman pottery is not known at East Wickham KNT but occurs 1km to the south at Welling, in the form of 300 coarse pottery vessels including 24 from the fourth century.

Roman coinage at possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1350

Fourth-century Roman coinage has been found within 600m at 67% (2 of 3) of Type AP locations (possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200) and at 33% (4 of 12) of Type B locations (possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1350), especially at Wycomb GLO. No regional mean figure is available for Gloucestershire, therefore the discussion below compares Wycomb coinage with the nearest regional mean, Wiltshire.

Wycomb in Whittington GLO: Roman coinage
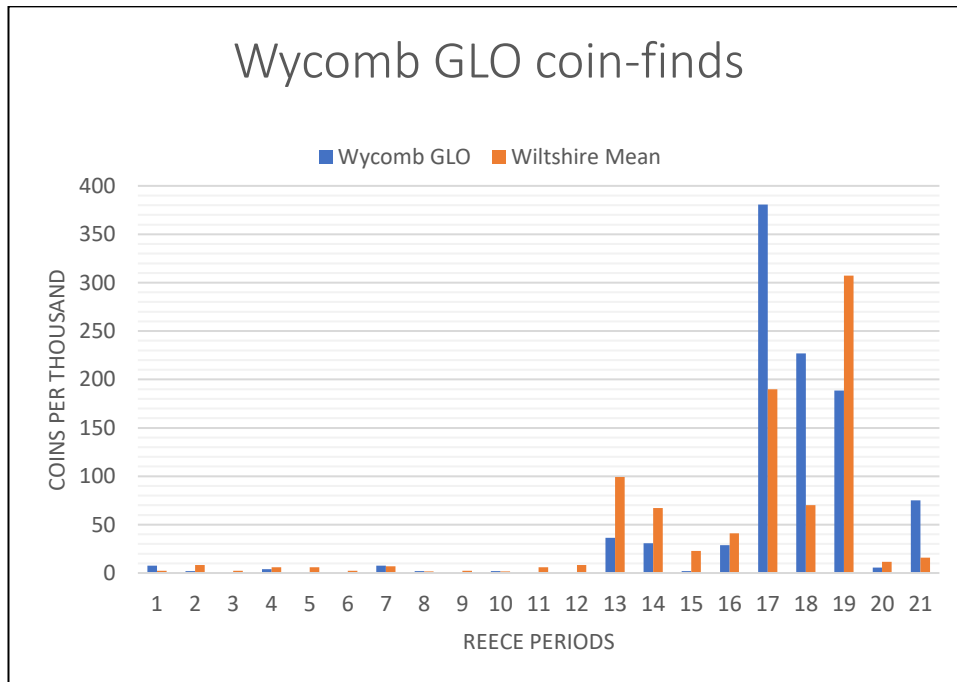
Figure 57: Wycomb GLO: Roman coinage.

Roman coinage found at Wycomb is discussed by Reece, in comparison with coinage from three other Roman settlements in the Cotswolds at Kingscote, Coln St Aldwyns and Dorn (Timby 1998: 400–21). The figures in Figure 57 above amalgamate Reece's statistics for three distinct coin collections from Wycomb: Syreford Mill, Wycomb 1 and Wycomb 2. A feature of Wycomb coinage identified by Reece, also visible by comparison with the Wiltshire Mean, is a relative scarcity of coinage from periods 13 and 14 (259–94) and from periods 15 and 16 (294–330), followed by a surprising surge in period 17 (330–48), in relation to the Wiltshire Mean and to the three other Cotswold sites (Timby 1998: 417). Moorhead (2017: 141–43) notes that Wiltshire has the highest proportion of coin-loss in Reece period 19 of any county in Britain, with a peak at temple sites in and around Wiltshire. The coin-loss at Wycomb, in contrast to the Wiltshire Mean, suggests a more gradual decline from the peak of period 17 (330–48). A notable feature at Wycomb is the relatively high number of coins from Reece period 21, 388–402, suggesting continued occupation of the town until the late fourth or early fifth century.

Roman coinage at other possible *wīc-hām* sites

Roman coinage is also known at various other possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200 or by 1350, though details seem to be lacking in published archaeological reports. At Witchampton DOR.1AP, a few coins were found from Reece period 13 (259–75), period 17 (330–48) and period 19 (364–78) (Collingwood and Taylor 1924: 235–37; HER MDO6), while at Wycomb in Scalford LEI.1AP, unspecified coins dating from the first to fourth centuries are reported (HER MLE4024; D. Stanley 2004). A single coin of Constantine I (Reece period 16 or 17) has been found at Wickhampton NFK.1AP (NHER 24595).

At Wickham Bushes BRK.2B (HER 00412.00.000), coins have supposedly been found dating from around AD 117–383, though the details of only three coins are currently known, from Reece periods 13–20 (259–388). At the site of a

possible villa (HER 9616), 400m from the posited site of Wickham in Maisemore GLO.2B, two coins from 330–37 (Reece period 17) have been found, while at Wickham Field in Otford KNT.6B, 25 coins date from the first to fourth centuries (Clarke and Stoyel 1975: 16).

Regarding *Wicham* in Lasham HMP.2B, a field of uncertain location, Roman coinage is known in adjacent Shalden, including six coins from the first and second centuries, four from the third century and four from the fourth century (Reece periods 16–19). At Welling, 1km from East Wickham KNT.5B, the nine coins found include four from the fourth century, of which two are from Reece period 17 or 18, 330–64.

Summary of Roman settlement at possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1350

At eight of these fifteen possible *wīc-hām* sites (53%), archaeological evidence of Roman settlement can be clearly demonstrated, to varying extents, and with varying levels of intensity of occupation at different times during the Roman era: Witchampton DOR, Wycomb LEI, Wickhampton NFK, Wickham Bushes BRK, Wycomb GLO, Wickham Field KNT, near *Wicham* in Camberwell SUR, and near *Wicham* in Maisemore GLO, though the last name might derive from *wīc-hamm*. In addition, near Wickham Ash in Ditcheat SOM (cf. *Wykhamstyle* c.1308), a Roman villa is suspected from aerial photography, though unconfirmed by excavation, and at *Wicham* in Sedlescombe SSX, beside Margary 13, the presence of a Roman settlement seems likely, owing to the presence of two Roman industrial sites within 700m.

At another five sites, evidence of Roman occupation is more tenuous and depends on the parameters of acceptance applied, especially where the place-name cannot be precisely located. The fields called *Wicham* in Lasham HMP and *Wycham* in South Newington OXF might potentially be close to known Roman villas in adjacent parishes, though the locations of the fields are uncertain. At

another two sites, the location of the name is known, but the nearest known Roman archaeology occurs at least 1km away: East Wickham KNT is 1km from the known Roman settlement at Welling, while the posited location of *Wicham* in Ashley CAM is 1.4km from known Roman settlement but perhaps 500m from a small Roman road.

Regarding the dates of Roman settlement, if any, at the sixteen possible *wīc-hām* sites, various conclusions can be reached, especially from the finds of pottery and coinage. Fourth-century pottery has been firmly identified at five sites: Wycomb LEI, Wickham Bushes BRK, Wycomb GLO, Wickham Field KNT and near *Wicham* in Maisemore GLO. At Witchampton DOR, New Forest ware and greyware may be from the fourth century, as may greyware from Wickhampton NFK. Fourth-century coinage is known at seven sites: Witchampton DOR, Wycomb LEI, Wickhampton NFK, Wickham Bushes BRK, Wycomb GLO, Wickham Field KNT, and near *Wicham* in Maisemore GLO. In addition, fourth-century coinage has been found at Welling, 1km from East Wickham, and at Shalden, the adjacent parish to *Wicham* in Lasham.

Overall, therefore, firm evidence of fourth-century occupation, known from Roman coinage, exists at six of the fifteen possible *wīc-hām* sites of Types AP and B (40%), as listed above; at five of these fifteen sites, fourth-century pottery has been identified. Some *wīc-hām* sites of Type AP/B, such as Ashley cum Silverley, show no clear evidence of proximate Roman settlement archaeology within 1km; however, the current lack of evidence at some locations does not necessarily mean that these sites were unoccupied during the Roman era, and at these sites there might perhaps be archaeological evidence of Roman settlement awaiting discovery. At some other Type AP/B *wīc-hām* sites, such as *Wicham* in Lasham and *Wycham* in South Newington, the location of the field-name is uncertain, and the medieval parish church is therefore used as a proxy location; however, the fields called *wīc-hām* might have been closer to known Roman villas in the adjacent parishes.

Table 8: Summary of Roman archaeology at possible *wīchām* sites attested by 1200: distances in km

No.	PLACE-NAME (AND PARISH)	Roman burials	Roman industrial activity	Roman ceramic material (any)	Roman building materials	Roman pottery (any type)	Fourth-century Roman pottery	Fourth-century Roman coinage	Distance to known Roman road km	Distance to known Roman villa km	Distance to Roman town* km
21	Witchampton			0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2?	0.2	1.0	0.2	5.0
22	Wycomb (Scalford)		2.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.1	1.0	2.2
23	Wickhampton (Freethorpe)			0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3?	0.5?	4.8	17.0	4.8

*distance to Roman town, city, fort or roadside settlement.
Note: if a cell is blank, no data is available proximate to the site.

Table 9: Summary of Roman archaeology at possible *wīchām* sites first attested from 1201–1350: distances in km

No.	PLACE-NAME (AND PARISH)	Roman burials	Roman industrial activity	Roman ceramic material (any)	Roman building materials	Roman pottery (any type)	Fourth-century Roman pottery	Fourth-century Roman coinage	Distance to known Roman road km	Distance to known Roman villa km	Distance to Roman town* km
24	Wickham Bushes (Easthampstead)		0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
25	*Wicham* (f.n.) (Ashley cum Silverley)			1.5	1.5	1.5			0.5	5.5?	14.0
26	Wycomb (Whittington)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
27	*Wicham* (f.n.) (Maisemore)		1.6?	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.4	1.6
28	*Wicham* (f.n.) (Lasham)			1.6	1.6	2.0?		2.0?	5.0	1.6	6.4
29	East Wickham	1.0		1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	5.0	1.0
30	Wickham Field (f.n.) (Otford)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.5?	1.0	14.0
31	*Wycham* (f.n.) (South Newington)			1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	2.0	1.4?	6.0
32	*Wykhamstyle* (Ditcheat)			1.0	1.0				1.2	0.4	8.5
33	*Wicham* (f.n.) (Camberwell)			0.2?	0.2?				0.2	0.2?	5.0
34	*Wicham* (Sedlescombe)		0.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.1	7.0	3.5
35	*Wicham* (Salehurst and Mountfield)		3.0	3.0		3.0			4.0	4.5	4.5
Mean distances (sites 21–35)									**1.5**	**2.8**	**4.8**

3.7: Measurements of proximity and control data: statistics and discussion

Control data

Table 10: Random -*hām* place-names (from same counties as *wīc-hām* names in core corpus)

	County	PLACE-NAME and OS Grid Reference	Distance to Roman road km	Distance to Roman villa km	Distance to Roman town* km	EPNS or other reference
1	Berkshire	Beenham SU590684	3.0	1.4	7.4	Gelling 1973: 150
2		Cookham SU897855	0.9	4.6	22.0	ib.79–80
3	Cambridgeshire	Babraham TL509505	2.2	1.7	7.5	Reaney 1943: 100
4		Balsham TL588508	2.1	3.2	11.5	ib.114
5	Essex	Aldham TL917258	2.0	2.0	7.5	Reaney 1935: 359
6		Asheldham TL978012	0.1	20.2	8.5	ib.208
7	Hampshire	Chineham SU661554	0.1	3.0	7.0	Watts 2004: 135
8		Cosham SU659056	2.5	3.6	3.6	ib.159
9	Hertfordshire	Aldenham TQ139984	2.3	2.8	8.0	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 59
10		Much Hadham TL430196	1.7	6.2	6.2	ib.176–77
11	Kent	Adisham TR227543	3.4	3.2	8.2	Watts 2004: 4
12		Alkham TR255424	3.1	5.5	6.4	ib.8
13	Lincolnshire	Covenham St Mary TF339943	1.7	15.7	13.5	Watts 2004: 162
14		Edenham TF062218	2.5	3.1	3.5	ib.208
15	Oxfordshire	Bloxham SP430356	1.5	2.4	5.0	Gelling 1953: 394
16		Mapledurham SU670766	6.2	3.1	14.3	ib.59–60
17	Suffolk	Akenham TM147488	2.9	2.2	5.1	Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 1
18		Aldham TM040444	2.3	7.4	9.0	ib.2
19	Sussex	Burpham TR039089	2.8	2.2	8.5	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 166
20		Clapham TQ095066	1.0	2.9	12.6	Watts 2004: 140
21	Yorkshire	Coverham SE103863	14.7	3.2	17.0	Watts 2004: 162
22	(all Ridings)	Levisham SE832900	4.8	11.2	4.2	ib.371
		Mean distances	**2.9**	**5.0**	**8.9**	

*distance to Roman town, city, fort or roadside settlement.

Table 11: Random major place-names (from same counties as *wīc-hām* names in core corpus)

	County	PLACE-NAME and OS Grid Reference	Distance to Roman road km	Distance to Roman villa km	Distance to Roman town* km	EPNS or other reference
1	Berkshire	Aldermaston SU596649	0.8	3.1	4.6	Gelling 1973–74: 198
2		Aldworth SU554794	4.0	5.3	14.7	ib.495
3	Cambridgeshire	Abington Pigotts TL304446	1.3	2.4	4.9	Reaney 1943: 51
4		Aldreth TL445734	6.0	7.8	14.0	ib.232
5	Essex	Abberton TL997193	0.1	1.0	5.5	Reaney 1935: 314
6		Abridge TQ466968	0.6	1.1	20.5	ib.66
7	Hampshire	Abbotstone SU567345	2.4	1.8	9.5	Coates 1989: 19
8		Aldershot SU869499	9.8	8.0	15.6	ib.20
9	Hertfordshire	Abbots Langley TL094022	0.5	1.7	5.9	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 44
10		Albury TL435247	1.8	2.6	6.9	ib.169
11	Kent	Acol TR307671	6.8	2.7	6.8	Watts 2004: 2
12		Aldington TR075362	0.4	1.4	4.6	ib.4
13	Lincolnshire	Aby TF412784	5.1	6.0	17.0	Watts 2004: 2
14		Addlethorpe TF550690	5.2	11.2	14.9	ib.4
15	Oxfordshire	Adderbury SP471353	1.1	1.2	2.5	Gelling 1953–54: 391
16		Adwell SU696995	4.5	5.1	13.0	ib.101
17	Suffolk	Acton TL892452	0.3	3.0	22.2	Briggs and Kilpatrick 2016: 1
18		Alderton TM343417	15.1	6.5	6.3	ib.2
19	Sussex	Abingworth TQ102168	1.1	2.5	7.2	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 180
20		Adversane TQ073233	0.1	2.8	7.2	ib.148
21	Yorkshire	Acaster Malbis SE594458	3.0	5.9	5.6	Watts 2004: 2
22	(all Ridings)	Acklam SE785617	1.4	4.1	9.4	ib.
		Mean distances	**3.2**	**4.0**	**9.9**	

*distance to Roman town, city, fort or roadside settlement.

Table 12: Comparative data: *Wīc-hām* sites (Type A), possible *wīc-hām* sites (Types AP and B) and control data

Data type				Distance to Roman road km	Distance to Roman villa km	Distance to Roman town* km
Type A: *Wīc-hām* sites attested by 1200				**1.1**	**2.6**	**5.5**
Types AP/B: Possible *wīc-hām* sites attested by 1350				**1.5**	**2.8**	**4.8**
Control (a): Random -*hām* place-names				2.9	5.0	8.9
Control (b): Random major place-names				3.2	4.0	9.9
Mean control figure (Controls a-b)				**3.1**	**4.5**	**9.4**
	Median		**Mean**			
Distances to Roman roads (Briggs 2009)	M	MX	M	**MX**		
Wicham names	1.6	1.1	3.0	**2.3**		
Roman villa sites	2.0	1.7	3.9	**3.3**		
OE -*hām* names	2.4	2.4	3.1	**3.1**		
Uniform random points	4.3	3.7	6.1	**5.5**		
Low-altitude random points	4.1	3.4	5.8	**5.0**		

Discussion of control data

In Tables 10–11 above, a simple spatial comparison is presented between *wīc-hām* sites and Romano-British archaeology. Two different types of control data have been used. Firstly, in Table 10, two random compound place-names with the generic element *-hām* have been selected, from each of the eleven counties where *wīc-hām* occurs in the core corpus of twenty *wīc-hām* names (Type A). The random place-names are the first *-hām* place-names listed alphabetically in that county in a recent road atlas (AA 2021: 162–92). The distance is then shown from the random *-hām* place-name to the nearest example of three different types of Roman archaeology: firstly to a Roman road, secondly to a Roman villa, and thirdly to a Roman town, city, fort or roadside settlement. In Table 11 the same procedure is repeated for two random major place-names, typically village-names, from each of the eleven counties. The control data therefore consists of 44 random place-names in total. Table 12 then compares the control data with the mean distances for *wīc-hām* sites of Type A (shown in Table 5, in Section 3.4), and for possible *wīc-hām* sites of Types AP and B (shown in Tables 8 and 9, in Section 3.6).

The selection of 'random' place-names is a necessary but imperfect procedure, producing various problems. Firstly, in Tables 10 and 11, the respective 'random' *-hām* names and 'random' major place-names are found in a road atlas (AA 2021); however, minor settlement-names are less likely to be indexed in the atlas. Secondly, in a minority of names in -ham, such as Beenham and Burpham, there is a possibility of generic *-hamm*.

Despite these methodological problems, the results of the control data are potentially revealing, as seen in Table 12. Firstly, the *wīc-hām* sites have a close spatial proximity to Roman roads. This is especially true of the core corpus of twenty *wīc-hām* sites of Type A, with a mean distance of 1.1km, but also true of the possible *wīc-hām* sites of Types AP and B, with a mean of 1.5km. This compares with the mean control figure of 3.1km to Roman roads for the 44

random place-names. Secondly, the mean proximity of *wīc-hām* sites to Roman villas is 2.6km for the Type A *wīc-hām* sites, and 2.8km for the possible *wīc-hām* sites of Types AP and B. This compares with the mean control figure of 4.5km to Roman villas for the 44 random place-names. Thirdly, the Type A *wīc-hām* sites, and the possible *wīc-hām* sites of Types AP and B, have a mean distance 5.5km and 4.8km respectively from the nearest Roman town, city, fort or roadside settlement. These distances are distinctly lower than the mean control figure of 9.4km for the 44 random place-names.

Overall, the comparative data suggest that *wīc-hām* sites (Type A) and possible *wīc-hām* sites (Types AP and B) both have a significantly closer proximity to Roman roads than random sites have; moreover, *wīc-hām* sites and possible *wīc-hām* sites both have a closer proximity to major Roman settlements than do Controls (a) and (b), the random -*hām* names and random major place-names. The mean proximity between Roman villas and *wīc-hām* sites (Type A) and possible *wīc-hām* sites (Types AP and B) is also lower, at 2.6km, than the mean control figure of 4.5km. This suggests a close relationship between Roman villas and the place-name *wīc-hām*, but also that the appellative *wīc-hām* might refer to other types of Roman settlement in addition to villas.

The statistics in this discussion are suggestive rather than conclusive, and the control data might not be statistically rigorous in all respects. A fully rigorous statistical assessment of the locations under investigation, measuring distances from Roman archaeology, would be beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, the findings of this limited survey do suggest that *wīc-hām* names of Type A, and possible *wīc-hām* names of Types AP and B, are closer to Roman roads, Roman villas and Roman towns (or similar settlements) than either of the two types of place-name in the control data, and closer than the combined mean figures of the control data (a and b).

The statistical data produced by Briggs (2009: 43–57), included in Table 12, provides a useful comparison. Briggs examines the distances to Roman roads

from various different types of place-name, including amongst others: 1) 54 *wīc-hām* place-names, comprising those listed by Gelling (1988a: 67–70, 245–47) but also several others, without naming the sites or limiting the corpus by date of attestation; 2) Roman villa sites; 3) OE *-hām* place-names in the Midlands and East Anglia; 4) uniform random points, and 5) low-altitude random points. Briggs measures the distances from the 54 *wīc-hām* place-names, firstly to Roman roads with Margary numbers (Type M), and secondly to all Roman roads (Type MX), including those without Margary numbers. This thesis uses the second of these approaches, and the findings of the control data in Section 3.7 can therefore be compared to the MX figures of Briggs. It is notable that the *mean* distance to Roman roads of twenty *wīc-hām* sites of Type A in this thesis, at 1.1km, is identical to the *median* MX distance for Briggs' 54 *wīc-hām* sites; however, Briggs' *mean* distance to Roman roads (MX) is 2.3km. It is therefore clear that with different datasets and different statistical methods, different results can arise, but also that the twenty early-attested *wīc-hām* sites of Type A have a closer correlation with Roman roads than Type B locations in this thesis (possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1350), whose mean distance to Roman roads is 1.5km.

Chapter 4: Compound English place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics other than *hām*

4.1 The scope of the current survey, and summary tables of place-names

Gelling hypothesized that in compound names such as Wickford, Wickfield and Witton, with specific *wīc* and generics other than *hām*, the specific *wīc* might sometimes refer to a Roman settlement site (1967: 98–99, 1974: 326, 1988: 247). Chapter 4 now explores this issue in depth, addressing the second main research-question of this thesis: is it possible to establish what OE *wīc* signifies when it occurs as the first element of place-names? Chapter 4 will examine twenty-two compound names attested by 1200 (Type A), and another twenty names attested by 1350 (Type B), considered together as a national corpus.

The range of generics in compound *wīc* place-names

Twenty-three different generics (other than *hām*) are attested by 1350 in compound names with specific *wīc.* These are: OE *beorg*, *bold*, *denu*, *dūn*, *feld*, *ford*, (*ge*)*hæg*, *haga*, *halh*, *hlāw*, *hrycg*, *hyrst*, *læs*, *land*, *lēah*, *mæd*, *mere*, *ōra, stall*, *stede*, *stōw*, *tūn* and *wella*.

Habitative and topographical generics; recurrent and unique compounds

Four compounds with habitative generics are attested in place-names by 1200: *wīc-bold*, *wīc-stall*, *wīc-stōw* and *wīc-tūn*, while *wīc-stede* is attested by 1350. In addition, three *wīc* compounds with topographical generics are attested by 1200: *wīc-feld*, *wīc-ford* and *wīc-lēah*, while *wīc-hyrst* is attested by 1350. Recurrent compounds are place-names which recur frequently enough to suggest that they were standard descriptive terms, rather than separate coinings in each instance (Rumble 2011: 48). Names are considered in this thesis as recurrent when attested in three or more locations by 1350, such as *wīc-tūn* (6 examples), *wīc-lēah* (5), *wīc-feld* (4), *wīc-ford* (3), *wīc-hyrst* (3), and *wīc-stōw* (3).

The habitative compound *wīc-stede* is attested in two locations by 1350, while fourteen *wīc* compounds are attested in individual topographical place-names: four are attested by 1200, with the generics *dūn*, *halh*, *hlāw* and *mere*, and another ten by 1350, with the generics *beorg*, *denu*, (*ge*)*hæg*, *haga*, *hrycg*, *lǣs*, *land*, *mǣd*, *ōra* and *wella*.

Documentary sources of *wīc* compound place-names

The place-names discussed in Chapter 4 have been taken mainly from published volumes of the Survey of English Place-Names, and from other reliable county surveys and scholarly works. It is worth discussing the documentary sources in which the earliest attestations of these place-names are found, including issues such as the date, provenance and reliability of the sources, and the orthography and potential meaning of the attested forms of place-names.

The sources where *wīc* compounds are found include, firstly, charters or land-grants made in the ninth to eleventh centuries; some of these are mainly in Old English, while others contain a Latin text with OE boundary clauses. Charters sometimes exist as later copies, and in some cases the boundary clause of a charter may be a later concoction. It is important, therefore, to consider scholarly opinion on the reliability of a charter, before accepting any names in the charter into the corpus of this thesis.

A second major source of place-names is the Domesday Book of 1086, in which six of the 42 names are first attested, including four examples of Witton. Thirdly, central government records dating from after 1086 provide a valuable resource, such as Subsidy Rolls, Charter Rolls and Patent Rolls. Many such records were published by HMSO in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Fourthly, published cartularies of medieval abbeys, and other local manorial and legal records surviving from before 1350, provide numerous minor place-names such as field-names.

In chronological terms, of the forty-two *wīc* compound names in the corpus, the number of attestations increases with the passage of time. Two attestations appear in original ninth-century charters, with another two attestations c.817 in a seventeenth-century copy; two attestations date from 901–1050 in original charters, with another three dating from the later tenth century, albeit in copies from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries; thirteen attestations date from 1051–1200, and twenty from 1201–1350.

Many of these attestations are early, and twelve of the locations are named in DB, suggesting that these were often important places in economic or administrative terms. Of the eight earliest examples, where land-grants made before 1000 are preserved in original charters or later copies, four attestations occur in the main body of charters, and four in boundary clauses. Care must be taken before accepting boundary clauses as reliable evidence of the date of an attestation or of the spelling of a name, because boundary clauses were sometimes added later to the main body of an earlier charter. Scribal errors are possible in charters and in DB; in the latter, names of settlements were reported verbally in each shire by a local jury to itinerant Norman scribes, who were not necessarily familiar with local pronunciation and who could write a name as they wished. Moreover, whether in charters or DB, or in other medieval documents, alternative forms of a place-name sometimes appear in the same document, or in different documents, as there was not necessarily a standard pronunciation or spelling of the name (Cameron 1996: 16–17).

Summary tables of compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics

	Generics	Site No.	Site I.D.	Place-name	Parish	Location	EPNS and other references
	Table 13: *Wīc* compound names attested by 1200 (22 examples)						
A	**bold**	1	WOR.23A	Wychbold (*Wicbold* 831 (S 188))	Wychbold	SO929658	Mawer and Stenton 1927: 285
B	**dūn**	2	YOW.21A	Wigton (*Wigdon* 1135, *Wykedon* 1257)	Harewood	SE324410	Smith 1961, 4: 187
C	**feld**	3	BRK.21A	Wickfield Farm (*Wikefeld'* 1199)	East Shefford	SU380730	Gelling 1974: 326
		4	CHE.21A	*Wicesfeld* (f.n.) 1096–1101	Nantwich	SJ652523?	Dodgson 1970, 2: 6
D	**ford**	5	WOR.21A	(*to*) *Wicford*(*a*) c.817 (17th) (S 1597)	Salwarpe	SO870632	Ekwall 1964: 24 n.9
		6	ESX.21A	Wickford ((*æt*) *Wicforda* c.975 (11th) S 1494, *Wi*(*n*)*cfort* 1086 DB)	Wickford	TQ745932	Reaney 1935: 176
		7	LIN.21A	Wigford (*Wich*(*e*)*ford'* c.1107)	Wigford	SK975711	Cameron 1985: 45–46
E	**halh**	8	YOW.22A	Wighill (*duas Wicheles* 1086 DB, *Wikale* 1219)	Wighill	SE473465	Smith 1964, 4: 242
F	**hlāw**	9	SFK.21A	*Wicklaw* (*Wichlawe* 1109–31)	Hacheston?	TM309569?	Briggs 2019: 11–15
G	**lēah**	10	WLT.21A	(*on*) *wic leage* 825 (S 272)	Alton Barnes	SU124615	Grundy 1919: 164
		11	NTP.21A	Weekley (*wiclea* 956 (c.1250) S 592, *Wiclei* 1086 DB)	Weekley	SP887807	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1933: 173
	lēah, wudu	12	NFK.21A	Wicklewood (*Wickelewuda* 1086 DB)	Wicklewood	TG069023	Ekwall 1936a: 492
H	**mere**	13	NFK.22A	Wickmere (*Wicmera* 1086 DB)	Wickmere	TG167333	Sandred 2002, 3: 107
I	**stall**	14	YOW.23A	*Wixstalker* (f.n.) c.1170	Swillington	SE378307?	Smith 1961, 4: 95
J	**stōw**	15	HNT.21A	Wistow (*Wistow, Wicstone* 974 (14th) S 798, *Wistou* 1086 DB)	Wistow	TL278809	Mawer and Stenton 1926: 228
		16	YOW.24A	Wistow (*Wicstow* c.1030)	Wistow	SE592356	Smith 1963, 4: 36
K	**tūn**	17	WOR.22A	Witton (*Wictune* c.817 (17th) (S 1597), *Witone in Wich* 1086 DB)	Droitwich	SO898626	Mawer, Stenton and Houghton 1927: 285, 289
		18	HNT.22A	Wyton (*Witton', Wittune* 974 (S 798), *Witune* 1086 DB)	Wyton	TL278722	Mawer and Stenton 1926: 230
		19	NFK.23A	Wighton (*Wistune* 1086 DB, *Wicton* 1212)	Wighton	TF940399	Watts 2004: 679
		20	YOE.25A	Market Weighton (*Wicstun* 1086 DB)	Market Weighton	SE877418	Smith 1937: 229–30
		21	WAR.21A	Witton (*Witone* 1086 DB)	Aston	SP088916	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1936: 33
		22	CHE.25A	Witton (*Witune* 1086 DB)	Northwich	SJ664738	Dodgson 1970, 2: 194

Table 14: *Wīc* compound names first attested 1201–1350 (20 examples)							
L	**beorg**	23	DEV.21B	Weekaborough (*Wykebergh* 1305)	Berry Pomeroy	SX844640	Gover 1932: 506
M	**denu, mǣd**	24	GLO.21B	*Wikedenesmede* (f.n.) c.1230	Coaley	SO768032?	Smith 1964, 2: 222
C	**feld**	25	HRT.24B	Wicks Field (*Wykefeld* 1338)	Little Munden	TL327207	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 137
		26	CHE.22B	*Wuchefeld* (f.n.) 1281	Middlewich	SJ703662?	Dodgson 1970, 2: 247
N	**(ge) hæg**	27	ESX.22B	Wickhay Green (*Wic-*, *Wik-*, *Wykhey*(*e*) 1250–1328)	Little Baddow	TL777081	Reaney 1935: 236
O	**haga**	28	NTT.21B	Wighay Farm (*Wikehawe* 1276)	Linby	SK529502	Mawer and Stenton 1940: 123
P	**hrycg**	29	GLO.22B	Wickridge (*Wic-*, *Wyc-*, *Wykrug*(*ge*) 1250–75)	Ashleworth	SO815270	Smith 1964, 3: 153
Q	**hyrst**	30	SRY.22B	Wykehurst Farm (*Wykhurst* 1255)	Cranleigh	TQ080412	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1934: 232
		31	KNT.21B	Wickhurst Manor (*de Wykhurst* 1334)	Sevenoaks	TQ517512	Hanley and Chalklin 1964: 142
		32	KNT.22B	Wickhurst Farm (*de Wykhurst* 1292)	Leigh	TQ526478	Wallenberg 1934: 86
R	**lǣs**	33	BRK.23B	*Wikelese* (f.n.) c.1306–07	Woolstone	SU294854	Gelling 1974: 384
S	**land**	34	SSX.26B	Wicklands (*at Wyklonde* c.1300)	Little Horsted	TQ463176	Mawer and Stenton 1929: 349
G	**lēah**	35	GLO.23B	*Wykeleya* (f.n.) 1263–84	Elmore	SO775151	Smith 1964, 2: 163
		36	DOR.22B	*Wikele* 13th (*Weeckley Wood* 1692)	Almer	SY913989?	Mills 1998, 2: 58
T	**mǣd**	37	BRK.24B	*La Wykmede* (f.n.) 1328	Lambourn	SU326789?	Gelling 1974: 342
U	**ōra**	38	HMP.21B	Wicor Farm (*Wikore* c.1300)	Portchester	SU602050	Gover 1961: 22
V	**stede**	39	WLT.22B	Wickstead Farm (*de Wykstede* 1279)	Highworth	SU220930	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1939: 27
		40	CHE.24B	Wicksted Old Hall (*Wyckestede* 1315)	Wirswall	SJ550443	Dodgson 1971, 3: 112–13
J	**stōw**	41	GLO.24B	*de Wickstowe* c.1250	Ham and Stone	ST657969?	Walker 1998: 128, 160–62
W	**wella**	42	OXF.21B	*Wickewella* (f.n.) c.1240	Sibford Gower	SP352378?	Gelling 1953: 18

4.2 Linguistic discussion of compound place-names with specific _wīc_ and various generics: the lexical and onomastic use of the compounds and their generic elements

In the corpus of names in section 4.1, and in the following discussion in 4.2, various linguistic difficulties occur in attested forms of the names; however, the names all meet the linguistic and orthographic criteria in section 2.3 above. Attestations are discussed more fully in the gazetteer in sections 4.3–4.4 below.

Compounds with habitative generic elements attested by 1200

A) The OE compound _wīc-bold_

OE _bold_ appears in over 40 lexical examples and usually means 'dwelling, home; house, building' (DOE). In literary texts, the contexts of _bold_ sometimes suggest a second sense, 'building of importance, hall, palace, mansion' (DOE). In OE Bede, where _bold_ glosses _uilla regia_ in Bede's Latin text, King Edwin has a _cyninges bold_ 'king's hall' (DOE Bede 2 11.140.21). _Bold_ is a metathesized and later form of the earlier _bōðl_ or _bōtl_ 'dwelling, house', and in place-names is mainly a midland form, characteristic of the west midlands and absent from East Anglia and most of the south-east (Parsons and Styles 1997: 135–36). There is normally little indication of the status of the dwelling referred to. The generic _bold_ is compounded with various specific elements; most commonly, the specific _nīwe_ 'new' occurs in 23 place-names. The compound _wīc-bold_ occurs in a single place-name, Wychbold WOR, but not as a lexical item. The name Wychbold, found in charter S 188 (_in regale villo quæ nominatur Wicbold_), may hint that _bold_ here has the sense of an exceptional, rather than mundane, dwelling (Parsons and Styles 1997: 135–36).

I) The OE compound *wīc-stall*

In lexical use, *wīc-st(e)all* means 'a camp' and occurs in a single example in OE literature, in the text of Exodus in Cædmon's Paraphrase (DOEC Ex A1.2): *Leōde ongēton … ðæt ðǽr Drihten cwom, weroda Drihten, wīcsteal metan* 'The people knew … that the Lord there came, the Lord of hosts, a camp to measure'. This sense, 'a camp', is also one of the lexical senses of *wīc-stōw* (see below). In onomastic use, *wīc-stall* occurs in a single lost field-name, *Wixstalker* in Swillington YOW, whose meaning is uncertain; however, OE *tūn-stall* in place-names means 'the site of a farm, a farmstead', with six known examples in Yorkshire (Smith 1956, 2: 198). By analogy with *tūn-stall*, *wīc-stall* might possibly mean 'the site of a farm or dairy-farm'. The various onomastic senses of OE *steall* (WSax), *stall* (Angl) can include (i) 'a standing-place, a stall for cattle'; (ii) 'a place, a site, esp. the site of a building or other object'; and (iii) 'a place for catching fish, a fishing pool' (Smith 1956, 2: 142–43). In northern English dialects, senses of *stall* may include 'a shed; a temporary hut; a sheepfold or shelter' (Sandred 1963: 39).

J) The OE compound *wīc-stōw*

Wīc-stōw is common in OE literature, with 49 examples (DOEC), of which 20 occur in the OE Heptateuch by Ælfric. The consistent sense of *wīc-stōw* in the Heptateuch is 'a camp, an encampment', and both singular and plural forms of *wīc-stōw* are used by Ælfric to translate Latin *castra*. Genesis 32.21 in the Latin Vulgate reads *ipse vero mansit nocte illa in castris*; the OE Heptateuch version is *he wunode on þære nihte on wicstowe* (DOEC Gen B8.1.4.1). Jacob is moving frequently between locations when he stays *on wicstowe* 'in the camp'; his habitation may consist of tents and may be temporary rather than permanent.

A second main lexical sense of OE *wīc-stōw(e)* is 'a dwelling-place'. The poem *The Phoenix* (DOEC Phoen A3.4) describes fruits which wild birds gather for the phoenix, *to his wicstowe* 'to his dwelling-place'; the location is a nest in a

high tree, an allegory for heaven. A second example occurs in the *Homilies* of Ælfric (DOEC GDPref and 4(C) B9.5.6); Ælfric uses *wicstowe* to translate *mansiones* in the Vulgate, John 14.2, where Jesus refers to heaven: *Manige wicstowe syndon in mines fæder huse*, 'In my father's house there are many dwelling-places'. The register of the language is devotional in both *The Phoenix* and the *Homilies* of Ælfric, and poetic in *The Phoenix*. In these examples, *wīc-stōw* has a similar meaning to *wīc-stede* 'dwelling-place, residence', and implies long-term habitation, in contrast to *wīc-stōw(e)* as 'an encampment'.

The meaning of *wīc-stōw* in place-names may differ from its lexical meaning, therefore the lexical and onomastic usage of *stōw* should also be considered. As a place-name element, OE *stōw* mainly means 'place' or 'site'; in compounds such as *cēap-stōw* 'market-place', *stōw* means essentially 'a place where people assembled' (Smith 1956, 2: 158–59; Pantos 2002, vol.1: 55–56). Other examples with generic *stōw* include *plegstōw* 'play-place', and hundred-names where the sense 'meeting-place' is evident. As a generic, *stōw* later acquired a religious significance, eventually meaning 'Christian holy place' or 'a place where people gathered for religious purposes', such as a church or monastery (Gelling 1982: 187–96). Etymologically, *stōw* is related to other words which broadly mean 'place', such as *stall* and *stede* (Smith 1956, 2: 142–43, 158).

Another possible explanation of the element *stōw* is that in some minor names, *stōw* might refer to an animal-enclosure. Following observations by Reaney (1943: 345–46) of field-names containing *stōw* in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, Smith (1956, 2: 159–60) noted that examples of *stōw* in these areas suggest senses such as 'track', 'passage', 'a croft where animals were herded' or 'a place where animals were herded and restrained from straying'. In Stowgill (Westmorland), *stōw* may refer to a sheep-enclosure (Smith 1967, 2: 7), and the field-names Old Stowe and Stowe Ollands occur in Gunthorpe NFK (Sandred 2002: 112); these are sheepfolds visible on OS mapping.

Discussing the semantic development of *stōw*, Smith considered that the root meaning of *stōw* was 'a place where people stood together' and regarded senses relating to animal-enclosures as a late semantic development which is difficult to explain. However, Sandred (1963: 36–37, 1974: 91) and Cederlöf (1998) believed that an early sense of OE *stōw* related to a structure erected for the pasturing of farm-animals. Sandred (1963: 34) compared the simplex place-name *sto* in Norwegian dialect, meaning 'milking-place, resting-place for cattle'.

Another sense of *stōw* may relate to places of temporary collection; Forsberg (1984: 3–20) discussed the compound names *burna-stōw* and *mere-stōw*, where the literal senses of 'stream-place' and 'pool-place' may refer to seasonal collection-places for water. Forsberg proposed that *stōw* has a general sense of 'gathering-place', and if Forsberg's arguments are extended, *stōw* may perhaps mean a gathering-place for either humans, animals or water.

Gelling (1982: 188) disagreed with Sandred's opinion (1974) that the earliest meaning of *stōw* in place-names was 'something erected'. Gelling argued that settlement-names are usually sound guides to the meaning of words, rather than the field-names and dialect-words adduced by Sandred, and noted the absence of *stōw* from the list of place-name elements attested by AD 731 in the earliest English records (Cox 1976: 46–51). However, Cox (1976: 14) recognised that the geographical distribution of the surviving material is extremely uneven, and that East Anglia is unrepresented by surviving records in his survey.

In conclusion, in lexical use OE *wīc-stōw* means either 'a camp' or 'a dwelling-place'. In place-names *stōw* mainly means 'place' or 'site' and refers especially to land with a religious purpose; however, place-name scholars have suggested other senses of *stōw*, mainly in minor place-names, including 'a place where animals were herded and restrained from straying'. Since *wīc-stōw* is a recurrent compound place-name, it might be expected to have a similar sense wherever used.

K) The OE compound *wīc-tūn*

OE *wīc-tūn* is a rare lexical compound, occurring in four examples (DOEC). *Wīc-tūn* is used in the mid-ninth century to translate *atria* '(heavenly) courts', in the Vespasian Psalter. Psalms 95.8 and Psalm 99.4 (DOEC PPs A5) respectively read *in gangaþ on his wīctūnas* and *hine weorðiaþ on wīctūnum mid lofsangum*, meaning 'enter into his courts' and 'worship him in his courts with songs of praise'. The linguistic register of *wīc-tūn* here is both poetic and devotional. The ME poem *The Owl and the Nightingale*, from c.1275, mentions in line 730 *wicketunes*, probably with the sense of 'courts' or 'religious houses': clerks, monks and canons get up at midnight *þar boþ þos gode wicketunes*, 'in places where there are religious houses' (MED Owl & N Clg A9). Two other examples of OE *wīc-tūn* are from charters, giving early forms of the place-name Witton, near Droitwich WOR, *on wic tune* and *on Wictune* (DOEC Ch 1596 B15.8.627, Ch 1597 B15.8.628).

In place-names, *wīc-tūn* is a recurrent compound, with at least six possible examples attested before 1200 (see section 4.1, Table 13 above). This degree of recurrence, and the fact that it is also a lexical compound, makes it possible that *wīc-tūn* might be an appellative. In the West Midlands, Gelling suggested that many names with generic *tūn* might refer to Romano-British villages whose OE names may have 'crystallized' in the eighth and ninth centuries, but which were probably not new settlements (1988b: 70). In eight examples of Acton in Shropshire, derived from OE *āc-tūn*, Gelling regarded the likely meaning as 'oak settlement or estate', positing that these places featured in the processing or distribution of oak timber, as component parts of large estates (1990: 1–3). In four Shropshire examples of Wootton, Gelling proposed that OE *wudu-tūn* means 'settlement which performs some function in relation to a wood', noting that a *wudu-tūn* was probably near a wood rather than in it (1990: 325–26). In these compounds, *tūn* is thought to have an administrative sense. Gelling accepted a 'relatively late date' at which the *-tūn* compounds were

coined in Shropshire, such as the eighth or ninth century (Gelling 1990: xv–xvii, 1992: 122–24).

In place-names, the compound *wīc-tūn* may well have a meaning, or meanings, different from lexical senses of the compound such as '(heavenly) courts', and the potential meanings of *tūn* should therefore be considered. The proto-Germanic root-word **tūna-* may have been loaned from Celtic **dūno-* 'fort, rampart, hill', and denoted 'a fenced area', a sense still evident in ModG *Zaun* 'fence' (Smith 1956: 2, 188; Kroonen 2013). In early use, a primary sense of *tūn* denoting a structure, e.g. a fence or rampart, seems likely but this sense also seems restricted to the West Germanic languages (OED).

OE *tūn* is by far the most common element in English place-names, and is defined by Smith (1956, 2: 188–98) as 'an enclosure, a farmstead, an estate, a village'. Smith outlined a sequence of semantic development whereby the early senses of OE *tūn* evolved from 'an enclosed piece of ground' to 'an enclosure with a dwelling' and then 'a farmstead'. At some stage during the early medieval period, *tūn* came to mean 'a hamlet, a village', following the growth of a village around its nucleus farmstead; a later meaning is 'manor, estate', seen in the tenth-century charter S 786 (Smith 1956, 2: 191).

While the chronology of this semantic development is uncertain, only six place-names containing *tūn* are attested by AD 731 in the earliest English records. Although *tūn* is by far the most common English place-name element, its limited appearance in early records suggests that *tūn* was not an especially productive element before 731, when Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was completed, and that it may have been more commonly used in place-name formation after 731 (Cox 1976: 51, 63–66; Gelling 1988b: 69–74).

In conclusion, the sense of the rare lexical compound *wīc-tūn* is '(heavenly) courts'. However, when used in proximity to a location where *wīc* is separately attested as a simplex or generic place-name element, as at Droitwich and Northwich, *wīc-tūn* might refer to a place with an administrative function, if

its meaning is similar to the compounds *āc-tūn* and *wudu-tūn.* Alternatively, in the recurrent compound *wīc-tūn*, the generic *tūn* might have one of the senses established by Smith, namely 'an enclosure, a farmstead, an estate, a village'.

Compounds with habitative generic elements attested by 1350

W) The OE compound *wīc-stede*

In lexical use and with a poetic register, the compound *wīc-stede* means 'a dwelling-place, habitation'. Two examples of *wīc-stede* occur in Beowulf: *Þūhte him eall tō rūm, wongas ond wīcstede*, and *wīcstede weligne Wægmundiga*; these translate respectively as 'it would seem to him all too spacious, grounds and residence', and 'the well-appointed residence of the Wægmundings' (Fulk 2010: 248–49, 258–59). A third example is in translation of the Vulgate, Psalm 78:7: *et locum ejus desolaverunt.* The OE Paris Psalter (DOEC PPs A5) reads *and his wīcstede, wēstan gelome* 'and they repeatedly devastated his dwelling-place'.

In place-names, *wīc-stede* might have a meaning different from its lexical senses, therefore the element *stede* requires separate evaluation. OE *stede* normally means 'a place, a site, a locality', while in ME literary texts, *stede* may mean 'site of a building', 'a hamlet, village or town or other inhabited place', and in the northern counties 'a farm, a dairy-farm, an estate' (Smith 1956, 2: 147–48). Smith noted a similar range of meanings for the generic *stede* in place-names, but also additional senses such as 'a place where groups of things or folk were found together', and 'a place where creatures congregated'. In the later stages of its semantic development, OE *wīc* came to mean, amongst other things, 'dairy-farm' (Ekwall 1936a: 492) or 'farm, dairy-farm' (Smith 1956, 2: 259–60). Sandred (1963: 93) noted these suggestions by Ekwall and Smith yet regarded it as impossible to say whether the compound place-name *wīc-stede* reflects some such meaning. Nonetheless, it seems entirely possible that the compound *wīc-stede* might mean 'the site of a farm or dairy-farm'.

***Wic* compounds with topographical generics**

Another four *wīc* compounds with topographical generics are recurrent in place-names but are not found in OE literature. These are *wīc-feld*, *wīc-ford*, *wīc-lēah* and *wīc-hyrst*. The generics of these compounds will now be addressed in turn.

Recurrent topographical generics attested by 1200

C) OE *feld*

In OE literature, the main sense of *feld* is 'open country, plain (as distinct from woodland)' (DOE). *Feld* is commonplace as a lexical item, with over 300 known examples including references in charters, and it occurs in numerous compound words relating, for example, to vegetation. ME *feld* retains much the same range of primary meanings as OE *feld*, but with the additional senses of (2) 'land adjoining the town appropriate to pasture or tillage', and (3) 'a belt of land surrounding a town, countryside' (MED).

In place-names, the main sense of *feld* is 'open country'. In OE texts before 900, such as charter boundaries, *feld* is particularly used of open land in contrast to woodland, marshland or hills, and of areas easy to access, in contrast to less accessible areas. In ancient settlement-names, *feld* may refer to common pasture, and originally had no special connotation of arable land (Gelling and Cole 2014: 269–78). However, a significant semantic change seems to have taken place in the meaning of *feld*, from open land to arable land, perhaps in the second half of the tenth century (Gelling 1984: 235–45; Gelling and Cole 2014: 269–78).

D) OE *ford*

The main sense of OE *ford* as a lexical item is 'ford; a shallow place, natural or artificial, across a stream, river or other water, by which a crossing can be made' (DOE). In place-names *ford* is one of the two most common topographical

generic elements, occurring in around 530 major names and many more minor names (Gelling 1984: 67–72; Gelling and Cole 2014: 71–80). *Ford* is common in most areas of England, especially Devon. The specific elements compounded with generic *ford* include descriptive terms of many kinds: personal names; topographical features; vegetation; groups or classes of people; activities; wild or domesticated creatures; river-names; earlier place-names; buildings or other structures; and the transport of goods, along with a range of obscure or ambiguous specifics. Gelling and Cole (2014: 76) list two examples of *wīc-ford*, Wickford ESX and Wigford LIN, and regard the specific element *wīc* as a reference to buildings or other structures.

G) OE *lēah*

Wīc-lēah is not found in OE literature but is a recurrent compound in place-names, appearing in major place-names such as Weekley NTP ((*to*) *wiclea* (*forde*) 956 (13th, S 592), *Wicklei* 1086 DB) and Wicklewood NFK (*Wickelewuda* 1086 DB). *Wīc-lēah* was omitted by Gelling and Cole in their discussion of *lēah* in topographical place-names (2014: 237–42), perhaps owing to Ekwall's view that Weekley and Wicklewood might have as specific element OE *wice* 'wych-elm' (1936a: 492, 1936b: 127); however, in view of the DB forms with <ck>, the specific element is more likely to be OE *wīc* (see section 4.3 for discussion). Two examples of *wīc-lēah* are known in field-names first attested by 1350, in Elmore GLO and Almer DOR, while four other examples of *wīc-lēah* in field-names, one in Dorset and three in Gloucestershire, are attested after 1350 and listed in EPNS volumes (see section 5.2, Table 23).

     Lēah is the most common topographical English place-name element; in Berkshire, *lēah* occurs in 54 place-names, including 14 major place-names and 30 names of farms and hamlets (Gelling 1984: 199). *Lēah* occurs as a simplex, but more often as the generic in a compound with a wide range of specific elements. These may include references to topography, position or description;

tree-names; vegetation or crops; wild or domestic creatures; woodland products; personal names; and classes or groups of people, as found in *-inga-* compounds such as Headingley YOW 'forest clearing belonging to Headda's people' (Gelling 1984: 203–07; Gelling and Cole 2014: 240–42).

Owing to its importance in indicating early medieval woodland, *lēah* has been the subject of intensive study and debate by several scholars, including Johansson (1975), Gelling (1984: 198–207), Wager (2018) and others, including Hooke (1981b, 1990, 2011) regarding charter bounds. Gelling and Cole (2014: 237) believed that *lēah* often has an early sense of 'forest, wood, wood-pasture, glade, clearing', and that the later sense of *lēah* in place-names is 'pasture, meadow'. Hooke has argued that the interpretation of *lēah* as 'wood' should always be considered before that of 'clearing'; in the case of *Weogorena leah* near Worcester, and in the early attested name of the Weald *Andredesleah*, Hooke regards *lēah* as meaning 'wood pasture' (2011: 153–54).

Wager (2018: 96) questions whether *lēah* can refer to both a wood and a clearing; as Johansson observed (1975: 7), these are opposites (antonyms). Wager concludes (2018: 117–19) that the original meaning of *lēah* was not 'wood', and that 'clearing' and 'wood pasture' are unsatisfactory translations; instead, *lēah* referred to a 'light area' in the landscape, amidst or surrounded by woodland, into which light penetrated, in contrast with surrounding dark areas. Wager adds that trees can grow back in a previously open space, as secondary woodland; if so, *lēah* refers to the previous open space, rather than to the secondary wood (2018: 118).

Wager's arguments are debatable, for various reasons. Firstly, 'a light area' in the landscape, amidst or surrounded by trees, is little different in practice from 'a clearing' surrounded by trees, or from land cleared of trees but adjacent to woodland; secondly, the meaning of *lēah* may have changed over time. Moreover, in name-formation *lēah* may have been used in various senses in different geographical areas, or by different communities and individuals.

Recurrent topographical generics attested from 1201–1350

R) OE *hyrst*

As a lexical item OE *hyrst* occurs mainly in charter bounds, where its main sense is 'a wooded eminence, upland wood, copse' (DOE). In place-names, *hyrst* is normally translated as 'wooded hill' (Gelling 1984: 197–98). *Hyrst* occurs in around 65 major settlement-names: in ten simplex names, and as a generic in around 55 names. In addition, *hyrst* is found in minor place-names such as farm-names and field-names, in far higher numbers than in major settlement-names. The distribution of *hyrst* is heavily concentrated in the Weald of Surrey, Kent and Sussex, though it also occurs in other counties where extensive woodland was present. In Sussex, *hyrst* occurs in 20 major names and over 100 minor names, and in Surrey, in three major names and over 70 minor names. As a generic element, *hyrst* in major names is compounded with a wide range of specific elements or qualifiers, such as: personal names; tree species or other vegetation; wild or domestic creatures; descriptive terms; products and industrial processes; topographical references; and various other types of specific element, including obscure and ambiguous examples (Gelling 1984: 197–98; Gelling and Cole 2014: 234–36).

Topographical generics in individual *wīc* place-names

In addition to the nine *wīc* compounds discussed above, another fifteen *wīc* compounds are attested in individual topographical place-names but not as lexical items in OE literature. However, in each case the generic element occurs separately from *wīc*, both in OE literature and in place-names. The meanings, lexical use and onomastic use of these fifteen generics will be summarized in turn below.

Topographical generics in individual *wīc* place-names attested by 1200

B) OE *dūn*

Dūn occurs frequently in OE literature with the sense 'hill, mountain' (DOE).
ME forms include *dun(e)* and *dŏun(e)* before 1350, with the variant *downe* from
c.1400 (MED). In place-names, *dūn* is one of many OE place-name elements
with the sense 'a hill' (Gelling and Cole 2014: 164). *Dūn* is common in major
settlement-names across much of England, though rare in some areas such as
Cornwall and the Weald of Kent and Sussex (Gelling 1984: 140–58; Gelling and
Cole 2014: 164–71). Uncommon as a simplex name and as a specific element,
dūn is common as a generic, where it is compounded with a wide range of
descriptive specific elements, along with personal names, references to animals,
crops, groups of people, and other types of specific.

Gelling and Cole (2014: 165) have argued that in settlement-names, *dūn*
refers especially to low, flat-topped hills suitable for village-sites, and that there
is a high degree of consistency in the sites of villages with *dūn* names, though
not in the Cotswolds. However, Nurminen (2011: 58–64) observes a range of
dūn hill-types in Northumberland and County Durham, where *dūn* refers to flat-
topped hills but also other types, including hills lacking a level and extensive
summit. Kitson (2008: 388–91), using charter boundaries, comments that OE
dūn and OE *beorg* can both mean 'mountain' in lexical use, but that in English
toponymy both words can also apply to lower hills.

On the basis of the earliest English records, where six examples of *dūn*
occur, Cox (1976: 48–66) considered that *dūn* was an important element in the
formation of place-names from c.AD 400–730. Drawing partly on Cox's data, and
on earlier discussions of place-name chronology by Gelling (1988: 69–76),
Gelling and Cole have asserted (2014: 164) that *dūn* may not have been
employed much in the formation of settlement-names after AD 800, though it

remained in use in forming names of fields and landscape features, and minor place-names.

Generic *dūn* occurs in various compound names in Yorkshire, including Baildon, Burdon, Hambledon, Huntington, Rawdon, Watton, Wildon and Yeadon; place-names in -ton can sometimes derive from an original generic *dūn*, owing to confusion between -don and -ton, and -don is sometimes weakened to -den (Gelling and Cole 2014: 167–73).

E) OE *halh*

The lexical senses of OE *halh* include firstly 'corner (of a room/building)', secondly 'recess, corner, hidden place'; in charter bounds, a third range of senses includes: 'a nook, corner of land, piece of land projecting from or detached from its main administrative unit; sunken place, small valley, hollow, recess; land almost enclosed in the bend of a river, low-lying land by a river, a river-meadow, haugh' (DOE). In place-names the principal meaning of *halh* is 'nook'; however, the precise senses of *halh* are varied, and no individual modern English words convey adequately the topographical uses of *halh* (Gelling and Cole 2014: 124).

Halh is common as a place-name element, occurring in around 260 major names and in minor names and field-names (Gelling 1984: 100–11; Gelling and Cole 2014: 123–33). *Halh* is found in most parts of England, especially the north-west Midlands and northern England, but is less common in the Wealden areas of the south-east. Where the sense 'nook' is suggested by topography, *halh* might refer to land in a river-bend; this usage may be particularly common north of the Humber. *Halh* can also have an administrative sense, such as a piece of land projecting from, or detached from, the main area of administration, as in Bracknell and Broomhall BRK. Another topographical sense of *halh* is also suggested, 'valley or hollow'. Some scholarship suggests a slightly different interpretation. Stiles (1997) accepted that *halh* may mean 'slightly raised ground

in marsh' or 'low-lying land liable to flooding' but rejected 'land in a river-bend', since 'corner, angle' is not an ancestral meaning of the Germanic root *halhaz* (Gelling and Cole 2014: 127–28).

F) OE *hlāw*

In onomastic use, OE *hlāw*, WSax *hlǣw* means 'tumulus, hill' and is mainly a term used for artificial mounds; in each case of *hlāw* the precise archaeological sense, if any, needs to be separately established (Gelling and Cole 2014: 178–80). Gelling and Cole considered that Bartlow CAM derives from (*ǣt*) *beorca-hlāwum* '(at) the birch-tree burial mounds', referring to a cluster of seven Roman burial mounds, and that in Harlow ESX, *hlāw* may refer to a hill where the Roman temple stood. Reaney (1935: 36) regarded Harlow as meaning 'army-hill', while Baker and Brookes (2016: 233) view *here-hlāw* as a recurrent compound meaning 'army mound'.

In northern England, *hlāw* is commonly used in reference to natural hills and mountains; in settlement-names the generic *hlāw* is frequently combined with a personal name, while compounds with generic *hlāw* are common as hundred-names, frequently referring to the meeting-place of the hundred (Gelling 1984: 162–63; Gelling and Cole 2014: 178–80).

H) OE *mere*

In place-names OE *mere* means 'pond, pool, lake', also 'wetland' (Gelling 1984: 26–27; Gelling and Cole 2014: 21–27). Over 120 settlement-names contain the element *mere*, and the water referenced can vary in size from a small pond in southern England to a large lake in the north. *Mere* occurs as a simplex name in seven places, and as the specific element of compound *mere-tūn* in 27 locations, producing for example the modern reflexes Marton and Merton (Gelling and Cole

2014: 26). *Mere* might possibly be more common as the specific element of field-names, though this is an unassessed quantity.

Over 90 compound settlement-names have generic *mere*. A wide range of specifics are compounded with *mere*, such as: references to various types of wild creatures inhabiting the *mere*; vegetation; topographical or descriptive references; and personal names or river-names. In some place-names it is difficult to distinguish between *mere* and (*ge*)*mǣre* 'boundary', especially if both are appropriate to the location topographically (Gelling and Cole 2014: 21–27).

Topographical generics in individual *wīc* place-names attested by 1350

L) OE *beorg*

In lexical use, the main senses of WSax *beorg*, Angl *berg* are firstly 'mountain, hill', and secondly 'barrow, tumulus, burial mound' (DOE). In place-names *beorg* is a very common element, meaning 'rounded hill' or 'tumulus' (Gelling and Cole 2014: 145). In various cases, the generic *beorg* refers to a hill occupied by a village or by a single farm, since the rounded hill may be unsuitable for a village-site (Gelling and Cole 2014: 145–48). In many place-names, generic *beorg* was later confused with *burh* 'stronghold', hence many names with original generic *beorg* have modern forms such as -*borough* (Parsons and Styles 1997: 89).

M) OE *denu*

Denu occurs frequently in OE literature with the sense 'a valley' (DOE). In place-names, *denu* is the main OE word with the sense 'valley', and is found in around 185 major settlement-names, appearing in all regions of England, though less common in the north. As specific element, *denu* occurs in compounds such as Denton 'settlement in a valley', while simplex *denu* produces modern forms such as Deane. *Denu* occurs most frequently as a generic in place-names such as Chillenden KNT 'the valley of Ceolla'. Place-names now ending in -den, typically

in south-east England, may sometimes derive from OE *denn* 'a woodland pasture, esp. for swine' rather than from *denu* 'a valley' (Gelling 1984: 97–99; Gelling and Cole 2014: 113–22). *Denu* occurs in around 80 Gloucestershire place-names, mostly minor names (Smith 1965, 4: 118–19).

N) OE (*ge*)*hæg*

Rumble (2011: 40–44) notes Gelling's use of the term 'quasi-habitative' to describe the place-name element *lēah*, where habitative and topographical categories of element overlap somewhat, and proposes the category 'man-made landscape feature'; Rumble lists OE (*ge*)*hæg* and *haga* (see below) under the heading 'Land enclosed by ditches or hedges'.

In lexical use (*ge*)*hæg* means principally 'enclosed piece of land'; secondary meanings include 'meadow' and 'grass, grassland' (DOE). Smith (1956, 1: 214–15) regarded (*ge*)*hæg* as 'a fence, an enclosure', commenting that the sense 'a fenced-in piece of ground' seems present in OE charters.

In many place-names formed in the ME period, *hay* might mean 'a part of a forest fenced off for hunting', especially in woodland areas (Smith 1956, 1: 215). Around 60 Essex place-names contain the element (*ge*)*hæg*, which Reaney (1935: 558, 566) regarded as a name for an enclosed wood or forest enclosure. In field-names and minor names in Essex, the generic (*ge*)*hæg* is compounded with personal names and with specifics referring to types of birds, other animals or trees, and with unidentified specific elements (Reaney 1935: 580).

O) OE *haga*

In lexical use, the main senses of OE *haga* are 'fence or fenced enclosure; hedge' (DOE). In place-names *haga* means 'a hedge, an enclosure', and later 'a messuage, a property' (Smith 1956, 1: 221). OE *haga* is cognate with ON *hagi* 'a grazing enclosure, a pasture', and Smith suggested that in northern England,

haga and *hagi* merged in ME. *Haga* is related to various other place-name elements such as (*ge*)*hæg* 'a fence, an enclosure' (see above).

P) OE *hrycg*

In place-names, OE *hrycg* means 'a ridge' (Gelling and Cole 2014: 190), while in ME field-names it can have the sense 'a cultivated strip of ground, a measure of land' (Smith 1956, 1: 267). The element is widely distributed around England, with a cluster in the Chilterns. *Hrycg* is occasionally found in simplex form, as in Ridge HRT and Rudge GLO, and as specific element in names such as Ridgeacre WOR. *Hrycg* is more common as the generic of compounds, occurring in around 60 examples (Gelling and Cole 2014: 190–92). Generic *hrycg* is compounded with a wide range of specifics, including references to personal names; vegetation; wild or domestic creatures; descriptive terms and topographical features; position; structures, and other types of specific. The word remained in active use after the OE era, therefore many minor place-names containing the element may have originated after 1066 (Gelling and Cole 2014: 190). In Gloucestershire place-names the element *hrycg* occurs as specific element in at least six names, such as Ridgeway; four times as a simplex; as generic in around 33 major or minor place-names; and in around 38 field-names as specific, simplex or generic (Smith 1965: 142). These numbers are significant in suggesting a possible high prevalence of *hrycg* in the minor place-names and field-names of Gloucestershire, relative to other counties.

Q) OE *lǣs*

In place-names OE *lǣs* (*lǣswe* gen., dat.sg) means 'pasture, meadow-land' (Smith 1956, 2: 11). *Lǣs* is rare in major place-names but more common in ME and later field-names, often producing modern forms such as -lease. The element occurs as specific of Leziate NFK, where the compound is *lǣs* + *geat*

'gate to the pasture'; as simplex in Leasowe CHE; and as generic in Cunlease

SOM 'cow pasture' and Summer Leisure CAM 'summer pasture' (Smith 1956, 2:

11). In Berkshire *lǣs* occurs as generic in at least ten minor names, and twice as

simplex from the dative singular or plural, *lǣswe* or *lǣswum* (Gelling 1976: 886–

87).

T) OE *land*

The OE place-name element *land* has various meanings, including 'land, estate',

also 'new arable area', which was possibly an early sense of the element from

around AD 600 to 1150 (Gelling 1984: 245; Gelling and Cole 2014: 284). *Land*

occurs as generic element in 74 settlement-names, found in various regions such

as East Anglia and Kent, but particularly in northern and south-western England.

In Devon the use of generic *land* overlaps with *tūn* and has the later meaning of

'estate'. Gelling and Cole consider that in minor place-names and field-names,

the use of *land* is different from that in settlement-names, and sometimes has

the sense 'strip in a field-system', or simply 'ground, part of the earth's surface'

(Gelling 1984: 245–49; Gelling and Cole 2014: 279–84).

U) OE *mǣd*

The place-name element *mǣd* (*mǣdwe* gen., dat.sg) means 'a meadow' (Gelling

and Cole 2014: 284). *Mǣd* is somewhat rare in ancient settlement-names,

occurring as specific element in just nine cases and as generic in around nine

others. Despite their paucity in number, these eighteen names are widespread

around England. Gelling (1984) considered that *mǣd* in settlement-names is

uncommon because meadow was a pre-condition of settlement; however, it is

also possible that *hamm* in the sense 'river-meadow' was more commonly used

than *mǣd* in settings close to rivers or streams, where meadows frequently

occur. As noted above, OE *lǣs* 'pasture, meadow-land' is also somewhat rare in place-names; OE *lēah* also has a later sense of 'pasture' but an earlier sense of 'woodland'. In contrast to its rarity in settlement-names, *mǣd* is common in minor names and field-names (Gelling 1984: 250; Gelling and Cole 2014: 284–86).

V) OE *ōra*

The OE noun *ōra* has been accepted as a loan-word from Latin *ōra* by Grundy (1935), Smith (1956) and Coates (1999a, 1999b), and as a likely or possible loan from Latin by Cole (1990) and Gelling and Cole (2014). These views require evaluation, along with the various meanings of Latin *ōra* and OE *ōra*. *Ōra* is not found in OFris or OSax and is therefore potentially important as an insular loan-word into OE from Latin.

The principal meanings of Latin *ōra* (f.) are 1. the outside edge, border, margin; 2. the sea-coast; the bank of a river; 3. a region, land, district; and 4. a division of the world or universe (OLD).

In OE literature, the noun *ōra* (m.) is rarely used but may have the sense 'edge'. In the poem *Husband's Message* (DOEC Husb A3.32*), a cuckoo calls *on hliþes oran*, which might mean 'from the edge of the hillside', though the exact sense of *ōra* is uncertain here in poetic usage.

OE *ōra* is more commonly used in charter boundaries, where it might sometimes have the sense 'ridge', as in charter S 722 from AD 963, describing a boundary near Binfield Heath OXF (*of*) *beonan feld on oranweg* 'from the open land where bent-grass grows to the way on the ridge'. However, in other charter boundaries *ōra* may have a sense such as 'bank' or 'sand-bank', especially if used as a place-name element. Charter S 1291, dating from 957, describes the Selsey bounds: *Arest æt Wedering muðe, þa be sæ on Cymeneres horan, swa west be sæ oð ribeorgas, forð be stronde*; this could be translated as 'First at

Wedering mouth, then by sea to Cymen(?er)'s bank, then west by sea up to the hills, on along the beach'. The same place-name occurs as *Cymenesora* in the ASC entry for 477, composed c.890 (DOEC ChronA Bateley B17.1); the location is now called The Owers, a line of sand-banks south of Selsey Bill SSX (Gelling and Cole 2014: 206). Charters S 722 and S 1291, noted above, are not mentioned by Gelling and Cole in their discussion of *ōra* (2014: 203–10).

Scholars have placed different emphases on the meaning of *ōra* in place-names. Ekwall defined OE *ōra* as 'border, margin, bank', but did not include *ōra* in his list of OE loan-words from Latin found in English place-names (1936a: 333–34, xxv). Grundy (1935: 74, 217–18) was apparently the first scholar to identify OE *ōra* as a loan-word from Latin, regarding its meaning as 'bank' or 'hillside'; Grundy translated *on stanoran* as 'to stone bank' in charter S 1744, from c.950, in Pucklechurch GLO. Smith (1956, 2: 55) also regarded OE *ōra* as a loan-word from Latin, listing the topographical meanings of the place-name element *ōra* as (i) 'river bank, shore, foreshore', and (ii) 'the brink or edge of a hill, a slope', with examples of each. Smith noted that *ōra* is most common in southern counties and is not found in the north Midlands or northern England.

Gelling (1984: 179–82) defined *ōra* as 'shore, hill-slope, ?foot of a slope', and noted a clear dichotomy between coastal settlements with names containing *ōra*, and inland examples like the group in the Chilterns. Gelling gave numerous coastal examples with the sense 'shore', and numerous inland examples of 'hill-slope'. Cole (1990: 26–41) regarded OE *ōra* as probably a loan-word from Latin and discussed whether it was adopted into OE at a very early date; however, Cole (1989: 15–22) regarded *ōra* in place-names as referring exclusively to 'elongated, flat-topped hills with a shoulder at one or both ends', claiming that the senses 'river-bank' and 'shore' are 'redundant'. Subsequently, Gelling and Cole (2014: 203–210) suggested that OE *ōra* 'a bank' is related, perhaps by direct borrowing, to Latin *ōra* 'rim, bank, shore', while maintaining Cole's view (2013: 68–71, 258–65, 322–33) that *ōra* refers exclusively in place-names to a

'flat-topped hill with a rounded shoulder at one or both ends'. Coates has accepted OE *ōra* as a loan-word from Latin, whose meanings in OE include 'shore' (1999a: 109, 1999b: 14–18); likewise, Hawkins (2020: 50–69) considers that on the south coast OE *ōra* can mean 'shore' or 'bank'.

In conclusion, following intensive scholarly research into the documentary and topographical evidence, there are strong semantic grounds for regarding OE *ōra* as an insular loan-word from Latin *ōra*, given the close similarity in the range of meanings of the two words; moreover, despite Cole's more exclusive definition, there are strong grounds for regarding OE *ōra* as meaning 'a shore, bank, or hill-slope', possibly also 'the foot of a slope'.

W) OE *wella*

In charter boundaries and place-names OE *well*, *wella, welle* (Angl, Kt), *wiell* (-*a*, -*e*), *will*, *wyll* (-*a*, -*e*) (WSax), normally means 'well, spring, fountain' (Gelling 1984: 30–32; Gelling and Cole 2014: 31–35). Since *wella* normally refers to a natural spring, which is sometimes the source of a stream or river, *wella* in place-names sometimes has the secondary meaning 'stream'. *Wella* is found in at least 280 settlement-names, occurring in simplex names and as a specific; however, *wella* is most common as a generic element, where it is combined with a wide range of specifics. These include descriptive terms; personal names; categories of people; and references to vegetation, wild or domestic creatures, topography, structures, or various other qualifiers. In numerous cases the specific element cannot be firmly identified.

In Oxfordshire place-names the element *w*(*i*)*elle* is very common, with around 50 located examples of the element and 120 examples of unidentified stream-names containing *w*(*i*)*elle* (Gelling 1954: 12–18, 471, 475). *Wickewelle* in Sibford Gower OXF is an unlocated name, with specific *wīc*; nine other lost stream-names or spring-names in Sibford Gower include the element *w*(*i*)*elle* (Gelling 1954: 12–18).

4.3 Gazetteer Part A: place-names attested by 1200 with specific _wīc_ and various generics: attestations, locations and Roman archaeology
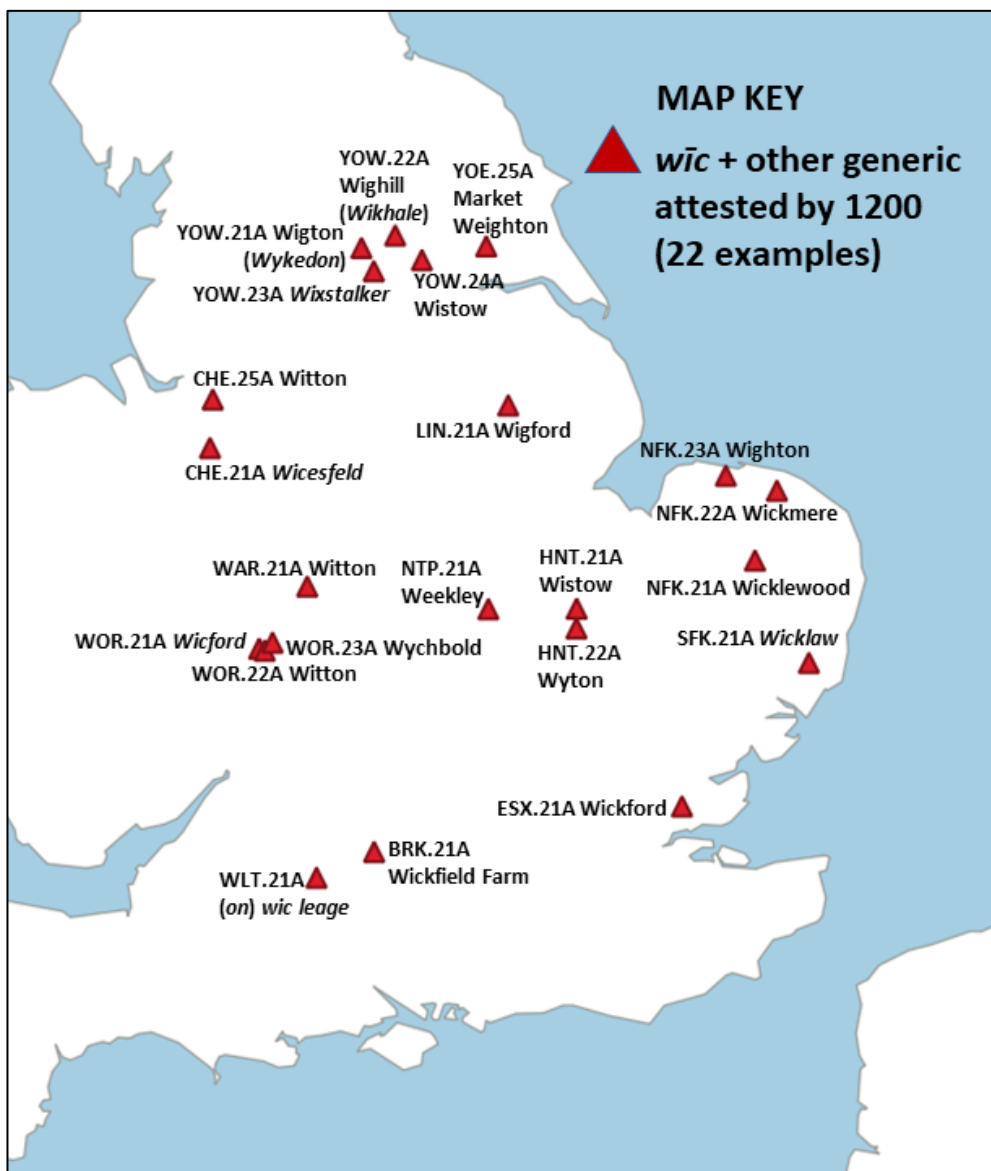

MAP KEY

🔺 **_wīc_ + other generic attested by 1200 (22 examples)**

YOW.22A Wighill (_Wikhale_)

YOE.25A Market Weighton

YOW.21A Wigton (_Wykedon_)

YOW.23A _Wixstalker_

YOW.24A Wistow

CHE.25A Witton

LIN.21A Wigford

CHE.21A _Wicesfeld_

NFK.23A Wighton

NFK.22A Wickmere

WAR.21A Witton

NTP.21A Weekley

HNT.21A Wistow

NFK.21A Wicklewood

WOR.21A _Wicford_

WOR.23A Wychbold

WOR.22A Witton

HNT.22A Wyton

SFK.21A _Wicklaw_

ESX.21A Wickford

BRK.21A Wickfield Farm

WLT.21A (_on_) _wic leage_

Figure 58: Compound place-names with specific _wīc_ and various generics other than _hām_, attested by 1200.

In the following gazetteer, various linguistic difficulties occur in the attested forms of place-names. However, the listed place-names all meet the linguistic and orthographic criteria in section 2.3 above.

A) The compound *wīc-bold*

(1) WOR.23A Wychbold

Attestation

Wicbold 831 (S 188), *Wicelbold* 1086 DB, *Wichebald* 1160, *Wichebaud* 1275, *Wychingbald* 1275, *Whichebaud* 1276, *Wychebaut* 1283 (Mawer and Stenton 1927: 285). A Latin charter text (S 75), purportedly from 692, in an eleventh-century copy, mentions *Uuichbold*; however, the text is considered inauthentic (esawyer.com).

Derived from OE *wīc-bold*, the name Wychbold is a unique compound. Mawer and Stenton (1927: 285) interpreted Wychbold as 'buildings by the *wīc*', believing that *wīc* possibly refers here to Droitwich, while Hooke (1981a: 129) preferred 'dwelling-place or hall by the *wīc*'. Charter S 188 includes the phrase *in regale villo quæ nominatur Wicbold*, hinting that *bold* here may have the exceptional sense of a royal dwelling (Parsons and Styles 1997: 135); this sense is seen in the phrase *kyninges bold* 'king's hall' (DOE Bede 2 11.140.21).

From 1086 onwards, forms of Wychbold frequently show a medial <e>, with occasional <el> or <ing>. Medial <e> also occurs in some other *wīc* compounds such as Weekley NTP (*Wichelai* 1166, *Wichchelai* 1175) and Wicklaw SFK (*Wichelau* 1160, *Wyckelawe* 1233). The reasons for medial <e> are uncertain but might include vowel epenthesis or the persistent pronunciation of a middle syllable in these names in early Middle English. Early spellings of Wychbold include *Wicelbold* 1086, where <el> is conceivably a DB scribal error or an epenthesis, and *Wychingbald* 1275, where the variant <ing> might suggest confusion with ME *wiching* 'witchcraft', found in texts around 1300 (MED). The generic *-bold*, a metathesized form of OE *boðl*, is principally found in the east and west midlands, and more sporadically further north (Parsons and Styles 1997: 136).

Location

Situated 4km north-east of Droitwich, Wychbold in Dodderhill parish was a medieval manor, whose manor-house was perhaps at Wychbold Court (Willis-Bund 1913a: 58–69); this was beside the route of Margary 180, at SO925662.
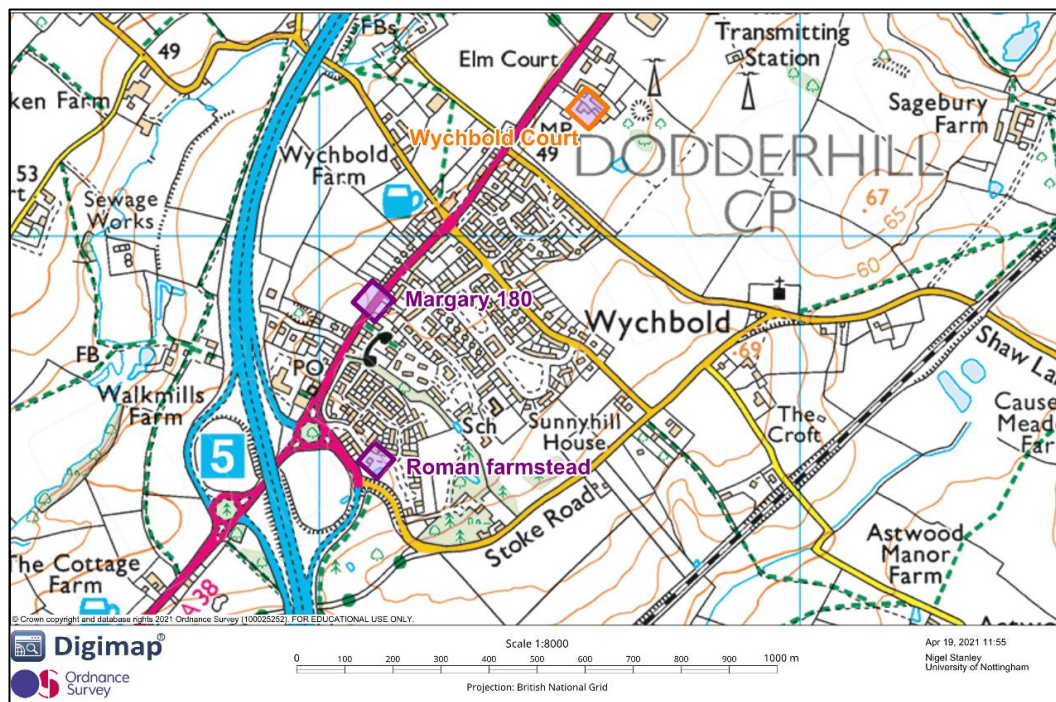

Figure 59: Wychbold WOR.

Roman archaeology

800m south-west of Wychbold Court, an enclosed Roman farmstead and field system, where Samian pottery has been found, are known at Stoke Lane in Wychbold at SO921655 (RRS map, site 34009).

B) The compound *wīc-dūn*

(2) YOW.21A Wigton Moor

Attestation

Wig- Wygdon 1135–1379, *Wictu' -ton* 1166–67, *Wykedon* 1257, *Wige- Wygedun -don* 13th, 1291–1343, *Wig- Wygton*(*e*) 1210–1641, *Wiggedon* 1293, *Wighdon* 1316, *-ton* 1616 (Smith 1961, 4: 187).

Ekwall (1936a: 494) regarded Wigton as deriving from OE *wīc-dūn* 'hill with a *wīc* or dairy-farm'; however, Smith saw Wigton as deriving from the hamlet called Wike around SE324410, 1.6km north-east of Wigton, and as meaning 'hill belonging to Wike'. Wike is attested as *Wich* 1086–1230, *Wic* 1166–1210, *Wyc* 1246, *Wik*(*e*), *Wyk*(*e*), *Wika* 1138–1276 (Smith 1961, 4: 188). Gelling and Cole (2014: 170) also regarded the specific of Wigton as a reference to Wike. Local minor names include Wike Ridge Farm (*Great Rigg* 1840, *Wike Ridge* 1858) and Wikefield Farm (*Wike Fields* 1858) (Smith 1961, 4: 188).
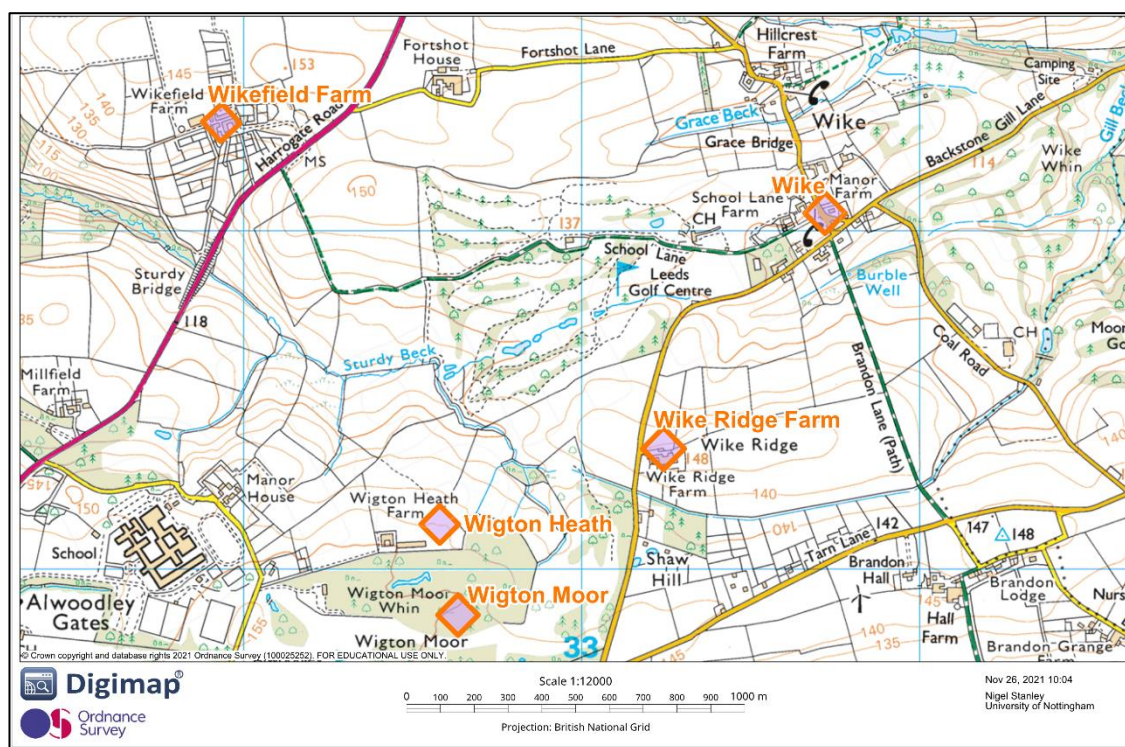

Figure 60: Wike and Wigton Moor area, YOW.

Location

Wigton Moor in Harewood parish is at SE326408, on the northern edge of Leeds, with Wigton Heath around 500m further north.
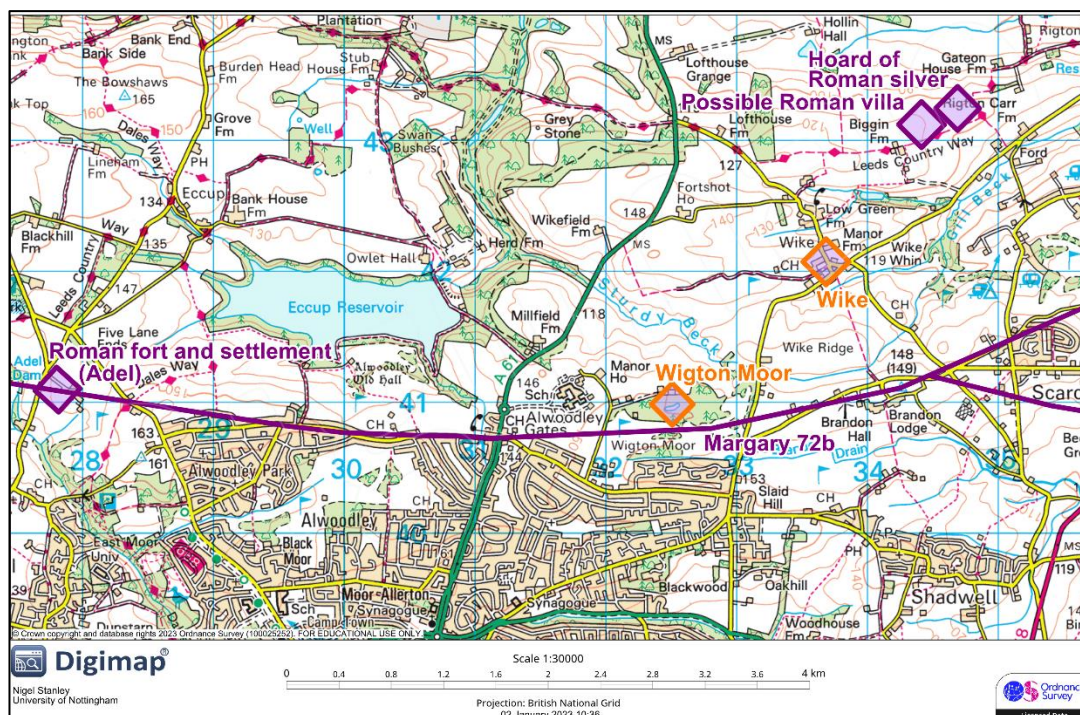
Figure 61: Wigton Moor area, YOW.

Roman archaeology

Margary 72b from Ilkley to Tadcaster runs across Wigton Moor (see Figure 61 above). Around 3km north-east of Wigton Moor, a possible villa is suggested by Roman building materials and fourth-century pottery (HER MWY1164) at SE344431, near Biggin Farm; 300m to the east, a hoard of Roman silver has been found near Rigton Carr Farm at SE347432. The Roman fort and civilian settlement at Adel (HER MY1538) were 4.8km west of Wigton Moor.

C) The compound *wīc-feld*

(3) BRK.21A Wickfield Farm (East Shefford)

Attestation

Wikefeld' 1199, 1211, *Wikefeld* 1212, *Wekefeud* 1240–41, *Wykefeld* 13th, 1315, 1341, *Wykefelde* 1316, Wickfield Fm 1830 OS (Gelling 1974: 326); Wickfield Copse c.1880 OS.

The general meaning of *feld* in place-names is 'open country', especially in contrast to woodland, marshland or hills; in early use, *feld* may refer to common pasture (Gelling and Cole 2014: 269–71). Gelling (1974: 326) regarded Wickfield as meaning 'open land by the wīc', noting that Wickfield Farm is just over a mile from Wickham in Welford, where Roman pottery and coins are known, and that *wīc* as the first element of a place-name may denote a Romano-British settlement, if it does not refer to a nearby place called Wick.
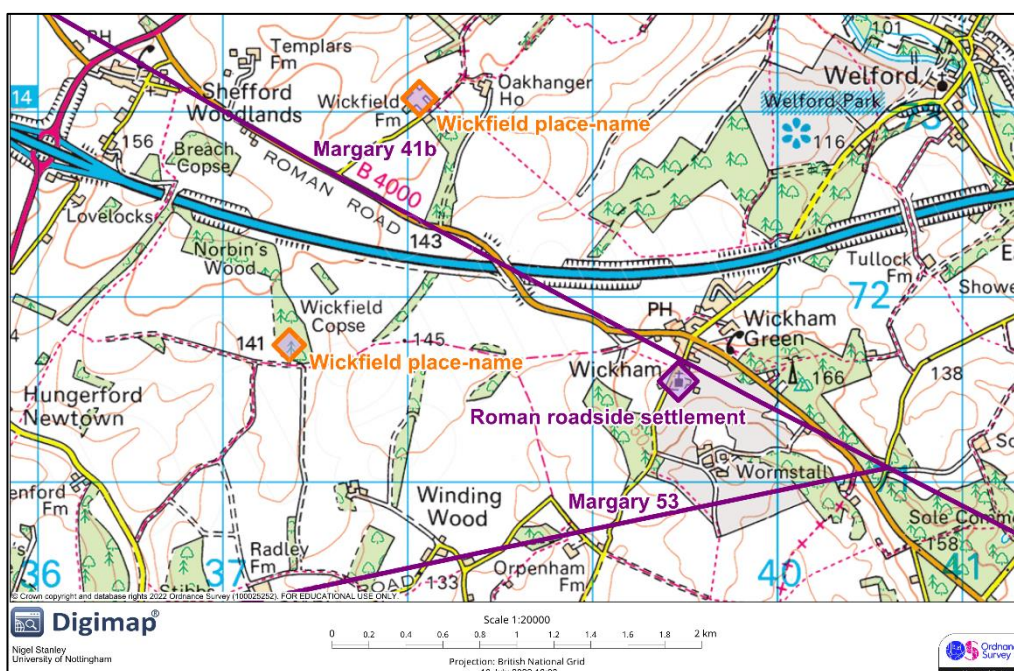

Figure 62: Wickfield Farm and Wickfield Copse BRK.

Location

Wickfield Farm is situated at SU380730, 2km north-west of Wickham in Welford parish and 500m north of Margary 41b. Wickfield Copse in Kintbury parish is at SU373718, 2km west of Wickham. The presence of various fragments of woodland should be noted, north, west and north-west of Wickham; these might suggest that larger or more contiguous areas of woodland once existed between Wickham and Wickfield Farm.

Roman archaeology

A Roman roadside settlement, with occupation continuing into the fourth century, is known from the discovery of large quantities of Roman pottery at Wickham in Welford, 2km south-east of Wickfield Farm (see section 3.3 above). The settlement was alongside Margary 41b, and 1.5km north-west of the junction with Margary 53. The nearest known Roman villas were in Boxford, 5.6km east and 5.7km south-east of Wickfield Farm.

(4) CHE.21A *Wicesfeld* (Nantwich)

Attestation

Wicesfeld, *Wischefeld*, *Wischesfeld*, *Wychesfeld*, *Wyschefeld, Wyschesfeld* 1096–1101, (*le*) *Wichfeld* 1239 etc. (Dodgson 1971, 3: 6).

Several early attestations from 1096–1101 have orthography with <sch>, suggesting pronunciation of this name with an affricate /tʃ/. Dodgson considered *Wicesfeld* to mean 'the district around *The Wich*, i.e. Nantwich', while accepting that the name might allude to smaller parcels of ground, with the sense 'field belonging to *The Wich*' (1971, 3: 6). Forms with <es> might alternatively suggest the specific element OE *wice* 'wych elm', rather than the simplex *wīc*, though the specific element sems more likely to be the simplex *wīc*, owing to the presumed proximity of Nantwich. *Wicesfeld* is therefore accepted in the corpus, albeit with caution.

Location

Nantwich in Cheshire is centred at SJ652523; the location of *Wicesfeld* is uncertain.
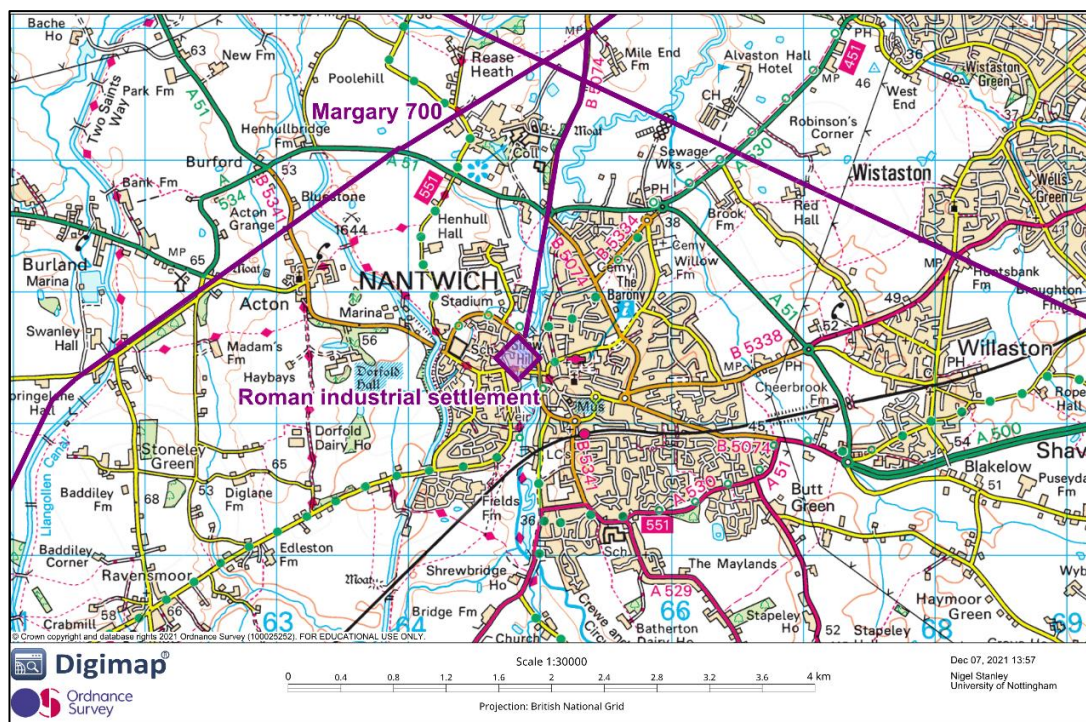
Figure 63: Nantwich CHE.

Roman archaeology

A nucleated Roman roadside and industrial settlement (SMR 177/2/3), involved in salt production, is known in Nantwich around SJ648525. Local Roman roads on the RRS map include Margary 700, around 2km north-west of Nantwich, and a spur road from Margary 700 to the Roman settlement at Nantwich.

D) The compound *wic-ford*

(5) WOR.21A *Wicford(a)* (Salwarpe)

Attestation

to wicforda (S 1596), *to Wicforda* (S 1597) (Hooke 1990: 397–402).

The dates of these two charters are uncertain (esawyer.com); however, the Salwarpe boundary clause in S 1597 seems to be based on the earlier clause of S 1596, with minor changes (Hooke 1990). In 817 (S 181), Coenwulf of

Mercia granted privileges for land at Salwarpe to the bishop and clergy of Worcester, therefore charters S 1596 and S 1597 might post-date this grant.

Location

The Salwarpe bounds in charter S 1596 contain the clause *ondlong dofer dæles ongeign stream to wicforda*, while S 1597 reads *ondlong þæs Doferdæles ongean stream to Wicforda*. Hooke (1990: 397–402) translated both clauses as 'along the Doverdale against (the) stream to [Droit]Wich ford'. Ekwall (1964: 24 n.9) regarded the specific *wīc* as a reference to Droitwich, believing *Wicford(a)* to mean 'the Droitwich ford' or 'the ford on the road to Droitwich'. The likely location of the ford referenced as *to wicforda* is a crossing of the Hadley Brook at SO870632, now Ward's Bridge, on the road from Droitwich to Ombersley (Ekwall 1964: 24; Hooke 1990: 397–402). The location is at the junction of Salwarpe and Ombersley parishes, 2.8km west of Roman settlement in Droitwich and 2.6km north-west of Margary 180 (see Figure 64 below).
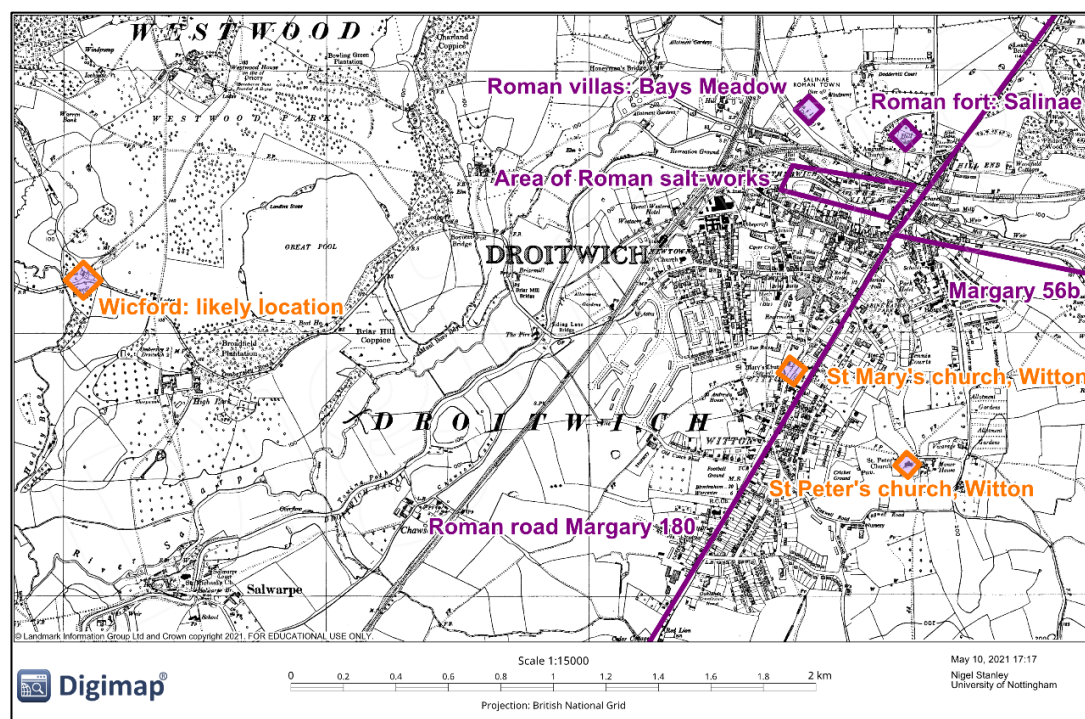

Figure 64: *Wicford(a)* near Droitwich WOR.

Roman archaeology

The Roman fort of *Salinae*, named in the Antonine Itinerary, was at SO902637, north of the River Salwarpe. Just west of the fort, at Bays Meadow, there was a second-century winged-corridor villa at SO897639. After the villa was destroyed by fire, a third- or fourth-century winged-corridor villa was built nearby at SO897636 (HER WSM00678; Hurst 2006: 243–44). Beds of rock salt and brine springs were present near the villa, producing very salty water, and Roman civilian settlement, based on salt extraction, developed on both sides of the Salwarpe, from Chapel Bridge (SO902634) west to Netherwich (SO897635) (Woodiwiss 1992: 2–7). The brine springs remained in use for salt production during the fifth and sixth centuries (Hurst 2006: 244). The Roman villas and the Roman industrial and civilian settlement were around 2.8km east of the ford called *Wicford*(*a*).

(6) ESX.21A Wickford

Attestation

(*æt*) *Wicforda* c.975 (11th) (S 1494), *Wi*(*n*)*cfort* 1086 DB, *Wic- Wyc- Wik*(*e*)- *Wyk*(*e*)*ford* 1194–1230 (Reaney 1935: 176).

Forms such as *Wik*(*e*)- *Wyk*(*e*)*ford* 1194–1230, and the modern outcome Wickford, strongly suggest that the specific is OE *wīc*, pronounced with non-palatalized /k/, rather than OE *wiċe* 'wych-elm' with palatal /tʃ/. Reaney (1935: 176) translated Wickford as 'ford by the wic'; Ekwall (1936a: 492) considered 'ford by a wīc' as possible, but his alternative suggestion 'ford by a wych elm' seems erroneous, in view of the forms with <k> and the modern outcome Wickford. Watts regarded Wickford as 'ford at or called Wick, or by the dairy-farm' (2004: 677). However, Gelling (1984: 323; 1988a: 247) proposed that Wickford may mean 'ford by a Romano-British settlement', a translation modified by Mills (2011: 497) as probably 'ford by an earlier Romano-British settlement'.

Location

The medieval parish church of St Catherine in Wickford was at TQ754935. The location of the ford referenced in the name Wickford is uncertain, but it was perhaps at TQ747936, 700m west of the church, where a Roman road crossed the River Crouch (see Figure 65 below). Various Roman roads through Wickford are shown on the RRS map, including a road 300m north-west of the ford, and another 200m south of St Catherine's church, running east towards the coast.
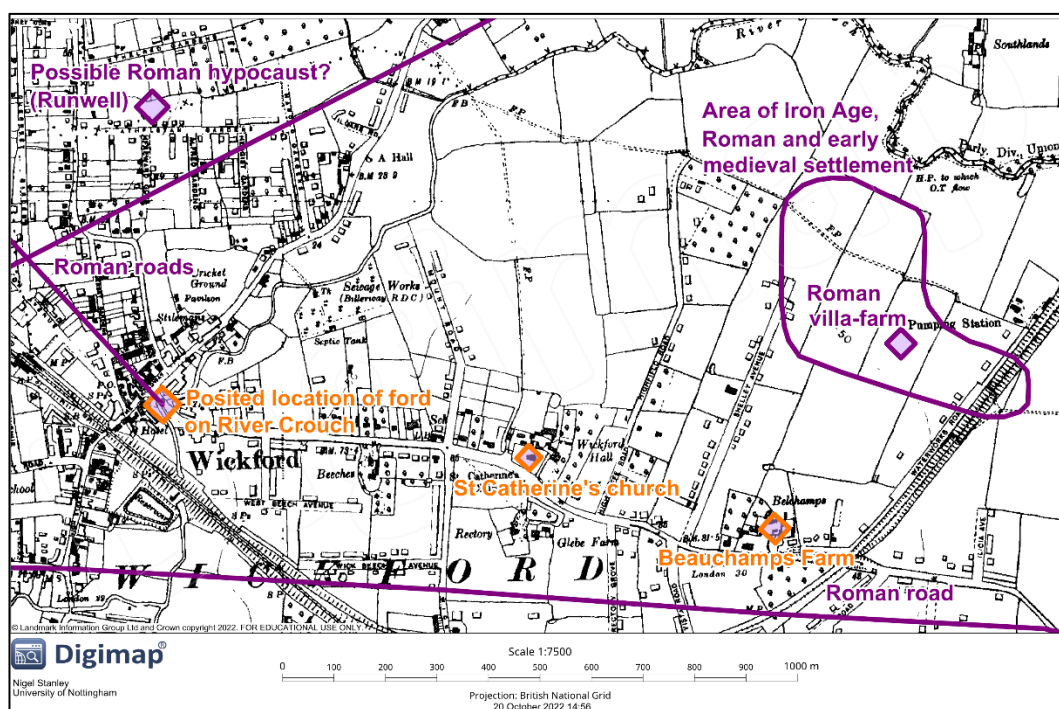

Figure 65: Wickford ESX.

Roman archaeology

Iron Age settlement, followed by extensive Roman settlement, is known in Wickford at Beauchamps Farm, at TQ762937, around 1.4km east of the ford across the River Crouch and 700m north-east of St Catherine's church. Different views have been taken of the nature and extent of the Roman settlement, which started with a first-century marching-camp (Carlyle 2014: 7). Rodwell (1975: 86–99) classified this settlement as a small Roman town, while the OS map

Roman Britain (2016) regards it as an undefended settlement with a substantial building and a nearby temporary fort. A Roman villa-farm, built in the second century, is known at Beauchamps Farm, at TQ762937, along with several Roman timber buildings, a fourth-century stone granary and cremation burials. The main villa building, with a hypocaust, was destroyed by fire around 350. Roman pottery finds at Wickford date from the first to late fourth centuries (HER 417106; Baker 2006a: 176; Kemble 2009: 161). Thereafter, pottery scatters at the Beauchamps Farm site suggest extensive occupation in the post-Roman period. Three post-Roman buildings are known, constructed with post-holes, rubble and turf, while early medieval pottery includes grass-tempered ware, which typically dates from around the fifth to seventh centuries. A cooking-pit found at Beauchamps Farm contained eleventh-century pottery; however, later medieval settlement may have been concentrated around St Catherine's church (www.heritagegateway.org.uk: Historic England Research Records: Beauchamps Farm Settlement; Carlyle 2014: 7). A hypocaust is reported in Runwell at TQ747941 (archiuk.com), possibly suggesting a villa 500m north of the ford at Wickford, though this does not appear in the HER.

(7) LIN.21A Wigford

Attestation

Wich(*e*)*ford'* c.1107–1219, *uicfort* 1159–61, *Wicford*(*e*) 1169–1236, *Wick*(*e*)*ford*(*a*) late 12th with later variants, *Wikeford'* 1146 et freq to 1312, *Wigeford* 1196, *Wygkeford* 1329, *Wigford* (*Street*) 1555–1629 etc. (Cameron 1985: 45–46).

　　Ekwall (1936a: 493) regarded the specific of Wigford as OE *wīc* 'in one of its senses', while Hill (1948: 35) noted that Wigford comes from OE *wīc*, an early loan from Latin *vīcus*, which he regarded here as meaning 'hamlet or street'. Gelling (1984: 323) proposed that Wigford possibly means 'ford near a Romano-

British settlement', later adding that there may have been a Roman suburb at Wigford (1988a: 247). Cameron (1985: 45–46) considered that *wīc-ford* literally means 'the ford by the *wīc*', commenting that *wīc* is highly likely to refer here to a Roman site, across the River Witham from the Roman city of Lincoln.

Location

Wigford is a southern suburb of the city of Lincoln, south of the River Witham, situated north of the convergence of two Roman roads: Ermine Street (Margary 2c) and the Fosse Way (Margary 5f). The ford referenced in the name Wigford was around SK972709, where Ermine Street crossed the Witham; the location is now beneath High Bridge (see Figure 66 below).
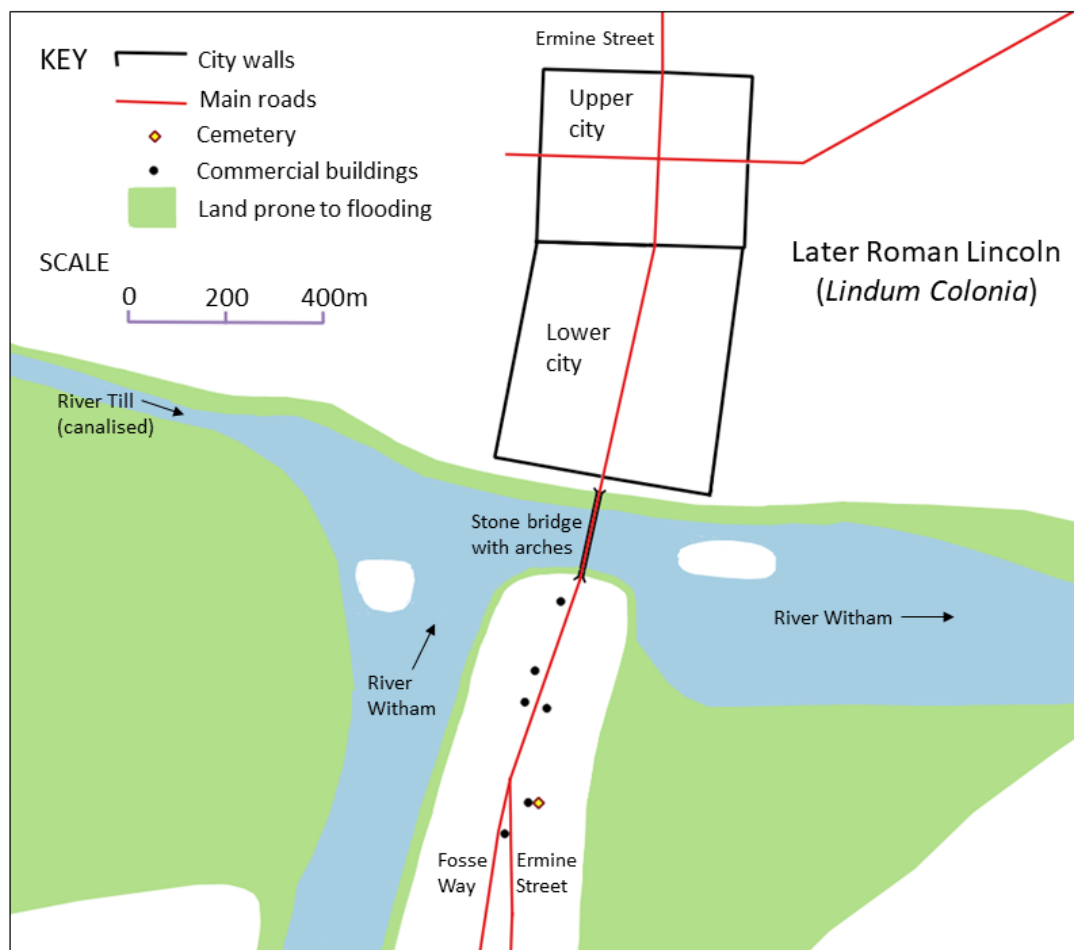

Figure 66: Later Roman Lincoln, showing the suburb south of the Witham, now the location of Wigford (based on Jones 1993: 2, 14–24; Steane 2001: 4; Jones and Stocker 2003b: 112).

Roman archaeology

In the early Roman era, the Witham, due south of the Roman fortress at Lincoln, consisted of two branches and was around 500m in width from the north to south banks, therefore much wider than today (Jones and Stocker 2003a: 48). In the area later called Wigford, a promontory, around 300–400m in width, extended around 1km from north to south, with marshy land to the east and west (Jones 1993: 21–23). Roman Ermine Street, from London to Lincoln, was carried on a causeway across the marshy northern part of the promontory (Richmond 1946: 45–46; Hill 1948: 10–12; Steane and Vince 1993: 75; Jones and Stocker 2003a: 48; Vince and Jones 2016: 474).

The two branches of the Witham were crossed by one or two Roman stone bridges with flood-arches in the early Roman era; the northern bridge was in around the same location as the twelfth-century High Bridge, but much longer, at around 150m (Richmond 1946: 45–46; Jones and Stocker 2003a: 48). Major landfill operations, perhaps in the second century, confined the Witham to a single northerly channel around 150m wide (Jones and Stocker 2003b: 112).

Recent maps of early medieval Lincoln, from the fifth to ninth centuries, envisage the Roman bridge across the Witham as still extant, rather than a ford (Vince and Stocker 2003: 144, 148). However, the generic element of the name Wigford suggests a time when the Roman bridge was defunct, and when the Witham was crossed instead by ford. The meaning of the place-name Wigford is discussed in depth later, in section 4.6. Bassett (1989a: 15) suggested that in the post-Roman period, the Witham remained navigable for vessels with a low draught; this was important in maintaining a direct link between the North Sea and Lincoln, and with the canalised River Till west of Lincoln, also called the Foss Dyke or Foss Navigation. High Bridge was constructed across the Witham in the twelfth century; by this time, the Witham's channel was only around ten metres wide (Vince and Jones 2016: 489–92).

A first-century Roman cemetery is known in Wigford around SK973705, from finds of military tombstones and cremation urns. Extensive evidence has been found of a Roman commercial suburb in Wigford (HER MLI70174), with ribbon development along Ermine Street, extending up to 1km south of the Witham (Jones 1993: 15, 20–24). Six excavated sites in Wigford have produced evidence of around sixteen different Roman commercial buildings, the largest concentration of commercial buildings known in Lincoln (Steane 2001: 311–14). The buildings, constructed from the mid-second century, were all occupied in the early fourth century. Separated by party walls or small gaps, these were strip-buildings, with gables fronting the street. The west side of some of these tenements backed onto the Witham, where a new waterfront or quayside was constructed in the fourth century. They have been regarded as mostly traders' houses, though the precise nature of the commercial activity remains unclear; in one building, the pottery might suggest a roadside tavern where food and drink were prepared (Jones 1993: 21, 2002: 89–93; Steane 2001: 312). Some of the commercial buildings were being abandoned by the mid-fourth century, though others were still in use in the late fourth century.

Until recently, no archaeological evidence was known of occupation in Wigford between the late fourth and the mid-ninth centuries (Steane and Vince 1993: 75–76; Vince and Stocker 2003: 156); however, pottery from the seventh to eighth centuries is now known at two sites in Wigford, and at numerous sites in and around the Roman city walls of Lincoln (Vince and Jones 2016: 484).

E) The compound *wīc-halh*

(8) YOW.21A Wighill

Attestation

duas Wicheles 1086 DB; *Wikale* 1219, c.1300; *Wic-*, *Wyc-*, *Wik-*, *Wykhal*(*e*) 1218–69, *Wyc-*, *Wikhall*(*e*) 1250–65, *Wig-*, *Wyghal*(*l*)*e* 1303–1535, *Wighhal*(*l*)*e* 1316–76, *Wighell* 1490–1532, *Wighill* 1538 (Smith 1964, 4: 242).

Smith commented that in the name Wighill, the voicing of intervocalic /k/ to /g/ has many parallels in names such as Wigginton YOW, Giggleswick YOW and Wigglesworth YOW. Ekwall (1936a: 202, 493) regarded *halh* in northern England as meaning 'haugh, a piece of flat alluvial land by the side of a river', and Wighill, from OE *wīc-halh*, as meaning 'haugh with a wīc or dairy-farm'. Alternatively, *halh* in place-names sometimes means 'nook of land' (see section 4.2 above), and Smith (1961, 4: 242) translated *wīc-halh* as 'nook of land with a dairy-farm'. Gelling initially proposed (1984: 107) that in Wighill, *halh* may mean 'dry ground in marsh'; however, as noted in section 4.2 above, *halh* can also mean 'a detached administrative district'. Gelling subsequently suggested (1988: 247–48) that in Wighill, the specific *wīc* might relate to the Roman settlement at Tadcaster, 3.5km south of Wighill, though Gelling and Cole later (2014: 130) regarded *wīc* in Wighill as a reference to buildings in an undetermined sense. Coates (1999a: 109) followed Gelling (1988a) by relating the specific of Wighill to Tadcaster. Watts (2004: 679) commented that in Wighill, OE *wīc* might be used in its earliest sense of Romano-British settlement, while Mills (2011: 498) regards Wighill as meaning 'nook of land with a dairy farm or by an earlier Romano-British settlement'.

Location

Wighill is a village and parish in North Yorkshire, centred around SE473466, 3.5km north of Tadcaster. The name Wighill, the modern outcome of *wīc-halh*, refers to an area of raised land between the River Foss and the River Wharfe. The DB form *duas Wicheles* suggests two parts to the settlement in 1086; one part was perhaps at Wighill Park, 2.1km north of Wighill (opendomesday.org).

Figure 67: Wighill YON.

Roman archaeology

A Roman road, now called the Rudgate or Margary 280, ran 2.2km west of Wighill and crossed the River Wharfe by ford. East of the Rudgate, an extensive area of Roman military and civilian occupation is known at Newton Kyme, 2.2km south-west of Wighill, centred around SE456450 (see Figure 67 above). This area contains the remains of a large Roman fort, with various phases of

construction from the first to fourth centuries. A large *vicus* or civilian settlement extended over 15 hectares, partly to the west but mainly south of the fort, straddling a road which ran north-south from the fort's entrance (Boutwood 1996: 343–44; historicengland.org.uk: List Entry 1017693; HER MNY16889).

Numerous buildings flanked the north-south road leading to the fort, and a series of rectangular plots of land south of the fort suggests possible use for livestock, agriculture or horticulture. West of the fort, an inhumation cemetery is suggested by crop marks, of late Roman or early medieval date. Military and civilian occupation of the Newton Kyme fort and *vicus* continued throughout the fourth century (Boutwood 1996: 344). Wighill is 3.5km north of Tadcaster, which is normally considered as the site of Roman *Calcaria*, a minor and undefended settlement around SE485435; Roman inhumation burials, cremation urns and pottery have been reported in the central Tadcaster area, along with 21 coins from Reece periods 11–20 and numerous other Roman coins (Historic England Research Record: Calcaria Roman Town).

F) The compound *wīc-hlāw*

(9) SFK.21A *Wicklaw*
Attestation

(*æt*) *Wichlawan* c.970 (S 779), *in Wichelawe*, *ad Wichelau* (1042–57) (S 1051), *Wiclaua* (1109–16), *Wichlawe* 1109–31, *Wichelaue* c.1150, *Wychelau* 1160, *Wyckelawe* 1233, *Wyckelowe* 1327, cf. *Wittlow Galowes* 1433, Gallows Hill c.1880 (Balkwill 1993: 6; K. Briggs 2019: 11–15).

The name *Wicklaw* derives from OE *wīc-hlāw*, whose generic *hlāw* means 'tumulus, hill' in onomastic use, and often implies a place of assembly (Gelling and Cole 2014: 178–80). The first two attestations, in charters S 779 and S 1051, may be spurious (Briggs 2019: 11); however, later attestations have been accepted by scholars (Balkwill 1993: 6). Cognates of *hlāw* in other Germanic

languages include Goth *hlaiw* 'grave', OHG *hlēo* 'grave mound, hill' and OSax

hlēo 'grave mound' (Smith 1956, 1: 250). Briggs (2019: 13) regards OE *wīc* in

Wicklaw as having the sense 'Roman settlement', and as an explicit reference to
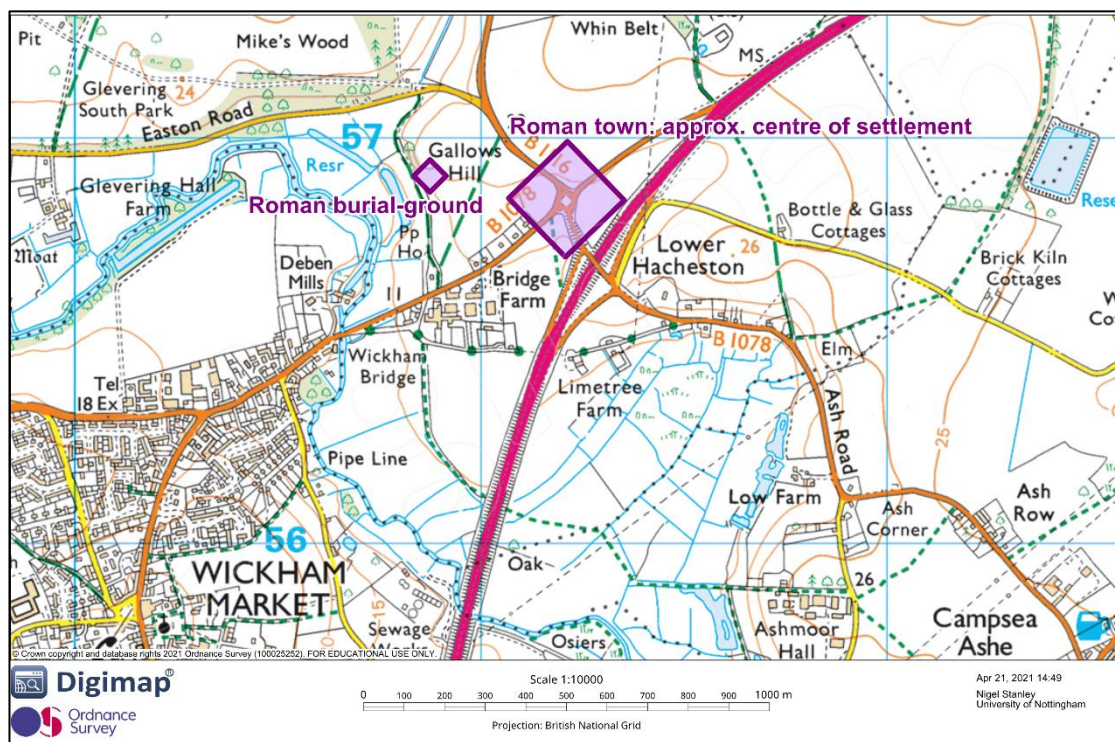
the Roman town at Hacheston.

Figure 68: *Wicklaw* SFK: a posited site at Gallows Hill, Hacheston.

Location

Before and after 1066, Ely abbey held five and a half hundreds in Suffolk, whose

meeting-place was at *Wicklaw* or *Wicklow* (Briggs 2019: 11). The precise

location of *Wicklaw* is uncertain, but a case has been made for Gallows Hill in

Lower Hacheston, at TM309569 (Warner 1988: 14–34; Briggs 2019: 11–14)

(see Figure 68 above). *Wittlow Galowes* is attested in 1433. Gallows Hill is

beside Fiveways, the junction of five roads running in different directions,

making it a likely meeting-point for a hundred court. The name Gallows Hill may

also suggest long-term administrative continuity, as a place of hundredal

authority and execution (Warner 1988: 22). The discovery of Ipswich Ware from c.650–850, and lead objects, possibly weights, at Gallows Hill might also suggest a seventh-century assembly site. In west Suffolk, the hundreds belonging to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds had their meeting-place at *Thinghogo*, whose first element *thing* might suggests a Scandinavian origin for this group of hundreds (Anderson 1934: 95–96); the meeting-place of the *Thinghogo* hundreds was at a group of mounds (Warner 1988: 14), and the name *Wittlow Galowes* in Lower Hacheston might also imply a location at a mound.

Warner (1988: 15–16) considers that the comparatively small size and fragmented appearance of the Wicklaw territory contrasts with the boundary pattern elsewhere in Suffolk. Warner notes a cluster of late Roman gold and silver coin-hoards found near the centre of the Wicklaw territory, along with Rendlesham, the royal seat of the East Anglian Wuffing dynasty, and the ship-burial sites at Sutton Hoo overlooking the Deben, and Snape overlooking the Alde. To Warner, this degree of archaeological evidence, and the etymology of *Wicklaw*, beside the Roman town at Hacheston, both suggest a degree of continuity between the Roman and medieval eras.

Another possible reason for locating *Wicklaw* in Hacheston is the name of the manor of Wicklows, one of four medieval manors in Hacheston parish, along with Hacheston, Glevering and Blomvile manors (Copinger 1909: 286–90). In Dyke's opinion (1980: 50–51), Wicklows manor-house may have been at Bridge Farm, 450m south of Gallows Hill, or Rookery Farm, 1km north of Gallows Hill.

An alternative site for *Wicklaw* has been proposed around 4km south-east in Rendlesham, based on a text from 1205 which can be read as either *Wikelohel*, suggesting *hlāw + hell*, or *Wikelehel*, suggesting *lēah + hell* (Briggs 2019: 11–15). However, the compound name *wīc-hlāw* might conceivably occur in more than one place, and it remains likely that the hundred court of *Wicklaw* met at Gallows Hill in Hacheston.
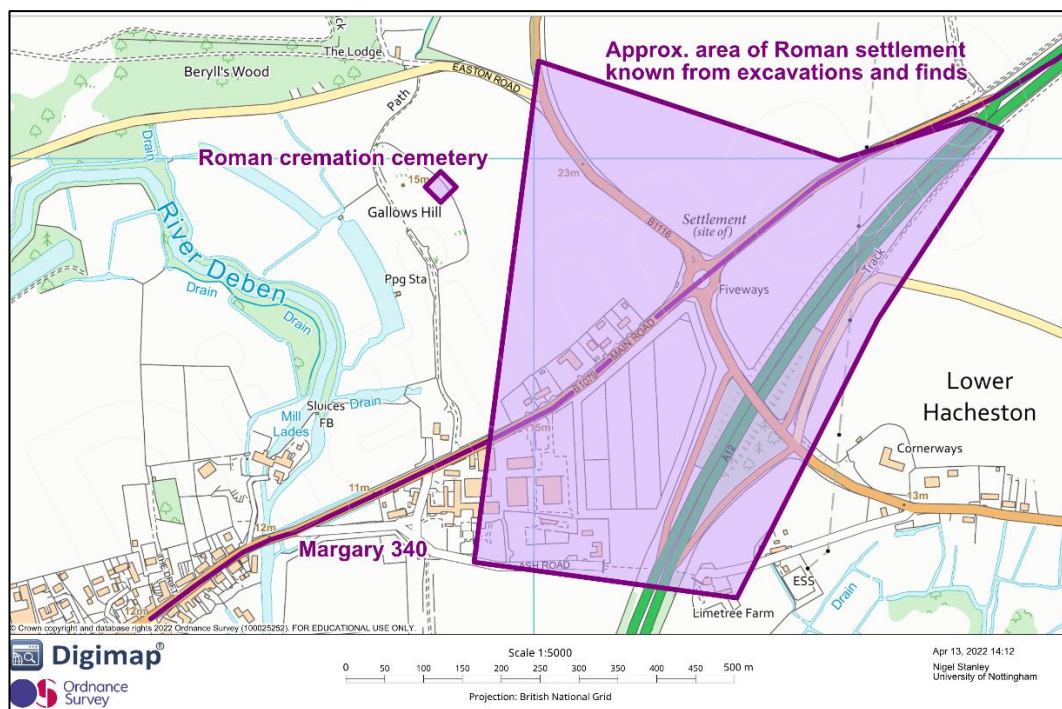
Figure 69: Gallows Hill and Lower Hacheston, SFK.

Roman archaeology

A Roman town was discovered at Lower Hacheston in 1964, beside Margary 340.
The Hacheston Roman settlement covered around 60 acres, centred at Fiveways,
TM312568 (see section 3.3 on Wickham Market). Around 300m north-west of
the centre of the settlement, a Roman burial-ground is known on the east side of
Gallows Hill at TM309569, where around 12 cremation burials in small pits were
found in 1986, in an area eroded by ploughing and modern quarrying. Two
cremations were in greyware pots dating from around 100–250, while an
accompanying colour-coated beaker dates from c.200. This is one of the earliest
sites suggesting a specific burial area for a Roman small town in Suffolk, outside
the settlement but relating to it (Plouviez 1987: 237, 2004: 203–07).

The Gallows Hill site (HER MSF96950) also contains evidence of
occupation during the period 410–650, including one or two SFBs, pottery,
animal bone and lead objects, perhaps weights, along with sherds of Ipswich
ware from c.650–850.

G) The compound *wīc-lēah*

(10) WLT.21A (*on*) *wic leage* (Alton Barnes)

Attestation

(*on*) *wic leage* 825 (12th) (S 272).

The phrase (*on*) *wic leage* appears in the bounds of charter S 272. Various scholars regard the text of charter S 272 as spurious in terms of its dating clause and dedication to the Old Minster, Winchester. Edwards (1988: 146–48, 153–55) believed that the forger used some early records, while Keynes (1994: 1111–12) considered that material was borrowed from charters of the 820s, such as S 273–76 and S 283–84. However, Grundy (1919: 159–64) closely correlated the place-names in S 272 with the boundaries of Alton Barnes, therefore it seems likely that a monastic forger may have used genuine place-names in Alton Barnes in composing the charter after 825. Grundy translated the phrase (*on*) *wic leage* as 'to the Lea of the Dairy Farm' and posited a dairy-farm somewhere west of *wic leage*, 'near a stream' (1919: 163). Grundy's translation resides on the later meanings of *wīc* as 'dairy-farm' and *leage* as 'lea' (meadow); however, there is no other evidence of a dairy-farm in the part of Alton Barnes suggested by Grundy, perhaps just east of Honey Street Farm at SU102611.

Location

In the parish of Alton WLT, the twin villages of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors are today centred around the church at SU109621. The precise location called *on wic leage* in the charter boundary (S 272) is uncertain, but Grundy (1919: 164) regarded this as probably around the southern end of woodland called Tawsmead Copse. This is around SU124615, and 6.8km south of Margary 53.
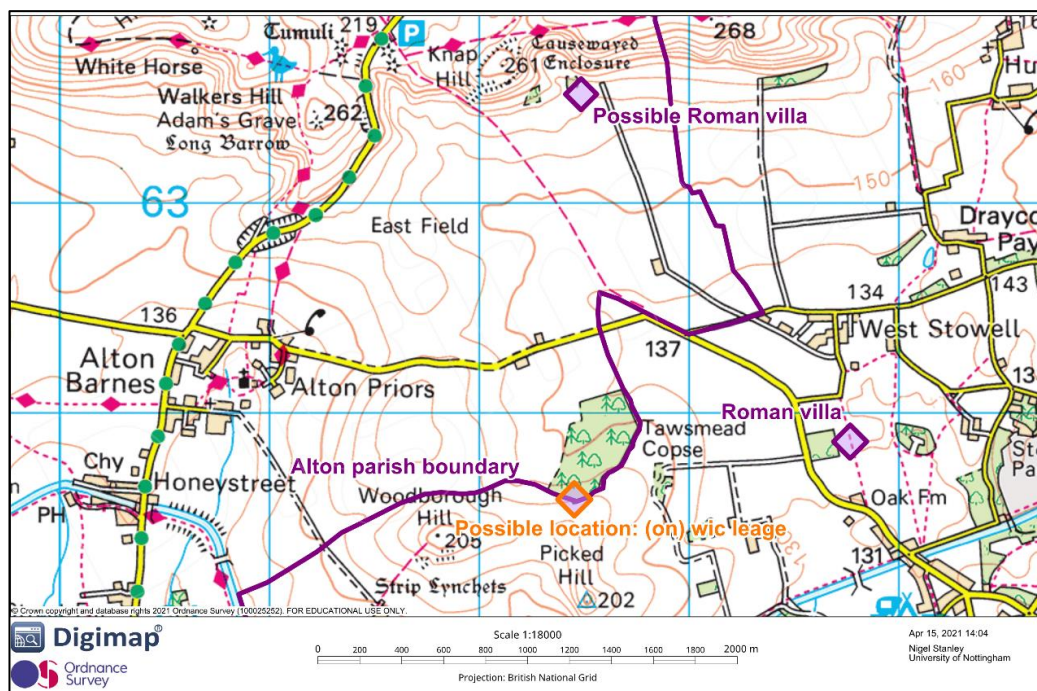
Figure 70: (*on*) *wic leage* in Alton Barnes WLT.

Roman archaeology

1.2km east of the parish boundary of Alton Priors, a Roman villa is known at
SU137619 in a field called Stanchester, 500m south of West Stowell (Scott
1993: 196–97; Draper 2002: 39; HER MWI14906). Finds from partial
excavations include flue-tiles, stone roof-tiles and pottery sherds from the
second to fourth centuries. 1.8km north-east of Alton Priors, a Romano-British
settlement is known at Knap Hill (HER MWI14900); extensive finds of Roman
pottery have occurred south and south-east of Knap Hill, and a Roman villa has
been proposed around SU123633, based on finds of box flue-tile fragments and
Roman potsherds, though its presence is somewhat conjectural (Scott 1993:
196; HER MWI14910).

(11) NTP.21A Weekley

Attestation

(*to*) *wiclea* (*forde*) 956 (c.1250) (S 592), *Wicklei* 1086 DB et freq to 1382, with variants *Wyk-*, *Wik-* and *-le*(*e*), *-ley*; *Wichelai* 1166, *Wikelea* 1172 et freq to 1526, with variants *Wyke-*, and *-legh*, *-ley*, *-le*(*e*), *Wichchelea* 1175; *Wicklea* 1194, *Wickly* 1655; *Wekelee* 1395 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1933: 173).

The EPNS editors Gover, Mawer and Stenton regarded Weekley as the compound *wīc-lēah* 'clearing or wood by the wic'. However, Ekwall, while regarding the EPNS definition as possible, regarded the specific of Weekley as probably OE *wice* 'wych-elm', with the compound probably meaning 'wych-elm wood'; Ekwall considered the combination of *lēah* with the name of a tree as a preferable explanation (1936a: 480, 1936b: 127). Johansson (1975: 138) concurred with Ekwall. In view of early attested forms such as *Wicklei* 1086 DB et freq to 1382, with variants *Wyk-*, *Wik-* and *-le*(*e*), *-ley*; *Wikelea* 1172 et freq to 1526, with variants *Wyke-*, and *-legh*, *-ley*, *-le*(*e*), it is necessary to regard the specific element as the non-palatalised OE *wīc*, and not possible to support the view of Ekwall and Johansson.

Accepting the EPNS definition, Watts (2004: 659) translated Weekley as 'the wood or clearing by the *wīc*' and noted the Romano-British industrial settlement exploiting iron-stone deposits at Weekley. Mills (2011: 487) accepts the compound as *wīc-lēah* and gives the definition as probably 'wood or clearing near an earlier Romano-British settlement'.

Location

Weekley is a village and parish with a church at SP888809, around 3km north-east of Kettering. Extensive woodland in the north-west of the parish includes Weekley Hall Wood.
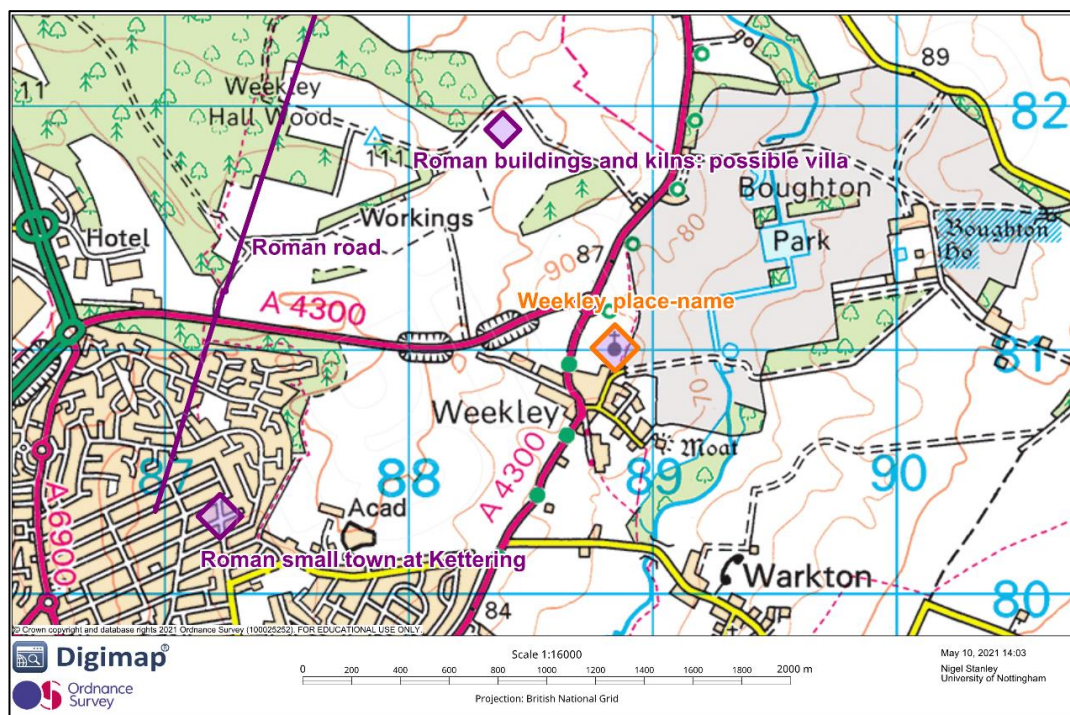
Figure 71: Weekley NTP.

Roman archaeology

1km north of Weekley, around SP885818, finds of building stone, foundations and tesserae suggest a Roman villa, close to early Roman pottery kilns (HER 3910/1/1; Jackson, Biek and Dix 1973: 128–40; Deegan 2007: 121). 1.6km south-west of Weekley there was an undefended Roman small town in Kettering, centred at SP873803 and around 15 hectares in size; settlement is known from the late first century to the late fourth century (HER 3957; Taylor 2002; Deegan 2007: 116). A Roman road ran north-east from Kettering to the west of Weekley, eventually crossing Margary 57a, perhaps towards Great Casterton (Jackson and Dix 1986; Deegan 2007: 119; Taylor and Flitcroft 2004: 64). Beside this road an Iron Age settlement is known at SP874813, by Weekley Hall Wood, with possible Roman occupation (HER 3925).

(12) NFK.21A Wicklewood

Attestation

Wickelewuda 1086 DB, *Wicklewuda* 1168 (Ekwall 1936a: 492; Watts 2004: 678); *Wiclewood* 1286, 1300, 1382, 1440, 1564, *Wiclewood Forest* 1343 (Blomefield 1805: 460–66).

Ekwall proposed that Wicklewood probably derives from a compound *wic-lēah* 'wych elm wood', to which the pleonastic *wudu* was added, producing a name meaning '*Wiclēah* forest' (1936a: 492, 1936b: 127). Watts (2004: 678) followed Ekwall in regarding the compound as OE *wice* + *lēah* + *wudu* 'wych elm wood', translating Wicklewood as 'Wickley wood'. In similar vein, Mills (2011: 497) regards Wicklewood as probably meaning 'wood at *Wiclēah* (wych-elm clearing)'. However, in the earliest attested form *Wickelewuda* 1086 DB, the specific element is clearly unpalatalized, therefore it is difficult to support the view of Ekwall, Watts and Mills that the specific is OE *wice* 'wych-elm'. Later forms such as *Wiclewuda* 1168, *Wiclewode* 1242 show no clear evidence of palatalization. The modern outcome Wicklewood also suggests likely derivation from the specific *wīc*, pronounced with velar /k/, rather than *wice* 'wych-elm'.

Location

The village and parish of Wicklewood has a church at TG069023, 4km west of Wymondham. The hamlet of Crownthorpe, once a parish with its own medieval church, is now in Wicklewood parish.
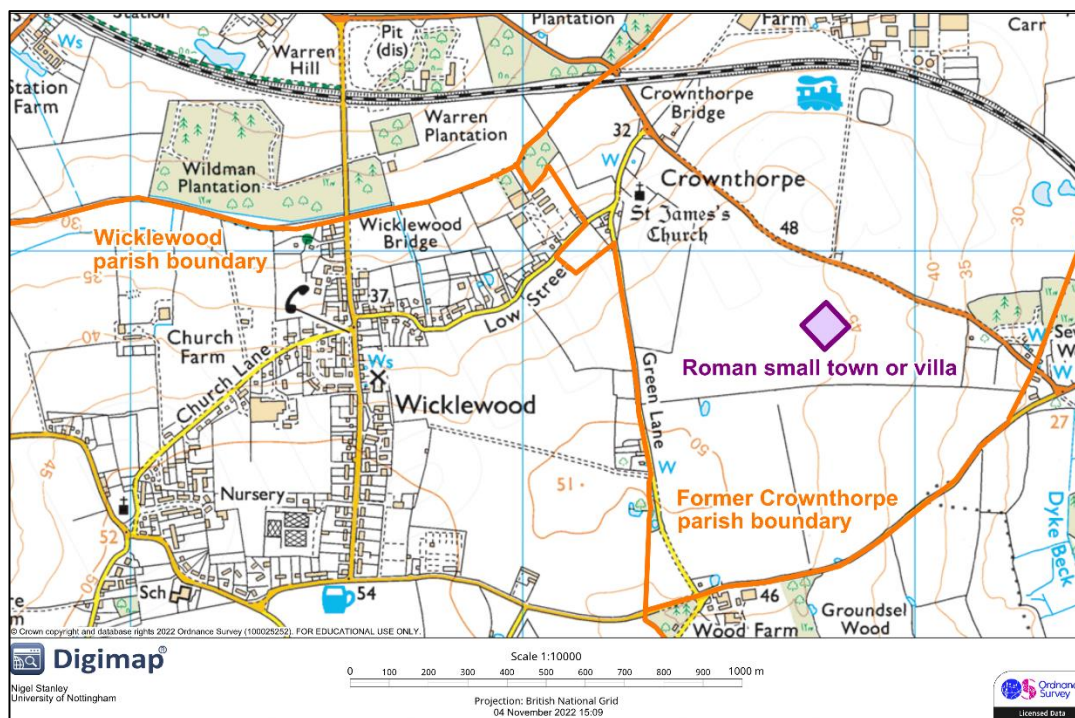
Figure 72: Wicklewood and Crownthorpe NFK.

Roman archaeology

Around 1.8km east of Wicklewood church, and 500m east of the Wicklewood parish boundary, was the Roman settlement at Crownthorpe (NHER 54693, 8897). Finds have included a temple at TG088028, tesserae, wall plaster, tile, pottery, hundreds of Roman coins, and metalwork of many types, including a hoard of bronze vessels from around the time of the Boudiccan revolt, c.AD 60–61. The site is regarded as a possible villa by Scott (1993: 139) but as a village or small town by Gurney (2005: 29). The field around the Roman site has also produced early Anglo-Saxon brooches, along with late Anglo-Saxon and later medieval metalwork. The Roman settlement at Crownthorpe was accessed by a road running east to Caistor (NHER 52027), and other roads may have run south towards Ixworth and west to Threxton through Wicklewood (Gurney 2005: 29).

H) The compound *wīc-mere*

(13) NFK.22A Wickmere

Attestation

Wicmara, *Wicmera*, *Wicmaret* 1086 DB, *Wikemera*, *Wichemere* c.1145,
Wikemere 1166–1553, etc. (Sandred 2002: 107).

As noted in section 4.2, OE *mere* in place-names means 'pond, lake,
pool', or 'wetland' as in a belt of marsh (Gelling and Cole 2014: 21–27). Ekwall
(1936a: 492) regarded Wickmere as a compound of OE *wīc + mere* 'lake by the
wīc or dairy-farm', noting that there is no lake here now; however, the absence
of a lake makes it unlikely that *mere* has this sense here. Gelling (1984: 27,
323) translated Wickmere as 'settlement pond', with the potentially significant
observation that of all place-names with generic *mere*, only Wickmere has a
habitative specific element. Sandred (2002: 107) accepted Wickmere as a
compound of *wīc* with *mere* 'pool', commenting that the meaning of *wīc* is not
always easy to establish. Watts (2004: 678) defined Wickmere as 'lake or pond
by the farm', while Mills (2011: 497) prefers 'pool by a dwelling or dairy-farm'.
The Wickmere field-name *Meerelond* 1321 (Sandred 2002: 108) suggests land in
a boggy area.

Location

Wickmere parish church is at TG165337, 1.8km south-west of Aldborough. There
are boggy streams around 1km south and east of the church, and various ponds
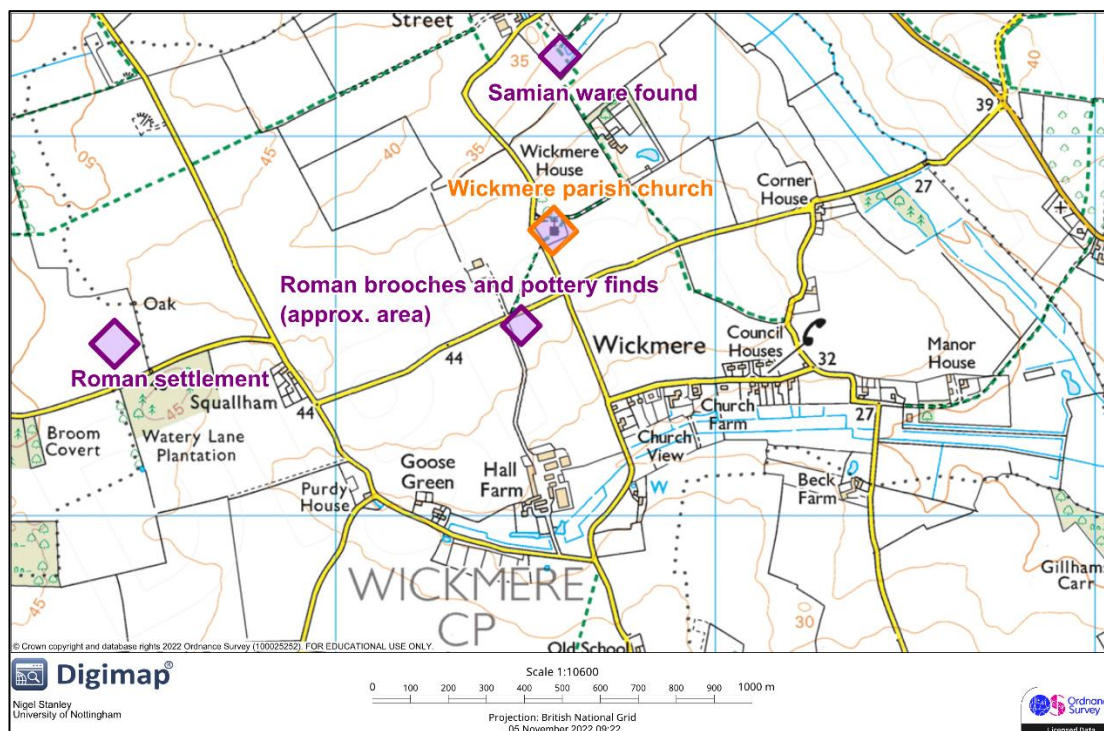such as around TG165329, just south of Hall Farm (see Figure 73 below).

Figure 73: Wickmere NFK.

Roman archaeology

Various finds indicate Roman habitation in and near Wickmere parish. Roman settlement is known around 500m from Wickmere parish church: to the north, Samian ware has been found at TG166342 (NHER 16170), while to the west and south, Roman pottery, coins and a first-century brooch have been found (NHER 28044). Roman settlement, as part of a multi-period settlement, is known around 1.2km west of Wickmere parish church, around TG154334, where finds include Roman coins, pottery and a roof tile, at a settlement active from the first or second century through to the third or fourth century (NHER 24230, 28037; Davison 1995). In the southern area of Wickmere parish, Roman finds are known near Wolterton Hall, such as pottery at TG164324 (NHER 25873; Davison 1995: 165). A possible early medieval cremation cemetery, dating from before 650, is reported in Wickmere (NHER 6658, 6659, 13670).

I) The compound *wīc-stall*

(14) YOW.23A *Wixstalker* (Swillington)

Attestation

Wixstalker c.1170, *Wycstalgap* 1250–58 (Smith 1961, 4: 95). The generics of
the two forms are: 1) ON *kjarr* 'brushwood', ME *ker* 'a bog, a marsh, esp. one
overgrown with brushwood' (Smith 1956, 2: 4); 2) ON *gap* 'a gap, opening,
chasm', ME *gappe* 'a breach or opening in a wall or fence' (Smith 1956, 1: 194).

The lost field-names *Wixstalker* and *Wycstalgap* in Swillington are the
only forms of an English place-name currently known to contain the compound
wīc-stall. As seen in 4.2 above, the lexical item *wīc-st(e)all* means 'a camp';
however, *wīc-stall* might have a different meaning in onomastic use. OE *tūn-stall*
in place-names means 'the site of a farm, a farmstead', with six known examples
in Yorkshire (Smith 1956, 2: 198); by analogy, *wīc-stall* might mean 'the site of
a farm or dairy-farm'. The senses of OE *steall* (WSax), *stall* (Angl), include (i) 'a
standing-place, a stall for cattle'; (ii) 'a place, a site, esp. the site of a building or
other object'; and (iii) 'a place for catching fish, a fishing pool' (Smith 1956, 2:
142–43).

Location

Swillington is centred at SE384304, south-east of Leeds and 1.5km north-east of
the River Aire. The element *ker* 'a bog, a marsh' suggests that the location of
Wixstalker was a boggy area, while the generic *gap* in *Wycstalgap* suggests an
opening in the landscape, perhaps near a habitative feature called *wīc-stall*. In
the nineteenth century Swillington contained marshland beside the River Aire at
SE387285 and further south, liable to flooding, though boggy areas may have
existed elsewhere in the parish.

Figure 74: Swillington YOW.

Roman archaeology

Swillington is 4.3km west of Margary 28b from Castleford to Tadcaster, and
6.2km north-west of the Roman fort of *Lagentium* at Castleford. A Roman
farmstead (HER MWY578) is likely at SE376313, and a Roman field system (HER
MWY585) at SE378328, where finds include a large quantity of late Roman
pottery. Grim's Ditch (HER MWY3425), thought to be an Iron Age embankment,
runs south from SE374305 towards the River Aire.

J) The compound *wīc-stōw*

(15) HNT.21A Wistow
Attestation

Kingeston id est Wistow, *Kyngestune id est Wicstone* 974 (14th) (S 798), *Wistou*
1086, 1114–33, *Kingeston* 1253, *Wistowe* 1321 (Mawer and Stenton 1926: 228;
esawyer.com).

In the above attestations, the two forms of Wistow in charter S 798 have been revised in line with Sawyer's charter text (esawyer.com). Mawer and Stenton defined the lexical meaning of *wīc-stōw* as 'house, dwelling-place or camp', noting that the charter of 974 (S 798) uses two alternative names for Wistow in the phrase *Kingeston id est Wistow*. The manors of Wistow, Bury and Little Raveley were part of a royal estate called *Kingeston*, given by King Edgar to Ramsey Abbey in 974 (Page, Proby and Ladds 1932: 246–50). Accepting that *Kingeston* means 'royal manor', Mawer and Stenton suggested that *wīc-stōw* here means 'site of the royal manor-house'. Ekwall preferred 'dwelling-place, manor', again with the justification that Wistow was a royal manor (1936a: 502). However, *wīc-stōw* as a lexical item has the senses 'dwelling-place, camp, an encampment', rather than 'house' or 'manor-house', and it is uncertain whether *wīc-stōw* means 'site of the royal manor-house'; perhaps for this reason, Mills (2011: 504) gives simply 'the dwelling place' for Wistow HNT. Bourne (2017: 47, 52–53) describes the case of *Kingestune* or Wistow as intriguing, asking whether *Kingestune* might have been the central place in Hurstington hundred, and whether the latter was originally a territory of the North and South *Gyrwe*, who are named in the text generally known as the *Tribal Hidage*.

Location

Wistow is a village and parish in Huntingdonshire, centred at TL278809, 4km south of Ramsey and 9.6km east of Ermine Street (Margary 2b). 2km north of Wistow, the place-name Kingsland Farm (*Kyngeslond* 1252) suggests land under royal ownership before 974 (Mawer and Stenton 1926: 228–29).
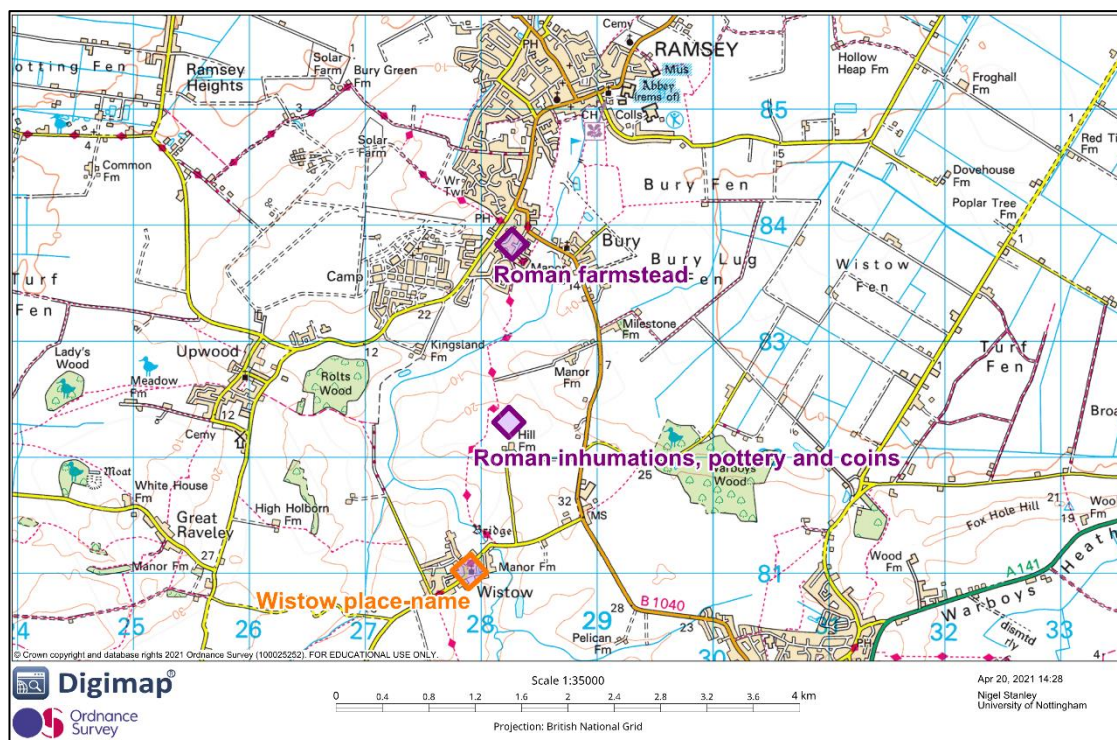
Figure 75: Wistow HNT.

Roman archaeology

There was extensive Roman rural settlement in the Fenland of Huntingdonshire, including an unenclosed farm at Bury south of Ramsey, at TL283837 (HER 10115). 1.1km north-east of Wistow, a Roman settlement is suggested by finds of inhumations, pottery and coins at TL283820 (HER 02862). The nearest villas were perhaps 9.4km south in Houghton, at TL288716, and 10km south in Hartford, at TL256713.

(16) YOW.24A Wistow

Attestation

Wicstow, *on Wic-stowe* c.1030, *Wistow*(*e*), *Wystow*(*e*) 1109–14, 1244–54, *Wich*(*e*)*stowe* 1154–63, *Wikestow*(*e*), *Wykestow*(*e*) 1154–63 (Smith 1963, 4: 36).

Mawer and Stenton (1926: 228) believed that Wistow YOW had 'the same history' as Wistow HNT, with at least two possible meanings: firstly 'house, dwelling-place or camp', based on the lexical senses of OE *wīc-stōw*, or alternatively 'royal manor' or 'site of the royal manor-house'. Ekwall (1936a: 502) followed this dual approach by translating Wistow YOW as 'dwelling-place, manor'. However, Smith (1963, 4: 36) excluded the sense 'manor', regarding Wistow YOW as 'a dwelling place, a camp', while Mills (2011: 504) prefers simply 'the dwelling place'.

In a charter dated 963 (S 712), King Edgar granted to the Archbishop of York a large estate, based at Sherburn-in-Elmet, including land at Cawood. This estate probably included parts of Wistow, as a charter c.1030 records two ox-gangs of land in *Wicstow* belonging to the archbishop's estate in Sherburn (Farrar 1914: 21–22). However, there is no record of a royal manor-house at Wistow, and this challenges the view of Ekwall, Mawer and Stenton that Wistow might mean 'manor' or 'royal manor'. Wistow does not appear separately in DB and was presumably a small settlement around 1086. A later charter dated c.1154–63 settles a dispute with Gervase de Bretton, former tenant of half of *Wikestowe*, confirming this as the archbishop's land (Farrar 1914: 42–43).

Location

The village and large parish of Wistow is centred at SE592357, 1.5km south-west of the River Ouse, 4km south-east of Cawood and 4km north-west of Selby. The Wistow area is low-lying, and land near the Ouse is prone to flooding. Much of Bishop Wood is in the south-west of Wistow parish (see Figure 76 below).
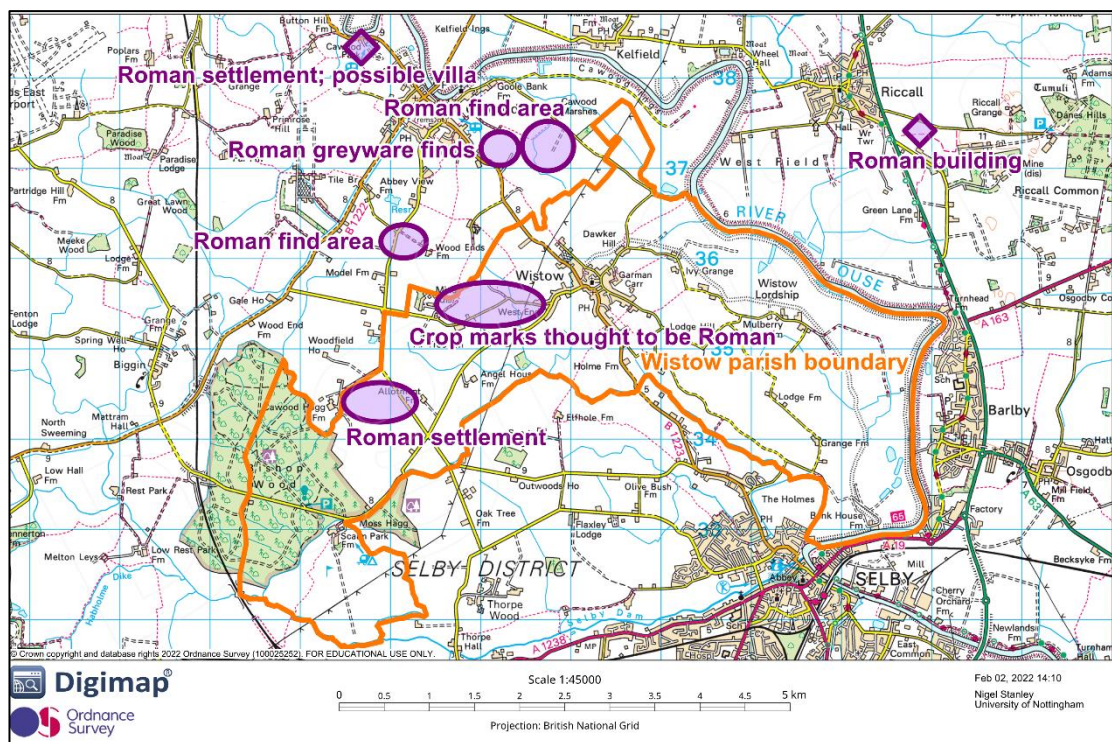
Figure 76: Wistow YOW.

Roman archaeology

A Roman site in Cawood Park at SE567383, 3.5km north-west of Wistow, is listed as a possible villa (Scott 1993: 149; HER MNY10894). South of Cawood, extensive evidence of Roman occupation has been found. In Wistow parish, 2.5km south-west of Wistow village, an extensive Roman settlement and field system around SE568343 (MNY10393) is known from crop-marks near Cawood Hagg Farm, and was partly excavated in 2019. Recovered animal bones from the Roman period include cattle mandibles, and bones of pigs and sheep or goats. Crop-marks also suggest Roman agricultural activity 500m to 2km west of Wistow, while around 1.5km north-west of Wistow, Roman settlement is suggested by several surface finds of Roman pottery and artefacts (Brearley and Kenny 2019: 36–45, 198–208). Across the Ouse, 4km north-east of Wistow, a Roman building is known in Riccall at SE629374. Wistow is 13km south-east of the Roman settlement at Tadcaster, 11.5km south-east of Margary 28c and 16km south of York, Roman *Eboracum*.

K) The compound _wīc-tūn_

(17) WOR.22A Witton near Droitwich

Attestation

Wittona 716 (14th) S 83_, wictune_ c.817 (17th) (S 1596), _Wictune_ c.817 (17th)
(S 1597), _Wittun_(_e_) 972 (18th) (S 786), _Witone in Wich_ 1086 DB, _Wittona juxta_
Wyche 1378 (Mawer, Stenton and Houghton 1927: 289).

In the main body of charter S 83, purportedly dating from 716, Ethelbald
gives land to Evesham abbey, including _Hamtona juxta Wiccium emptorium_,
Uptona, _Wittona_ and seven other properties; however, S 83, a fourteenth-
century copy, is of doubtful authenticity (esawyer.com). Charters S 1596 and S
1597, relating to Salwarpe WOR, are the only attestations with the orthography
<ct>, clearly suggesting _wīc-tūn_. The main body of charter S 1596 includes the
phrase _on wic tune an feorða dæl wudu landes & feldlandes_, 'at Witton a fourth
share of the woodland and open land', while the main body of S 1597 reads _on_
Wictune feorða dæl wudulandes (Hooke 1990: 397–402; DOEC Ch 1596, 1597).
The Pershore Abbey charter S 786, dated 972 (Birch 1893: 595) mentions the
site of two salt furnaces at _Wittune_, rather than the form _Wittun_ given by the
EPNS editors.

Droitwich is first attested with the forms (_in_) _Wico emptorio salis quem_
nos Saltwich vocamus 717 (12th) (S 97), _Saltwic_ 888 (S 220), and _Wich_ 1086
DB; the forms _Drihtwych_ 1347, _Drytwyche_ 1353 and _Dertwych_ 1396 probably
mean 'foul or dirty wic' (Mawer, Stenton and Houghton 1927: 286).

Mawer, Stenton and Houghton believed that Witton WOR is clearly the
compound _wīc-tūn_, meaning 'enclosure by the wic' (1927: 286), while Ekwall
(1936a: 504) regarded the meaning '_tūn_ by a _wīc_' as 'certain' here; however,
the meaning of Witton WOR seems far from certain. Cameron (1961: 145)
regarded _wīc-tūn_ here as meaning perhaps 'homestead', 'dwelling-place' or 'farm
near a village', but later considered a plausible meaning to be 'village, estate

near a salt-production centre' (1996: 148). Gelling (1967: 98) considered that

wīc-tūn probably means 'farm near the place called *Wīc*', since Witton is near to

Droitwich, while Hooke (1981: 127) preferred the meaning 'tūn (enclosure or

estate) by the wīc', where *tūn* may refer to a dwelling-place as opposed to the

industrial centre. Coates (1999a: 108) believed that in the Droitwich area, even

though the Roman salt-works might have been called *vīcus* in Latin, the

compound *wīc-tūn* must be later, owing to 'the relatively late English interest' in

this area, and because the element *tūn* is 'now widely accepted as being

relatively late in English place-naming'.
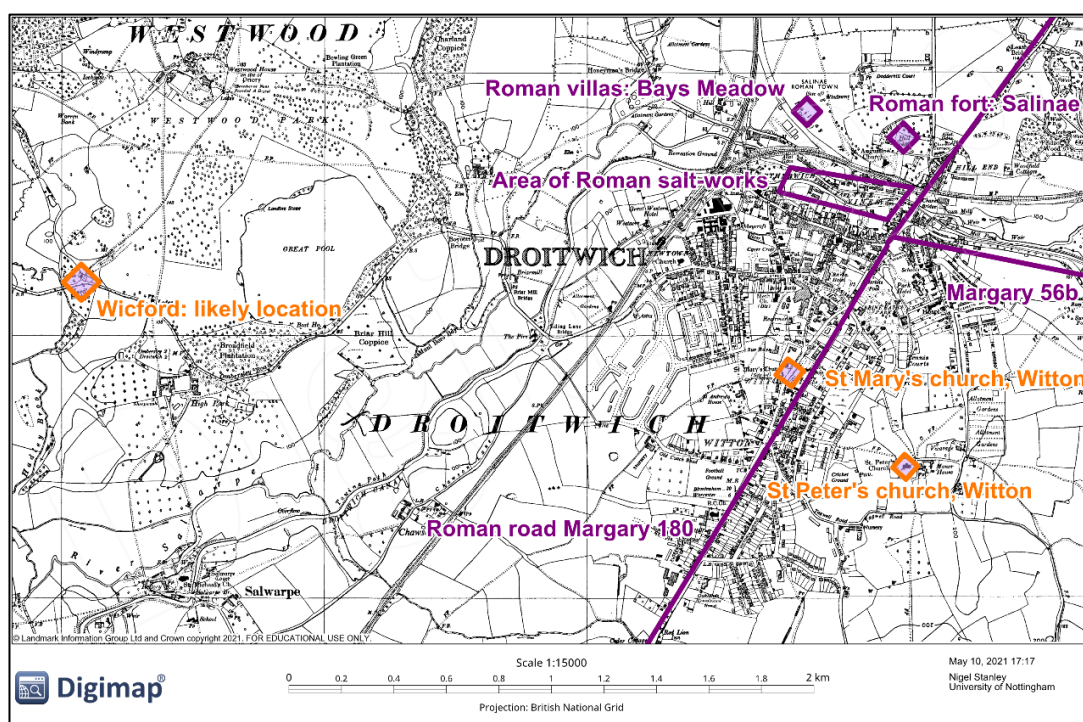
Figure 77: Witton near Droitwich WOR.

Location

Two medieval manors and parishes were situated south of Droitwich (see Figure

77 above). Witton St Mary's church was at SO898628, 600m south of the Roman

and medieval salt-works and beside the route of Margary 180, while Witton St

Peter's church was at SO902625, 1km south-east of the saltworks, 500m east of

Margary 180 from Metchley to Gloucester and 900m south of Margary 56b from

Droitwich to Stratford, also known as the Salt Way. Both manors included detached parcels of land north of the River Salwarpe and within the medieval borough of Droitwich and its parish of St Nicholas (Willis-Bund 1913b: 72–89; Bassett 2008: 219–42).

Roman archaeology

For details of Roman Droitwich, including the salt-works and the Bays Meadow Roman villas, see the gazetteer entry above on *Wicford*(*a*) (WOR.21A). Another Roman villa was in Hadzor at SO914625, 1.2km east of Witton.

(18) HNT.22A Wyton

Attestation

Witton', *Wittune* 974 (14th) (S 798), *Witune* 1086 DB, *Witton*, *Wytton* 1199, 1218, 1260, 1287, 1303, 1307, 1535, *Wictun* 1253, *Whitton* 1526, 1641 (Mawer and Stenton 1926: 230).

The charter references of 974 were omitted by Mawer and Stenton (1926: 230), who regarded this name as the compound *wīc-tūn*, even though <c> appears just once, in *Wictun* 1253, and not in earlier attestations. Mawer and Stenton described the meaning of Wyton as 'obscure' but stated that it 'must have' the same history as Witton in Droitwich WOR and Market Weighton YOW; later, Mawer, Stenton and Houghton (1927: 289) defined all three names as meaning 'enclosure by the wic'. Gelling (1967: 98–99) noted the finding of tile and potsherds in 1925, reportedly Roman, but concluded that little can be deduced from the place-name Wyton.
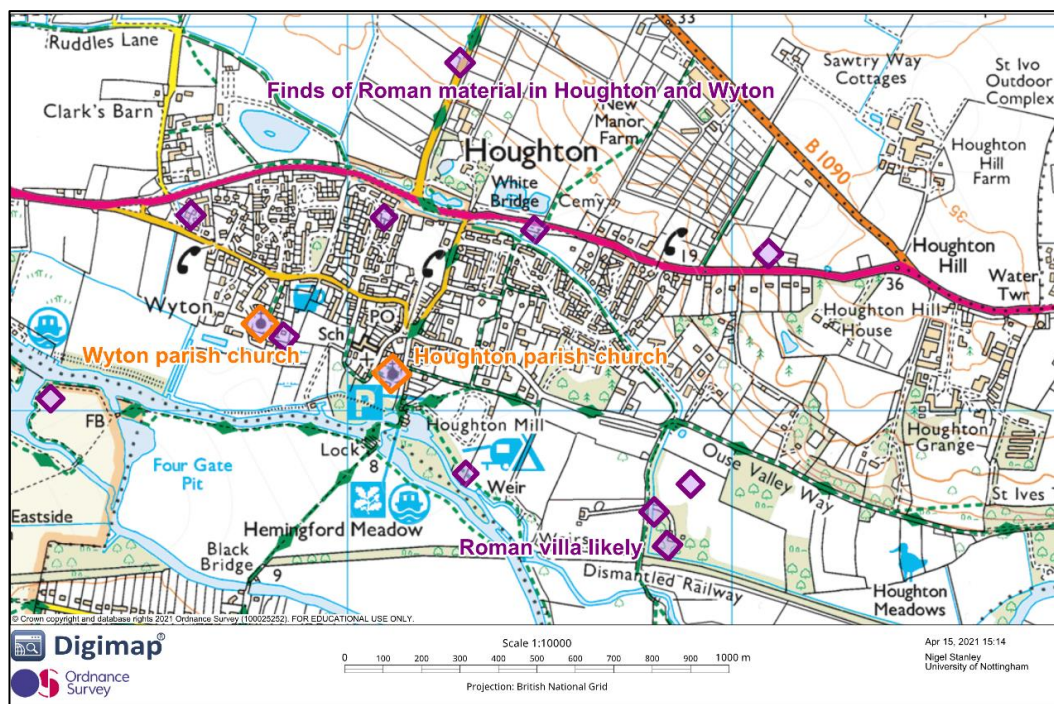
Figure 78: Houghton and Wyton HNT.

Location

Wyton church was around TL278722, just north of the River Great Ouse. Houghton and Wyton are contiguous villages. The manors of Houghton and Wyton were granted to Ramsey Abbey by King Edgar in 974; at the time of DB, each village had its own church, but Houghton and Wyton effectively formed a single settlement in the medieval era and thereafter, with the churches only 350m apart (Page, Proby and Ladds 1932: 178–81, 253–54). Wyton was 3.7km north-east of the Roman town at Godmanchester (*Durovigutum*), 2.3km north of Margary 24 from Godmanchester to Cambridge (*Duroliponte*), and 2.2km north-east of a Roman villa and cemetery at Hartford, at TL256713.

Roman archaeology

There was an extensive Roman settlement at Houghton and Wyton. Within 500m of Wyton church, Roman pottery scatters are known at TL278723 (HER MCB18120); at TL277725 (HER 02750); at TL281723 (HER MCB18251), where Thetford Ware from c.850–1050 is also known; and at TL279723, where late

Anglo-Saxon pottery is again found (HER 02671, MCB18118). In Houghton, sites include a multi-period occupation site at TL288716, 1.2km south-east of Wyton church, where flue-tiles and roof-tiles suggest a Roman villa, and where Roman pottery and a small SFB have also been found (HER 01941e, 01913). Elsewhere in Houghton and Wyton, Roman coins and pottery are known at TL283718; building debris and a pottery scatter at TL289718; a stone sculpture at TL288717; a cremation, pottery, glass and bronze at TL291724; Roman coins at 285725; and other Roman material at TL282720 and TL283729.

(19) NFK.23A Wighton

Attestation

Wistune 1086, *-tona* 1130, *Wihton* 1161, *Wichton* 1165, *Wigton* 1194, *Wicton* 1212 (Watts 2004: 679).

The etymology of Wighton is uncertain, and the earliest forms with a clear suggestion of *wīc-tūn* are *Wichton* 1165, *Wicton* 1212. The earliest attested forms, *Wistune* 1086 DB and *Wistona* 1130, include an anomalous <s> rather than <c>. A medial <s> also occurs with <c> in the earliest form of Market Weighton YOE, *Wicstun* 1086 DB; however, the reasons for <s> in early forms of Wighton are unclear, and no explanation is provided in onomastic literature.

The <ht> in *Wihton* 1161, and <cht> in *Wichton* 1165, seem to be likely twelfth-century orthographic representations of *wīc-tūn*. In *Wigton* 1194, the apparent voicing of /k/ to /g/ has parallels in names such as Wigford LIN (*Wich(e)ford*' c.1107–1219, *Wigeford* 1196, *Wygkeford* 1329) and Wighill YON (*duas Wicheles* 1086 DB; *Wikale* 1219, c.1300; *Wig-*, *Wyghal*(*l*)*e* 1303–1535).

Ekwall (1936a: 493) considered Wighton to mean 'dwelling-place, manor', while Watts (2004: 679) preferred 'dwelling-place, farm with a dwelling', and Mills (2011: 498) 'dwelling place, farmstead with a dwelling'. All three authors regarded Wighton as deriving from OE *wīc-tūn*. However, Gelling (1967: 98–99) concluded that little can be deduced from the name Wighton.

In conclusion, Wighton is not a definite example of *wīc-tūn*, owing to its anomalous range of early forms. However, no place-name scholar has suggested an etymology of Wighton other than *wīc-tūn*, and most scholars regard it as *wīc-tūn*, despite Gelling's reservations. Wighton is therefore included in this corpus of *wīc-tūn* names as a likely, albeit peculiar, example.

Location

The village and parish of Wighton is centred at TF940399, 2.3km north of Great Walsingham (see Figure 79 below). Wighton is 4km south of Wells-next-the-sea, which is centrally located on the north Norfolk coastline.
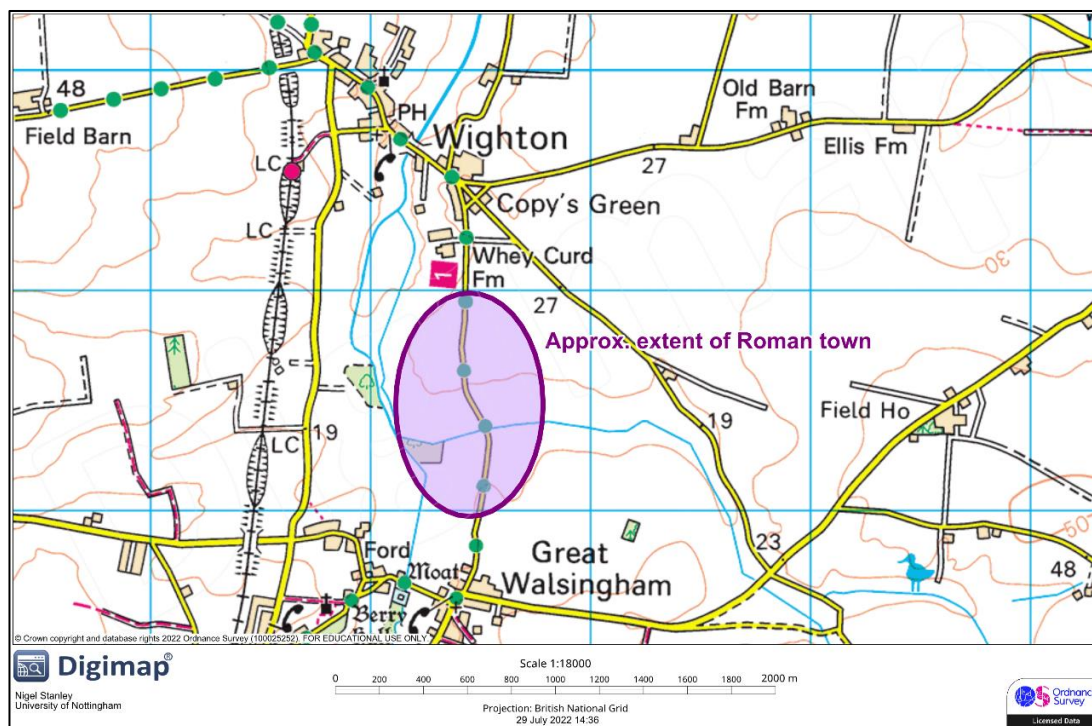

Figure 79: Wighton and Great Walsingham NFK.

Roman archaeology

No Roman archaeology is currently known in the centre of Wighton village; however, a sizeable Roman town was situated around 1km south of Wighton, east of the River Stiffkey, between Wighton and Great Walsingham, extending

around 1.5km from north to south and 750m from east to west. An enormous wealth of Iron Age and Roman evidence has been found in several areas of the town, including a temple, bathhouse, and other buildings with tiled roofs throughout the town (Davies 2009: 181–84; HER 42850, 3980). In one area of the town, flue-tiles suggesting a villa have been found at TF946387. A defensive earthwork was constructed in the fourth century, perhaps suggesting civil disorder or a fear of sea-borne raids. Finds at the town site include metalwork from the early medieval era through to later medieval centuries, perhaps suggesting some continuity of settlement. It is possible, though uncertain, that the Roman temple site was also the site of an early medieval cremation cemetery, where over 40 urns were found in 1658 (HER 2024, 2030). Gurney (2005: 29) indicates a Roman road running east from the Peddar's Way towards the town at Wighton and Great Walsingham, then eastwards towards the coast.

(20) YOE.25A Market Weighton

Attestation

Wicstun 1086 DB; *Wichton*(*a*), *Wychton*(*a*) 1133–1301; *Wicton*(*a*), *Wycton*(*a*), *Wyctun* 1150–1281; *Witun*(*a*), *Wyhtun*(*a*), *Wyhton* 1156–1285; *Wichetona* 1166 (etc.); Market-Weighton 1828 (Smith 1937: 229).

Weighton is now pronounced 'Weeton'. In the earliest form, *Wicstun* 1086, the <s> is anomalous and difficult to explain linguistically, but as seen above, <s> also occurs in the earliest forms of Wighton NFK (*Wistune* 1086, *-tona* 1130). In Market Weighton, later forms suggest derivation from *wīc-tūn* more clearly, such as *Wicton*(*a*), *Wycton*(*a*), *Wycton* 1150–1281.

Variant forms with <ch> rather than <c> are *Wichton*(*a*), *Wychton*(*a*) 1133–1301 and *Wichetona* 1166, and forms with <h> rather than <c> are *Wyhtun*(*a*), *Wyhton* c.1156–1285; medial consonants are omitted in the form *Witun*(*a*) c.1156–1285. These forms are all explicable as likely twelfth- and thirteenth-century orthographic variants of *wīc-tūn*.

Mawer, Stenton and Houghton (1927: 289) considered (Market) Weighton to be the compound *wīc-tūn*, meaning 'enclosure by the wic', while Ekwall (1936a: 480) regarded Weighton as OE *wīc-tūn* 'homestead, dwelling'. Smith (1937: 230) stated that Weighton is clearly a compound of *wīc* and *tūn*, with the possible sense 'dwelling, dwelling-place'. Smith also noted that in Weighton, *wīc* might refer to a Roman *vīcus* or settlement, on a Roman road leading to Brough. Gelling concluded (1967: 99) that little can be deduced from the name Market Weighton; however, Watts (2004: 659) followed Smith in interpreting Weighton as possibly meaning 'settlement, village near the Roman *vīcus*', while Mills (2011: 487) prefers 'farmstead by an earlier Romano-British settlement'.

Location

The village and parish of Market Weighton is centred at SE877418 (see Figure 80 below). Two Roman roads ran near Market Weighton: Margary 29 was 1km east, and Margary 2e was 1.7km west, of the modern village centre.
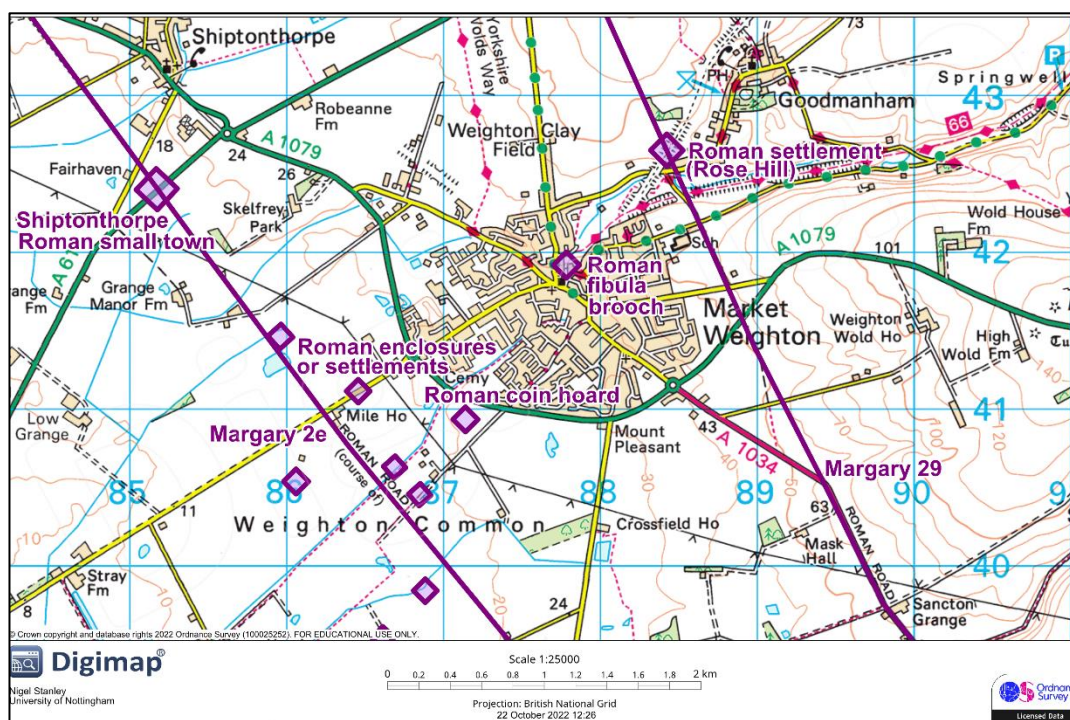

Figure 80: Market Weighton YOE.

Roman archaeology

The PAS records 190 Roman coins found in Market Weighton, and over 50 other items of Roman metalwork. Of the 109 coins dated in the PAS, 26 are from Reece periods 13–14, 52 from period 17, and 20 from period 18. It is unclear whether these coins are the same as a hoard found at SE871409 (archiuk.com). A Roman fibula brooch, probably of bronze, was found in Market Weighton at SE878419 (HER 232). A Roman settlement (HER 4431) is known 1km north-east of Market Weighton, at Rose Hill near Goodmanham, beside Margary 29; finds around 1890, at SE884426, included an inhumation cemetery of 20 skeletons, cremation urns, Samian ware, and a large quantity of unspecified pottery and Roman coins. 2.6km west of Market Weighton was the Roman roadside settlement or small town at Shiptonthorpe, at SE852423 (HER 1388). At least seven Roman enclosures or settlements are known within 500m of Margary 2e, around 3km south-west of Market Weighton (archiuk.com).

(21) WAR.21A Witton (Aston)

Attestation

Witone 1086 DB; *Wichton*(*a*) 1168, 1169; *Wictton* 1235, 1242; *Wytton* 1282, 1291, 1322, 1376, 1410; *Wytton juxta Aston* 1394; *Little Witton* 1652 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1936: 33).

Gover, Mawer and Stenton regarded Witton WAR as the OE compound *wīc-tūn*, whose meaning is 'difficult to determine', while Ekwall (1936a: 504) suggested that Witton WAR is *wīc-tūn*, meaning '*tūn* by a *wīc*'. Gelling (1967: 99) believed that little can be deduced from the name Witton WAR; however, Mills (2011: 505) derives Witton WAR from OE *wīc-tūn*, possibly meaning 'farmstead by an earlier Romano-British settlement'.

Witton's earliest form is *Witone* 1086 DB, without a medial <c>, similar to *Witun*(*a*) c.1156–1285, an early spelling of Market Weighton. In Witton WAR, twelfth-century forms appear with <cht>, such as *Wichton*(*a*) 1168–69, and

thirteenth-century forms with <ctt>, such as *Wictton* 1235, 1242. The name then reverts to a form with <tt>, without a medial consonant, *Wytton* 1282–1410. These forms are probably orthographic variants of *wīc-tūn*, resembling forms of the name found elsewhere.

Location

Witton was a manor in the medieval parish of Aston WAR, within the area of modern Birmingham (Stephens 1964: 58–72). The later nineteenth-century manor-house, Witton Hall, was located at SP088916; a hamlet at Upper Witton was 300m north-east, while Witton Farm at SP083908 was 900m south-west. Witton Hall was 1.4km east of Ryknield Street (Margary 18b), which crossed the River Tame just north of Oldford Farm. While the precise extent of medieval Witton is unclear, its approximate area suggested by boundaries c.1900 is shown in Figure 81 below. The Witton area today is in the urban landscape north of the motorway nexus known as 'Spaghetti Junction'.
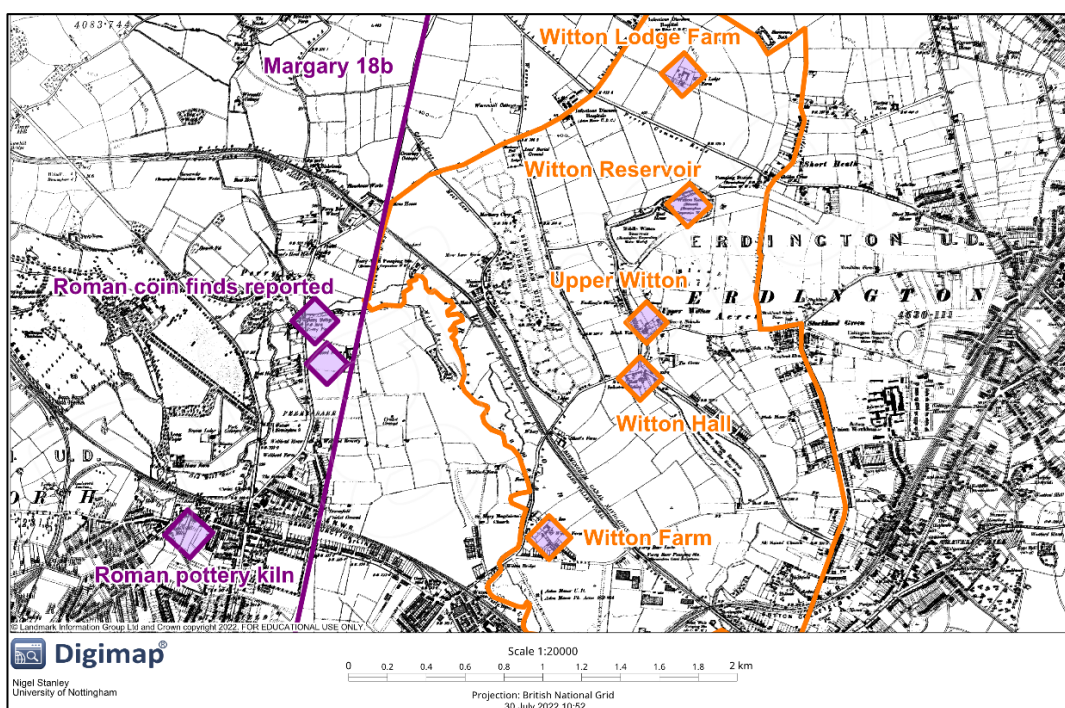

Figure 81: Witton in Aston WAR c.1900.

Roman archaeology

No Roman archaeology is currently evident within the presumed area of Witton.
A Roman pottery kiln is known at Perry Bar, SP065908, 2.2km west of Witton,
and Roman coins have been found near Oldford Farm at SP074917 (HER Mon.
329563). Witton was around 9.5km north-east of the Roman forts at Metchley.

(22) CH.25A Witton (Northwich)

Attestation

Witune 1086 DB, *Witton* c.1200 *et freq*. with variant spellings *Wyt-*, *Whit-*,
Whyt-, *-tune*, *-tonia*; *Witton-Crosse* 1343 (Dodgson 1970, 2: 194).

Ekwall (1936a: 504) regarded the meaning '*tūn* by a *wīc*' as 'probable' in
the case of Witton CHE, noting its proximity to Northwich, and Gelling (1967:
98) considered that Witton probably means 'farm near the place called *Wīc*',
namely Northwich. Cameron (1961: 145) regarded OE *wīc-tūn* as meaning
perhaps 'homestead', 'dwelling-place' or 'farm near a village', but later believed
a plausible meaning of Witton CHE to be 'village, estate near a salt-production
centre' (1996: 148). Emphasizing a later sense of the generic *tūn*, 'estate', Mills
(2011: 505) considers Witton CHE to mean 'estate with a salt-works'.

Place-name scholars have therefore produced a range of meanings for the
specific and generic elements of Witton, and for the compound *wīc-tūn*;
however, all scholarship suggests that this name is probably the compound *wīc-
tūn*, even though no attested form of Witton contains the consonant <c>. This
view relies partly on the proximity (around 300m) of Witton to Northwich, and
on various connections between the two locations (see below).

Location

Witton was a small medieval settlement, 300m east of the River Dane, 750m
east of the River Weaver and 1.2km north-east of the Roman fort of *Condate*

(see Figure 82 below). Regarded as the historic centre of Witton, St Helen's church, at SJ664738, was originally a chapel in the parish of Great Budworth, 3.7km to the north; although outside the Northwich town boundary, St Helen's served as the church of Northwich and became the parish church in 1900. The medieval settlement of Northwich was called *Wich* in DB; Dodgson (1970, 2: 193) considered that Northwich was originally only a few acres in extent and was originally an enclave in Witton township. In Dodgson's view, the *wīc* at Northwich was the 'industrial estate' and the *wīc-tūn* at Witton the 'residential quarter' in this district.
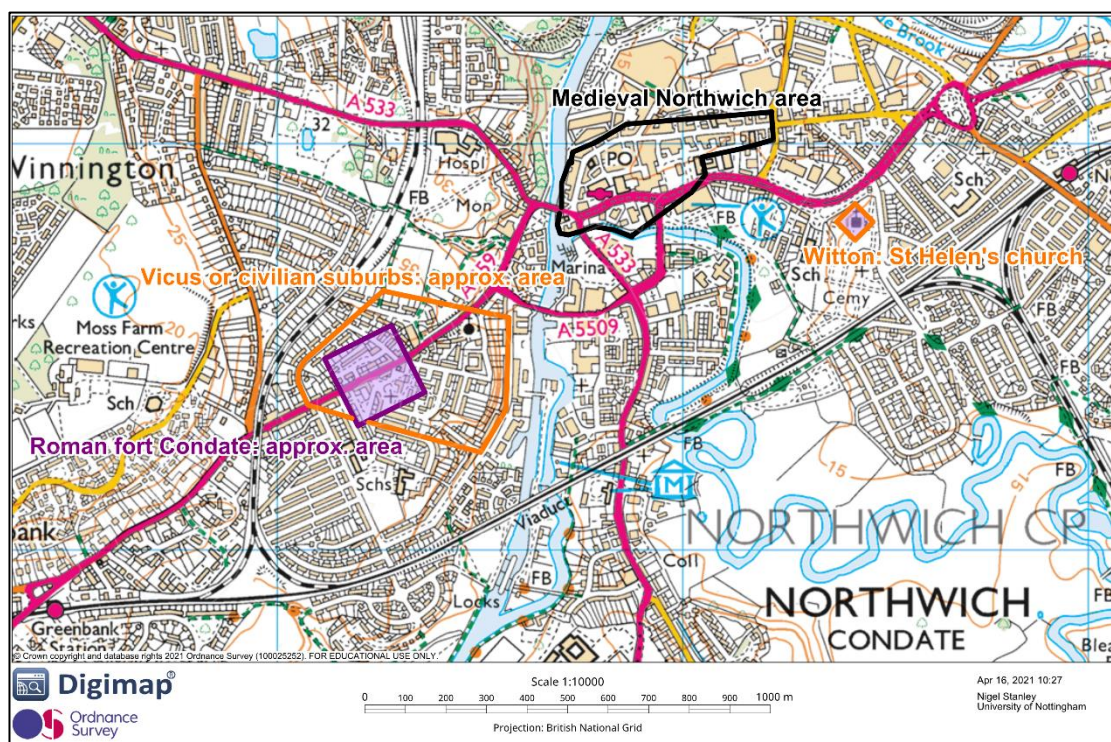

Figure 82: Witton and Northwich CHE.

Roman archaeology

Northwich was the site of a Roman fort at SJ652734, called *Condate* in the Antonine Itinerary (Thompson 1965: 88–91). The fort and its surrounding civilian settlement were situated close to the west bank of the River Weaver.

This was an industrial settlement, flourishing in the second and third centuries, known from large quantities of excavated pottery, with timber buildings, a pottery kiln and a brine kiln similar to that at Middlewich. However, it is not known exactly where the Roman brine springs were located, nor how long the civilian settlement was occupied after the fort was abandoned (Pierce 1988: 21–25; Shaw and Clark 2003).

Witton was 250m south of Margary 7a, running north-east from Chester to Manchester through *Condate*. The route of Margary 7a is now Witton Street, the urban high street of Northwich. The junction with Margary 70a from Sandbach to Warrington was around 1.6km east of Witton.

The Witton area is believed to be the site of early medieval settlement; however, no early medieval archaeology is known in Northwich or Witton. It is not known where any early medieval brine-works were located, nor when they were exploited, nor whether the brine-workers' settlement was in Witton, nor whether there was continuity between Roman and early medieval brine-working (Shaw and Clark 2003: 12–23).

4.4 Gazetteer Part B: place-names attested by 1350 with specific *wīc* and various generics: attestations, locations and Roman archaeology
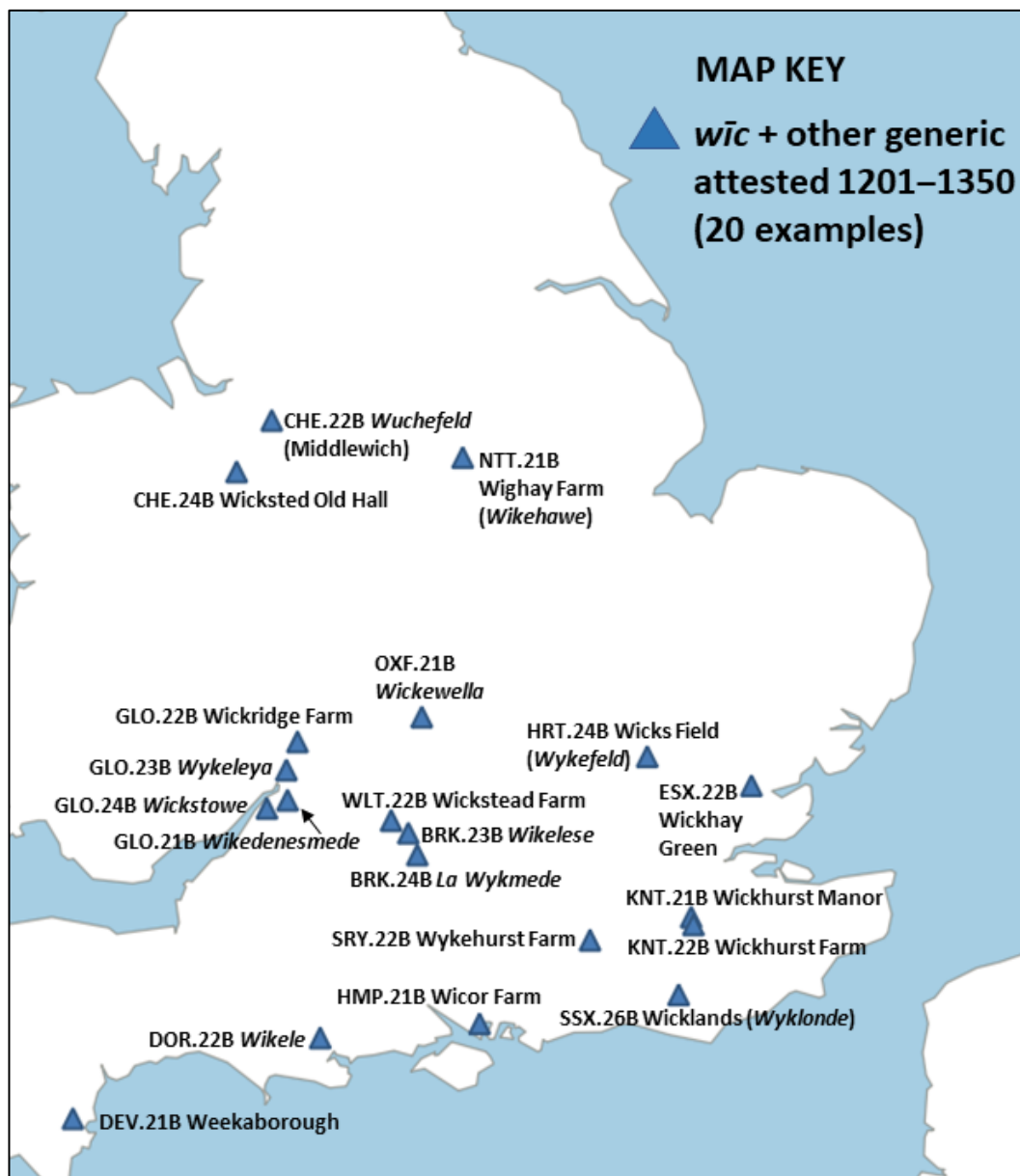

Figure 83: Map of compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics first attested from 1201–1350.

L) The compound *wīc-beorg*

(23) DEV.21B Weekaborough in Berry Pomeroy

Attestation

Wykebergh 1305, *Wekeborough* 1567, *Wickaborough* 1827 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1932: 506).

The EPNS editors, Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1932: 506), commented that the attested forms of Weekaborough make it difficult to identify this as the battlefield mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 851, where the men of Devon defeated the Danes at *Wiceganbeorg* [MS Ā] or *Wicgeanbeorg* [MS E]. They regarded the specific of Weekaborough as possibly *wīca*, genitive plural of OE *wīc*, and the compound as meaning 'hill of the farms', noting that no such compound of *wīc* is known elsewhere. However, it is unclear whether the EPNS editors were referring to the compounding of *wīc* with *beorg*, or to the possible genitive plural *wīca*. If the latter, we should remember that in later OE, *wīc* commonly appears in plural forms, as simplex or generic element, meaning 'a farm' or 'a dairy-farm' (Ekwall 1964: 7–10); moreover, the simplex Week meaning 'dairy-farm' is common in Devon, occurring in at least 27 locations (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1932: 673). If the specific is *wīca*, as the EPNS editors suggested, *wīca-beorg* could be translated as 'hill of the dairy-farm'. The location, on the side of a rounded hill, is typical of place-names with generic *beorg*. Gover, Mawer and Stenton also observe (1931: xxxvi) that in Devon, a medial inflectional syllable often survives from Middle English in place-names, therefore Weekaborough might represent normal regional phonology rather than a genitive plural, given that early forms of the specific are *Wyke-* 1305 and *Weke-* 1567, with *Wicka-* not appearing until 1827. Other possible explanations of Weekaborough might include vowel epenthesis, with <a> inserted to separate <k> and <b>, or that the name might mean 'hill at the place called *Week*'.

Location

The hamlet of Higher Weekaborough is situated at SX844640, on the northern edge of Berry Pomeroy parish, 8km west of Torquay and 30km south of Exeter.
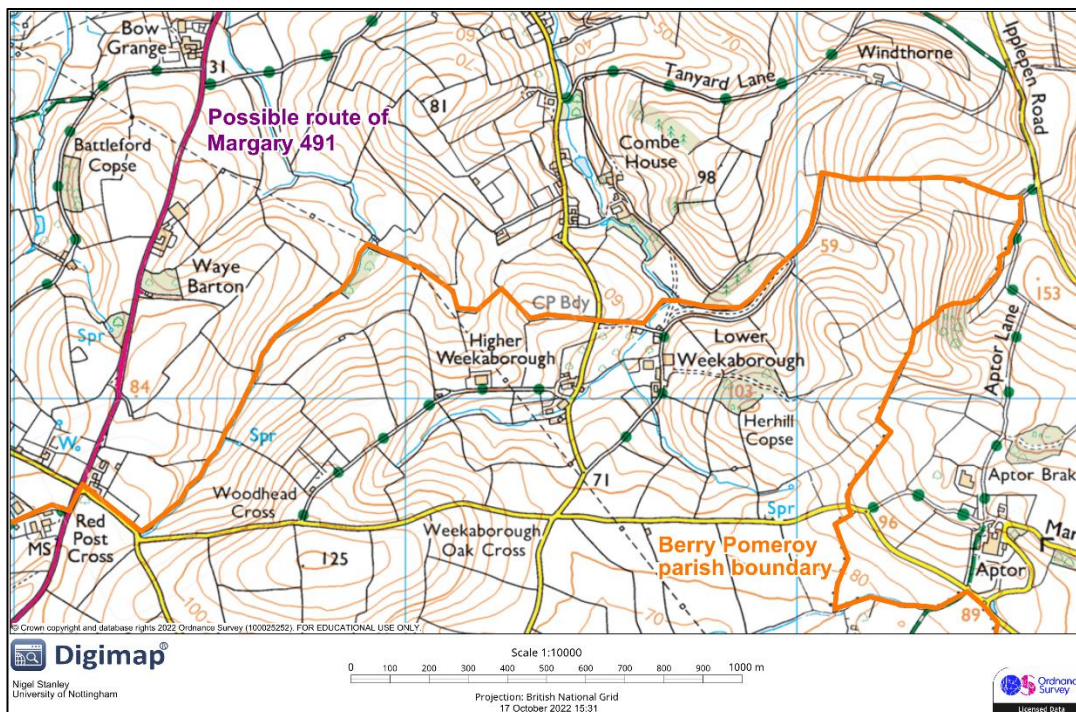
Figure 84: Weekaborough DEV.

Roman archaeology

Margary 491 may have continued south from Newton Abbot to Totnes (Margary 1967: 120); if so, the route may have run close to the line of the A381, 1.2km west of Weekaborough. Sparse Romano-British settlement is known in this part of Devon; 2.4km north of Weekaborough there was a Roman roadside settlement east of Ipplepen, at SX846664 (RRS map, site 19068).

M) The compound *wīc-denu* (+ *mǣd*)

(24) GLO.21B *Wikedenesmede* (Coaley)

Attestation

Wikedenesmede (f.n.) c.1230 (Smith 1964, 2: 222).

Location

Wikedenesmede is a lost field-name in Coaley parish. The final element is OE

mǣd 'a meadow'; this was presumably located in or by *denu* 'a valley'. The

locations of these topographical features in Coaley are uncertain and cannot be

identified from the archival references (Stevenson 1893: 150, 174). Various

valleys in Coaley might be the referent of *denu*, such as: a) around SO768032,

400m west of Church Farm and 300m west of the ruined Frocester parish church

of St Peter; b) at SO764024, beside Westfield Farm; and c) at SO771018, beside

Coaley parish church. The medieval parishes of Coaley and Frocester were

closely associated. Frocester parish church (St Peter's) might once have served

both Frocester and Coaley parishes (Gray 1963: 143–45). Around 1300,

Frocester and Coaley shared an open field, while archives dating from 1541 and

later refer to Frocester cum Coaley (Morgan and Smith 1972: 175–77).
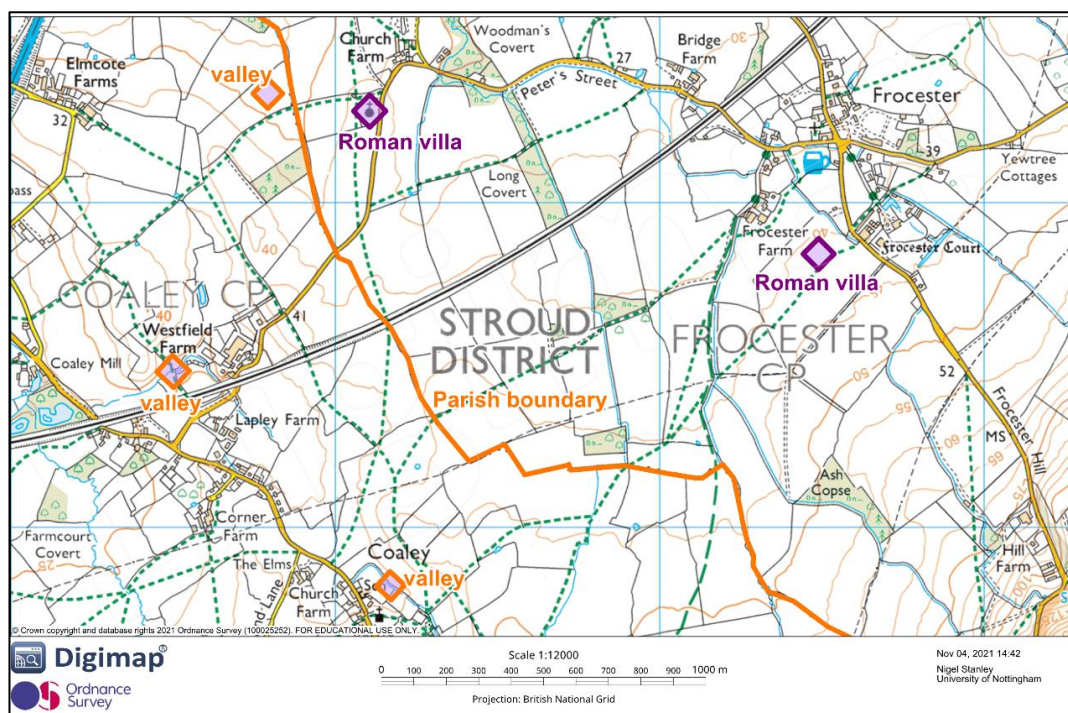
Figure 85: Coaley and Frocester GLO.

Roman archaeology

A Roman villa (HER 5206, 32912), occupied from the second to fourth centuries, is known on the site of the Frocester parish church of St Peter, 1.5km west of Frocester village, at SO771032. 400m south of Frocester village at SO785029, Frocester Court Roman villa (HER 5198) was occupied into the fifth and perhaps seventh centuries (Copeland 2011: 125–28). Other Roman settlement sites are known on the Frocester-Coaley boundary (Morgan and Smith 1972: 170–71).

C) The compound *wīc-feld*

(25) HRT.24B Wicks Field (Little Munden)

Attestation

Wykefeld 1338, *Wikkefeld* 1556, Wicks Field c.1840 TA (cf. *Wykes Grove* 1556, Wicks Wood c.1880 OS) (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 137).

      Gover, Mawer and Stenton regarded the specific element as *wīc*, without proposing the meaning of *Wykefeld*. They described *wīc* 'dairy-farm' as very common in Hertfordshire; however, their cited examples all have *wīc* as a generic rather than specific element (1938: 260).

Location

Two contiguous fields are called Wicks Field in the Little Munden TA c.1840. Wicks Field (4 acres, arable) was at TL327206 and is now partly re-planted with woodland; adjacent to the north-east was Wicks Field (1 acre) at TL328207. Both are beside Wicks Wood at TL327207; this is 1.3km south-west of the church of Little Munden (Dane End). Wicks Field is 1.2km north of Margary 21a through Sacombe and Watton-at-Stone.
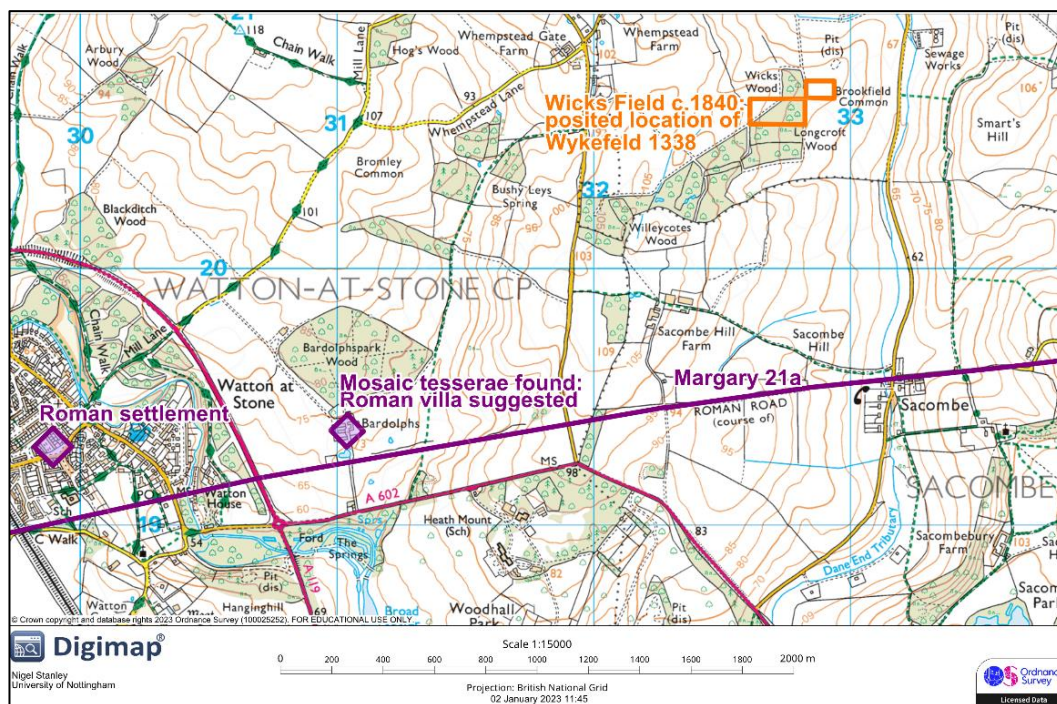
Figure 86: Watton-at-Stone area, HRT.

Roman archaeology

A Roman settlement (HER 30747) is known 3.2km south-west of Wicks Field in Watton-at-Stone, at TL299193. Tesserae (HER 2068) have been found at Bardolph's Farm at TL310193, beside Margary 21a, 2km south-west of Wicks Field; these are not *in situ* but suggest a Roman villa nearby (Scott 1993: 96).

(26) CHE.22B *Wuchefeld* (Middlewich)

Attestation

Wuchefeld 1281, cf. *Wychefurlong*(*e*) 1320, 1353 (Dodgson 1970, 2: 247).

Dodgson considered the field-names *Wuchefeld* and *Wychefurlong*(*e*) to mean 'field and furlong at a *wīc*' or 'belonging to Middlewich'.

Location

Wuchefeld and *Wychefurlong*(*e*) are lost field-names in Middlewich CHE.
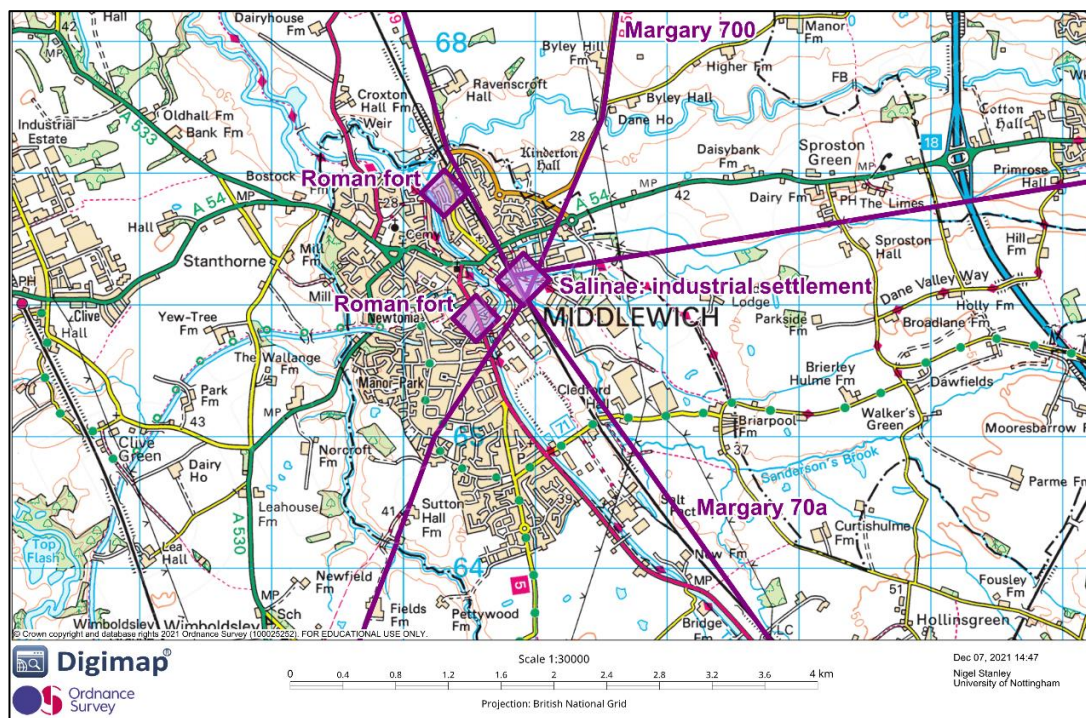
Figure 87: Middlewich CHE.

Roman archaeology

Middlewich is at the junction of two Roman roads, Margary 70a and Margary 700. Two Roman forts are known at Middlewich, at SJ706659 and SJ702669, with the civilian industrial settlement of *Salinae* around SJ709661, involved in the production of salt and pottery (Thompson 1965: 91–97).

N) The compound *wīc-(ge)hæg*

(27) ESX.22B Wickhay Green (Little Baddow)
Attestation

Wic-, Wik-, Wykhey(*e*) 1250, 1276–1323, (*forest*) 1329, (*Greene*) 1494, *Wickey Greene* 1589 (Reaney 1935: 236).

Reaney regarded Wickhay as the compound *wīc + (ge)hæg*, without proposing the meaning of Wickhay. As a simplex or generic element in Essex place-names, *wīc* often refers to a dairy-farm (Reaney 1935: 594; Smith 1956,

2: 260); however, Reaney cited no examples of compound place-names in Essex where the specific *wīc* refers to a dairy-farm.
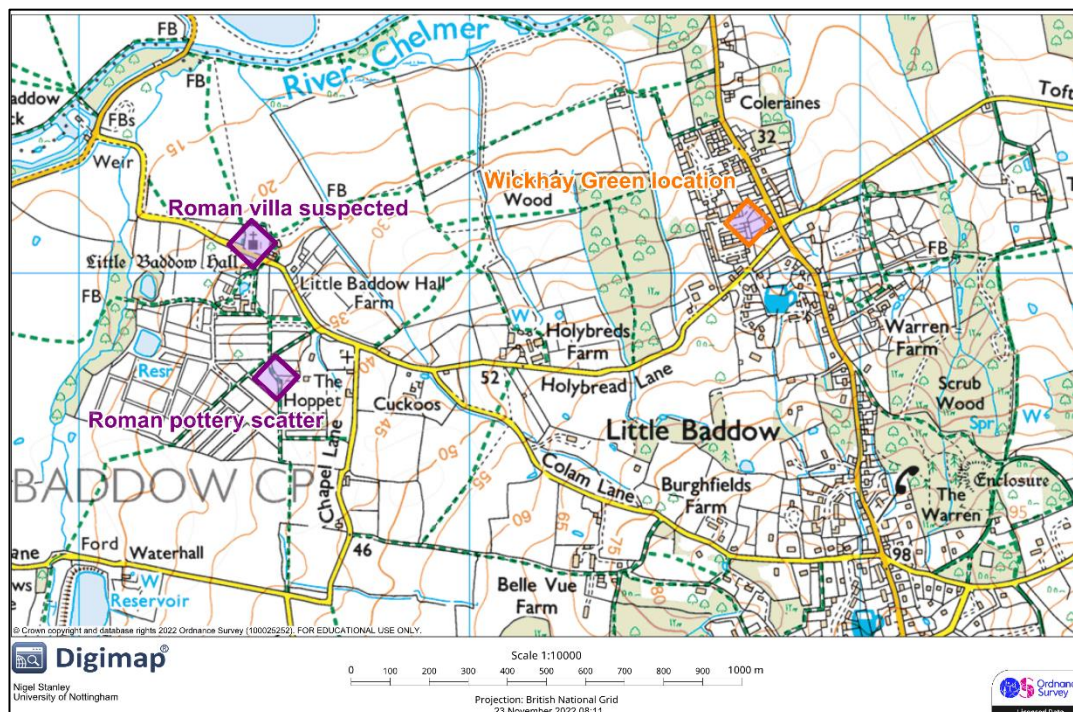
Figure 88: Little Baddow ESX.

Location

Wickhay Green, around TL777081, was the largest and perhaps the earliest of several small medieval greens and hamlets in Little Baddow parish (S. Rowley 1975: 3). John de Wickey is recorded here c.1300, and the surname Wickey, a form of Wickhay, survived in the parish for at least a century; the family may have built a house called Wickhays near the green (Rowley 1975: 14). The place-name survives in Wickhay Cottages and Wickhay Green recreation ground.

Roman archaeology

1.3km west of Wickhay Green, the fabric of Little Baddow church at TL764081, of early Norman construction, includes the extensive re-use of Roman brick and tiles, and a Roman hypocaust was reported in the churchyard in 1839 (HER

5589, 5590). Owing to these finds, a Roman villa is suspected on this site
(Kemble 2009: 200). A Roman pottery scatter of black-grey sherds (HER 5588)
is known at TL765077, 300m south of the churchyard. Wickhay Green is 3.7km
south-east of Margary 3b and 7.4km north-east of Chelmsford (*Caesaromagus*).

O) The compound *wīc-haga*

(28) NTT.21B Wighay Farm (Linby)
Attestation

Wikehawe 1276, *Wyghagh* c.1300, 1393, *Wyghaw* c.1450 (Gover, Mawer and
Stenton 1940: 123).

Gover, Mawer and Stenton stated that 'This is clearly a forest haw or
enclosure', describing the first element as uncertain. The 1276 form *Wikehawe*
suggests that the specific *wīc* is possible, though later forms all have <g> rather
than <k>, which might indicate consonant voicing from /k/ to /g/. As seen in
section 4.2, the generic OE *haga* means 'hedge, forest enclosure', later 'a
messuage, a property', and is cognate with ON *hagi* 'a grazing enclosure, a
pasture' (Smith 1956, 1: 221). OE *haga* or ON *hagi* occurs in around 19 major
names and ten field-names in Nottinghamshire (Gover, Mawer and Stenton
1940: 264, 283). In the case of Wighay, *wīc-haga* might possibly mean 'grazing
enclosure at or near the dairy-farm'. A relevant factor is the place-name
Papplewick (*Papleuuic* 1086) 'dairy farm in the pebbly place' (Gover, Mawer and
Stenton 1940: 130), demonstrating the generic *wīc* 'dairy farm' around 1.5km
from Wighay.

Location

The location of the site attested as *Wikehawe* from 1276 onwards is uncertain;
however, this was perhaps at Wighay Farm, 800m south-west of Linby, shown
on OS mapping c.1880 at SK529502, with Wighay Windmill 500m to the north-

west and Wighay Nook 300m to the south. The vicinity of Wighay Farm is now the suburb of Wighay in Hucknall. Just inside Annesley parish, 1.8km north-west of Linby, was a second Wighay Farm at SK517515, now the site of Woodside Cottage, with Wighay Wood 500m to the south.
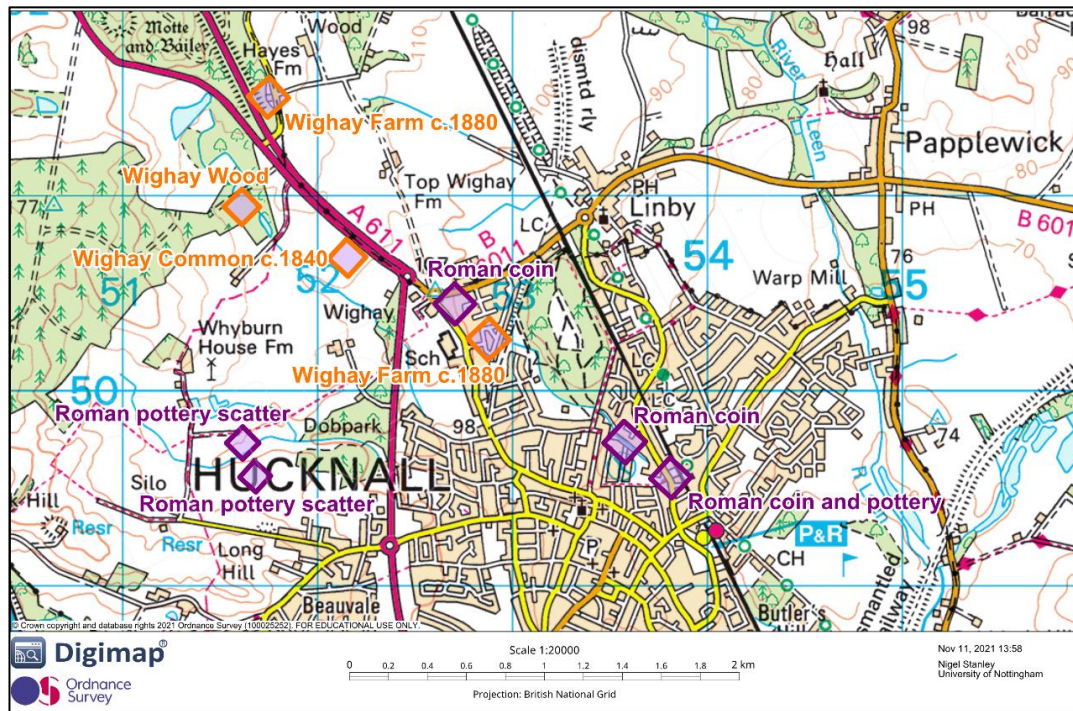
Figure 89: Wighay area, Linby NTT.

Roman archaeology

Roman settlement is known around Hucknall and Linby. At SK538495, just north-west of Hucknall railway station and around 1.2km from Wighay Farm, a substantial amount of Roman pottery was found (HER L2275), including Samian, greyware, colour-coated and Derbyshire wares and a coin from Reece period 19 or 20. Roman pottery scatters are known 2km further west at SK505497 and SK506495 (HER L2244, L2245). Second-century Roman coins have been found at SK527504 (HER L2753) and SK535497 (HER L2276).

P) The compound *wīc-hrycg*

(29) GLO.22B Wickridge Street (Ashleworth)

Attestation

Wic-, Wyc-, Wykrug(*ge*) 1250–75, *(-stret*) 1378, *Wykerugge* 1329, 1337, 1537,

Wickridge Street 1830 (Smith 1964, 3: 153).

Smith regarded Wickridge as meaning 'ridge with a dairy farm'; however,

it is not certain that the specific *wīc* refers to a dairy-farm here.

Location

The generic element of Wickridge seems to refer to the ridge or hillside north-

east of the settlement, around SO813272 (see Figure 90 below). Wickridge Farm

is at SO815270, while the adjacent road called Wickridge Street runs alongside

the parish boundary between Ashleworth and Hasfield, 9km north of Gloucester

and 2km north of the Severn. The name Wickridge seems to refer in its earliest

attestations (*Wic-, Wyc-, Wykrug*(*ge*) 1250–75) to a medieval settlement at this

location. Wickridge was an outlying settlement of Hasfield, with houses and

pasture-closes in the thirteenth century, which probably originated in medieval

squatter settlement on waste beside the road (Elrington 1968: 282–90). Lanes

and plot-boundaries are suggested by distinctive field-patterns, visible today on

OS mapping, up to 400m west and north of Wickridge Farm. Wickridge Street,

first attested in 1378, presumably originally meant 'the road at Wickridge'; since

1830, Wickridge Street has been used regularly as the name of the hamlet.
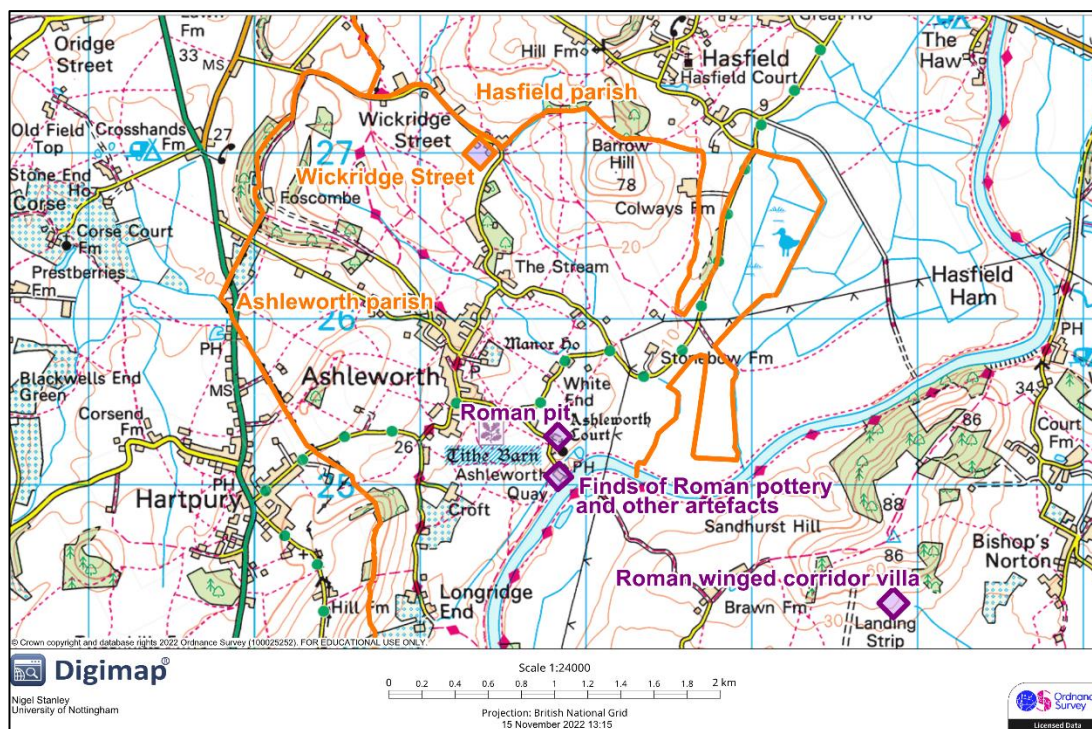
Figure 90: Wickridge Street GLO.

Roman archaeology

2km south of Wickridge Street, near Ashleworth parish church, various Roman artefacts have been excavated at Ashleworth Quay, SO818250, dating from AD 69–390; early Roman pottery finds include Samian ware and other types (HER 6353, 9732). A Roman pit is known near Ashleworth Court at SO818252 (Heritage Gateway ACAG12). 3.7km south-east of Wickridge Street, across the Severn, there was a two-winged Roman corridor villa with mosaics and a hypocaust at Willington Court in Bishop's Norton, at SO838242 (HER 4341); here, coinage found by a metal-detecting survey dates from the early second to fourth centuries, Reece periods 5–16.

Q) The compound *wīc-hyrst*

(30) SRY.22B Wykehurst Farm (Cranleigh)

Attestation

Wykhurst 1255, *Wekhurst* 1263, 1332, *Wykherst* 1485, *Wykehurst* 1521, *Wickers* 17th, *Wickhurst* 1671, 1842 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1934: 232); Wykehurst Farm c.1870 OS.

Gover, Mawer and Stenton regarded Wykehurst SRY as an apparent compound of *wīc* + *hyrst*, meaning 'a wood or wooded hill near to a wic', without proposing the sense of *wīc* here.

Location

Wykehurst Farm at TQ080412, now in Ewhurst, is a sixteenth-century house which was in Cranleigh parish before modern boundary changes. 500m south of Wykehurst Farm, a house called High Wykehurst was built around 1900 (see Figure 91 below). Wykehurst Farm should be regarded as the principal location of the place-name, rather than High Wykehurst as assumed by Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1934: 232).

Roman archaeology

Wykehurst Farm is 200m east of Margary 151, which continues to the north-west past Winterfold House (Margary 1967: 74). 300m north of Wykehurst Farm is Rapsley Farm (Ewhurst) Roman villa, at TQ080415, discovered in 1956. This is one of the most extensively excavated Roman villas in Surrey (Bird 2004: 91). Occupation is known from around AD 80–330.
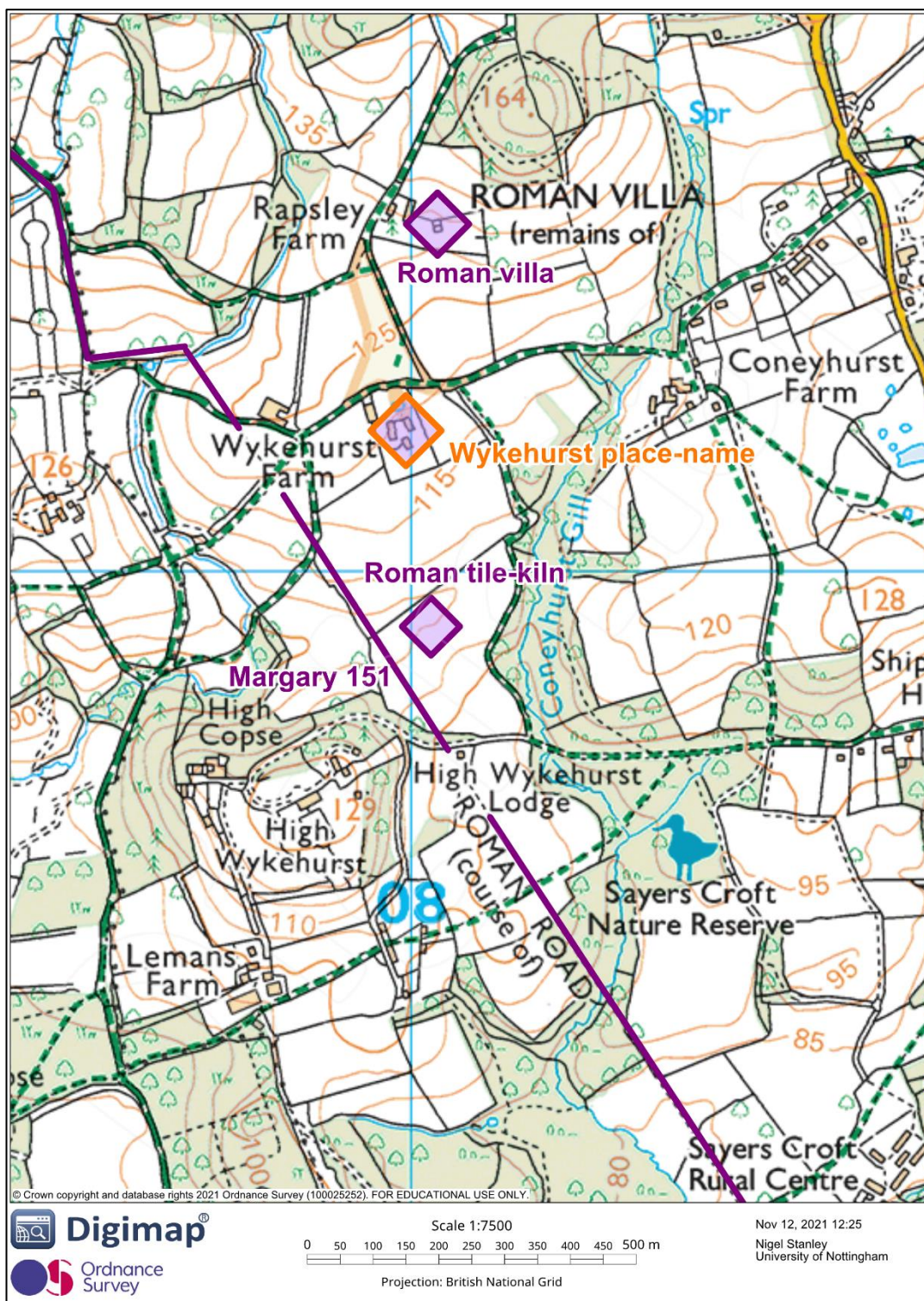
Figure 91: Wykehurst Farm, Cranleigh/Ewhurst SRY, shown at 1:7500 scale to illustrate place-name locations, topography and archaeology.

The Rapsley villa started life as a small farm-house and gained a villa-like structure, with an aisle, around AD 120. Constructed in various phases, this was a small but comfortable villa, with tiled and tessellated floors and a separate bath-house 40m to the east. The bath-house became a small winged-corridor

house, probably without baths, in the third century; this perhaps indicates a division of ownership or occupation between the two buildings, or a change of function (Hanworth 1968: 1–70; J. Smith 1980: 63–68). Around AD 330 both villa buildings seem to have been destroyed by fire, perhaps deliberately as an act of abandonment (Bird 2004: 170). 600m south of the villa was a Roman tile kiln, discovered in 1936 on land 300m south of Wykehurst Farm, at TQ080409. The kiln produced box-flue tiles, standard building tiles, tesserae and semi-circular tiles. The Wykehurst tile-kiln dates from around the early second century, and was perhaps used only briefly; however, other tile-kilns near the villa, at unknown locations, may have remained integral to the villa's economy, along with cattle-rearing (Goodchild 1937: 74–96; Bird 2004: 122–25).

(31) KNT.21B Wickhurst Manor (Sevenoaks)
and (32) KNT.22B Wickhurst Farm (Leigh)

Attestations

(31) Wickhurst Manor (Sevenoaks): *Thomas de Wychurst* 1334–35 (Hanley and Chalklin 1964: 142); *Wickhurst manor or farm in Sevenoke* 1611 (Hasted 1797: 91), Wickhurst c.1890 OS, Wickhurst Manor c.1930 OS.

(32) Wickhurst Farm (Leigh): *de Wicherst* 1313, *Wicherst* 1348, *de Wikherst* 1327, *de Wykhurst* 1292, 1332, 1338 (Wallenberg 1934: 86); *Wickhurst* (manor in Leigh) 1615–1747, *Wickhurst Oast* 1800 (Kent Archives); Wickhurst c.1870 OS, Wickhurst Farm c.1960 OS.

Wickhurst in Leigh KNT is listed, without etymological explanation, by Wallenburg (1934: 86). Smith (1956, 1: 277) regarded Wickhurst as an example of the compound *wīc-hyrst* and included it amongst compounds whose specifics refer to 'enclosures or the like'; however, there are no known examples of specific *wīc* meaning 'an enclosure'. The compound *wīc-hyrst* was omitted by Gelling (1984: 197–98), and by Gelling and Cole (2014: 234–36), presumably because it is a minor place-name.

Wallenberg (1934: 86) listed six attestations of Wickhurst in Leigh, but none of Wickhurst in Sevenoaks. The above list of attestations assumes that Wallenberg is accurate in ascribing these references in Assize Rolls and Subsidy Rolls to Leigh rather than Sevenoaks. *Thomas de Wychurst* is listed in the 1334–35 Subsidy Rolls in the Hundred of Codsheath (Hanley and Chalklin 1964: 142); Codsheath included Sevenoaks, but not Leigh parish, therefore *Thomas de Wychurst* probably resided at Wickhurst in Sevenoaks.

Locations

Two manors or farms, 4km apart, have names derived from OE *wīc-hyrst*.

1) Wickhurst Manor in Sevenoaks is a medieval stone hall-house at TQ517512, on a hillside with woodland nearby. Wickhurst was a sub-manor or farm within the Great Manor of Otford, held by the Archbishop of Canterbury around 1400 (Dunlop 1964: 58–79). Otford manor included the whole of Sevenoaks parish; Sevenoaks Weald, previously called Weald, became a separate parish in 1894.

2) Wickhurst Farm in Leigh parish is a fourteenth-century timber-framed hall-house at TQ526478, on a hill surrounded by pockets of woodland, 4km south-east of Wickhurst Manor in Sevenoaks Weald. In the 1279 Perambulation of the Lowy of Tonbridge, Wickhurst in Leigh lay within Tonbridge (D. Cole 2014: 75–92; C. Rowley 2019). However, Otford manor seems to have included the area of Leigh parish before 1066; between 1066 and 1086, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave various Otford dens to the de Clares of Tonbridge, and they formed part of the Lowy of Tonbridge thereafter. It seems possible, therefore, that before 1066, Otford manor may have extended around 13km south of Otford, as far as the Medway (Knocker 1915: 172–77; Dumbreck 1958: 138–47; D. Cole 2014: 75–92).

Figure 92: Wickhurst Manor (Sevenoaks) and Wickhurst Farm (Leigh), showing the boundary of the Great Manor of Otford c.1400.

Roman archaeology

A major winged-corridor villa (HER TQ55NW7) was situated in Church Field in

Otford at TQ531592, around 8.1km north of Wickhurst Manor in Sevenoaks and

11.5km north of Wickhurst Farm in Leigh. Built around AD 250, with an eastern wing around 65m long and 13m wide, this was one of the largest villas in Kent. The villa, partly excavated in the 1930s and re-excavated in 2013, was occupied during the third and fourth centuries. Wall plaster with a Chi-Rho monogram suggests occupation of the villa by a Christian. For unclear reasons, the villa was demolished around AD 355.

Other Roman villas and buildings in Otford are probably less relevant to the place-name Wickhurst. These include a suspected villa at Wickham Field in Otford, and the farmstead-type 'Progress' villa at TQ536592. This was an early corridor and courtyard villa dating from the second half of the first century, with occupation until the fourth century, whose name derives from a modern bungalow nearby. No Roman finds seem to be recorded within 2km of Wickhurst Manor or Wickhurst Farm.

R) The compound *wīc-lǣs*

(33) BRK.23B *Wikelese* (Woolstone)

Attestation

Wikelese c.1306–07, 1317, *Wikleis* 1576 (Gelling 1974: 384, 915).

Gelling regarded this field-name as the compound *wīc-lǣs*, without discussing the meaning of *wīc* here. The generic is OE *lǣs* 'pasture, meadow-land'.

Location

Woolstone, now in Oxfordshire, was a medieval manor and chapelry in Uffington, Berkshire, becoming a separate parish in 1846. A document from c.1306–07 mentions 'one acre of pasture in *Wikelese* enclosed for the enlargement of the sheepfold of the prior and convent' [of the cathedral church of St Swithun in Winchester] (Goodman 1927: 230–31). The document also mentions pasture of

three acres enclosed on the south of *la Ruggeweye* 'where the sheepfold of the said prior and convent is situated'. The likely location of *Wikelese* is around SU294854, 450m south of the Ridgeway and 850m south-west of Uffington Castle hill-fort (see Figures 93 and 94 below). In the 1778 Uffington Enclosure Act, this location was described as 'an old enclosure called Botty Barn', with the surrounding pasture named as *Woolston fields* (Parsons and Millikin 2014: 145); today this is the site of Woolstone Hill Barn.
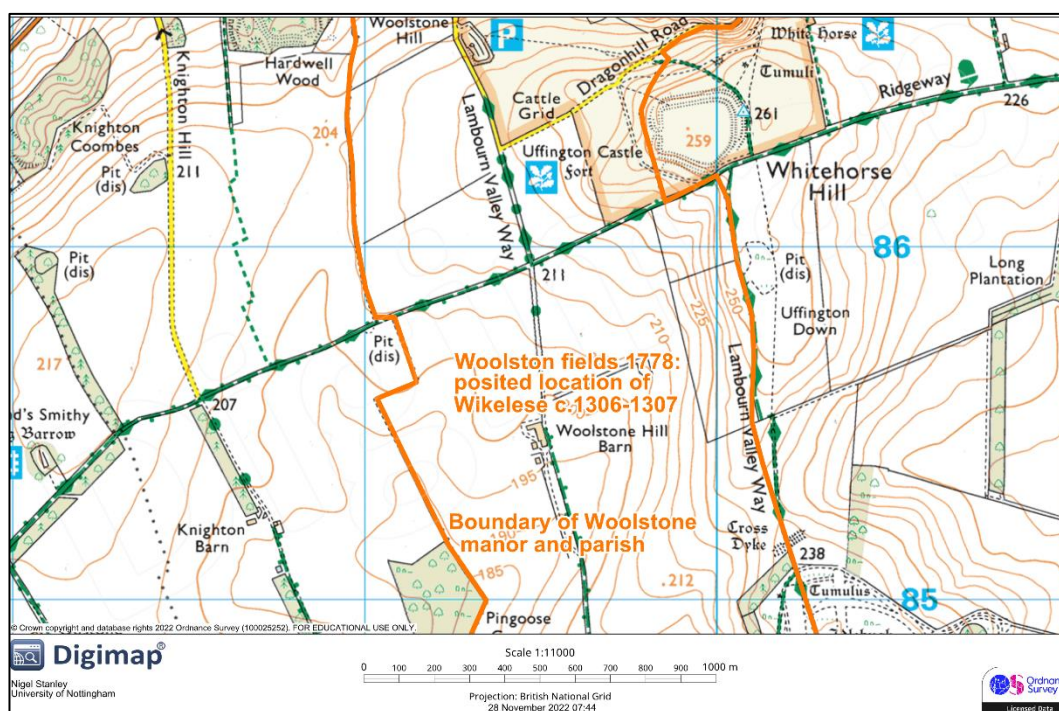
Figure 93: Woolstone Hill Barn area, BRK.

The generic *lǽs* occurs in various other minor names in Woolstone, including two current farm-names: Oxleaze Farm (*Lez Oxlease*, *Le Oxleez* 1547) and Cowleaze Farm (*Cowleaze* 1771) (Gelling 1974: 384). The latter two farms are near fields called Woolstone Meadow and Woolstone Common in 1778 (Parsons and Millikin 2014: 35).
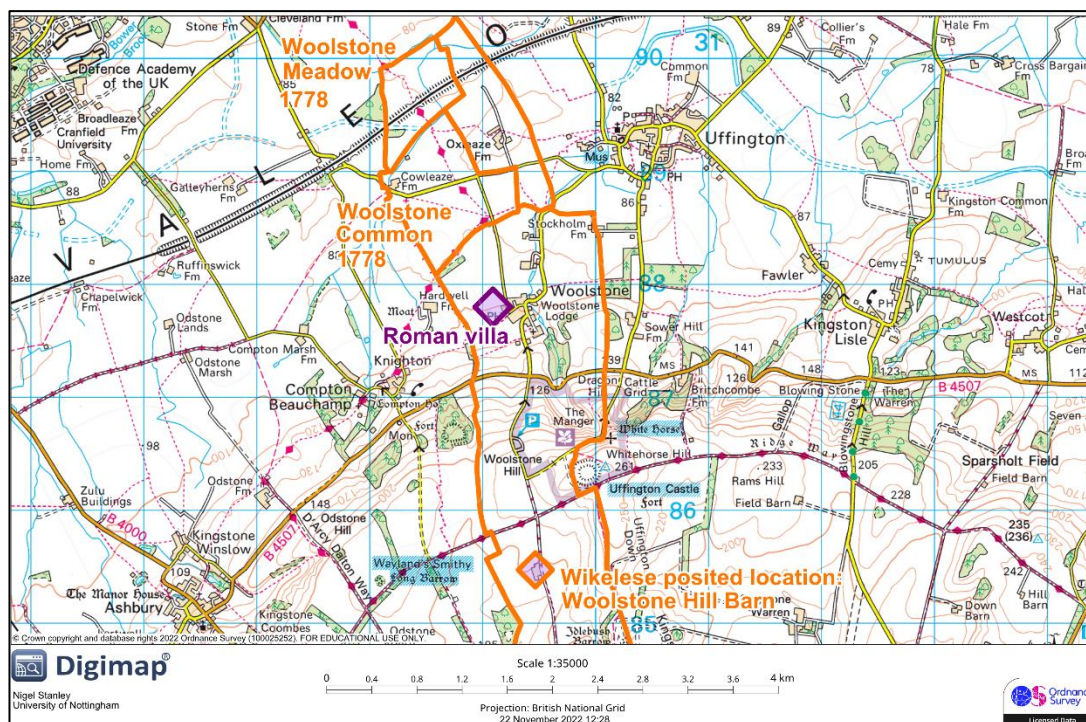
Figure 94: Woolstone BRK.

Roman archaeology

There was a Roman villa (HER 7316) in Woolstone at SU290877, 2.5km north of the posited location of *Wikelese*. Two mosaic floors, a corridor and courtyard have been found, along with bath-buildings, large quantities of tiles and tesserae, Samian ware, and coarseware pottery from the second to fourth centuries (Hamilton 1959: 83–85). The main rooms lacked a hypocaust system; perhaps for this reason, the villa has been described as large but not luxurious (Wright 1956: 143–44). A road leads south from Woolstone, near the villa site, to Woolstone Hill Barn, rising steeply en route. *Wikelese* was 7km north-east of Margary 41b. Two long-distance trackways, the Ridgeway and Icknield Way, run along the Downs through Woolstone and Uffington.

S) The compound *wīc-land*

(34) SSX.26B Wicklands (Little Horsted)

Attestation

at Wyklonde (pers.n.) c.1300 (Mawer and Stenton 1929: 349); Wicklands c.1870 OS.

Wicklands is a minor place-name, therefore the compound *wīc-land* is not listed by Gelling and Cole in discussion of the topographical place-name element *land* (2014: 279–83). The name Wicklands is recorded in at least five other locations in ESRO archives and is recurrent in names attested after 1350.

Figure 95: Wicklands in Little Horsted SSX.

Location

The seventeenth-century Wicklands Farm House in Little Horsted, at TQ463176, is probably the site of a large medieval farmstead (HER MES37546, MES8056).

Roman archaeology

A large defended Roman town (HER MES18806), discovered around 2011, has been excavated at Bridge Farm, Upper Wellingham, at TQ431144, beside Margary 14. Pottery finds date from around AD 70 to the late fourth or early fifth century, while Roman coinage dates from the Republican era (Reece period 1) to the later fourth century (Reece period 19). Wicklands is 4.5km north-east of the Roman town, 5.5km north-east of Barcombe Roman villa at TQ417142, and 2km east of Margary 14. 400m south of Wicklands, Roman settlement is known from a Roman rubbish pit at TQ461172 (HER 406412), with pottery dated to c.100 AD, while Roman iron bloomeries (HER 406436, MES4490) are known 1.6km north-west and 1.6km south-east of Wicklands.

G) The compound *wīc-lēah*

(35) GLO.23B *Wykeleya* (Elmore)

Attestation

Wykeleya 1263–84 (Hart 1865: 305; Smith 1964, 2: 163).

Smith regarded the lost field-name *Wykeleya* as a compound of OE *wīc* 'farm' + *lēah*; whether *wīc* might have another meaning here is discussed in section 4.6.

Location

Elmore church is 7km south-west of Gloucester. *Wykeleya* was a field in the hamlet of *Fareleya*, now Farley's End, in Elmore parish, belonging to St Peter's abbey in Gloucester. The field's location is described in a document dated c.1263–84: one acre of arable land *in villa de Fareleya* lies in the field of *Wykeleya*, between *Kyngestoneweye* and the land of Benedicta, daughter of Letitia de Fareleya, extending in length from the land of Radulphus de la Polle as far as *Holebroke* (Hart 1865: 305). *Kyng(es)tone(weye)* has the later outcome

Kenton Green (Smith 1964, 2: 162). The document of 1263–84 allows a location to be posited for *Wykeleya* around SO775151, between the road through Kenton Green and the stream to the east (see Figures 96 and 97). The arable acre documented lay within the field called *Wykeleya*, which was presumably larger in extent. Smith (1964: 186) compares *Wykeleya* in Elmore with Wicksgreen 1815 (*Wekes* 1575) in the adjacent parish of Longney, at SO763143; however, *Wykeleya* and Wicksgreen seem to be separate names in different locations.
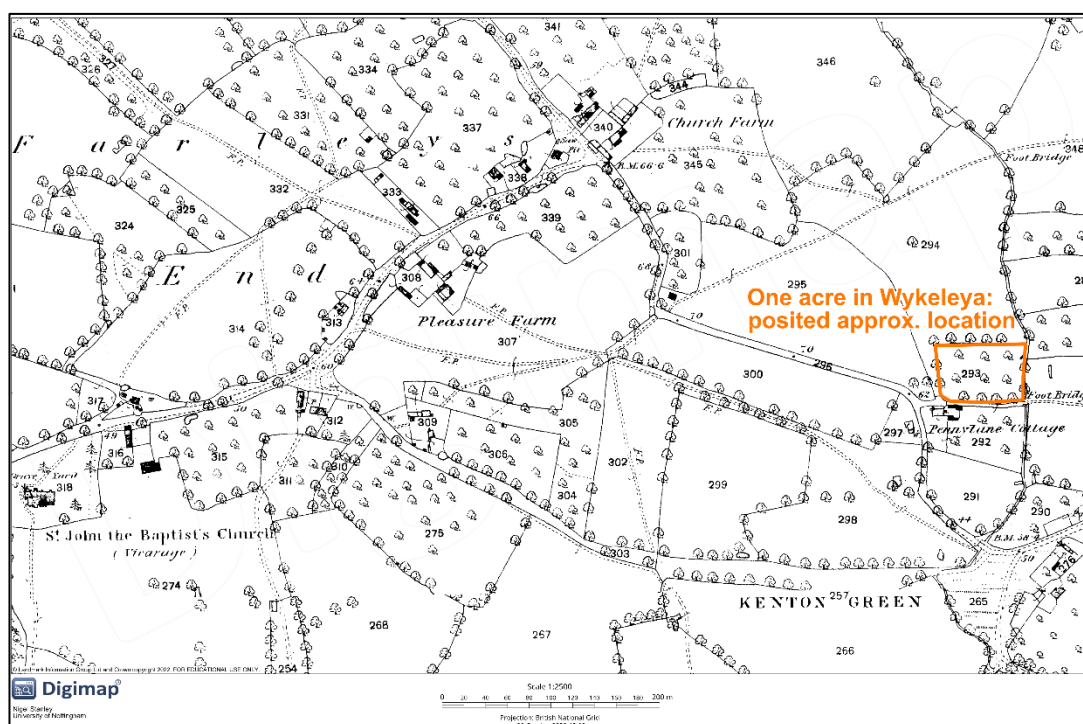
Figure 96: Farley's End GLO c.1880, showing dispersed woodland.
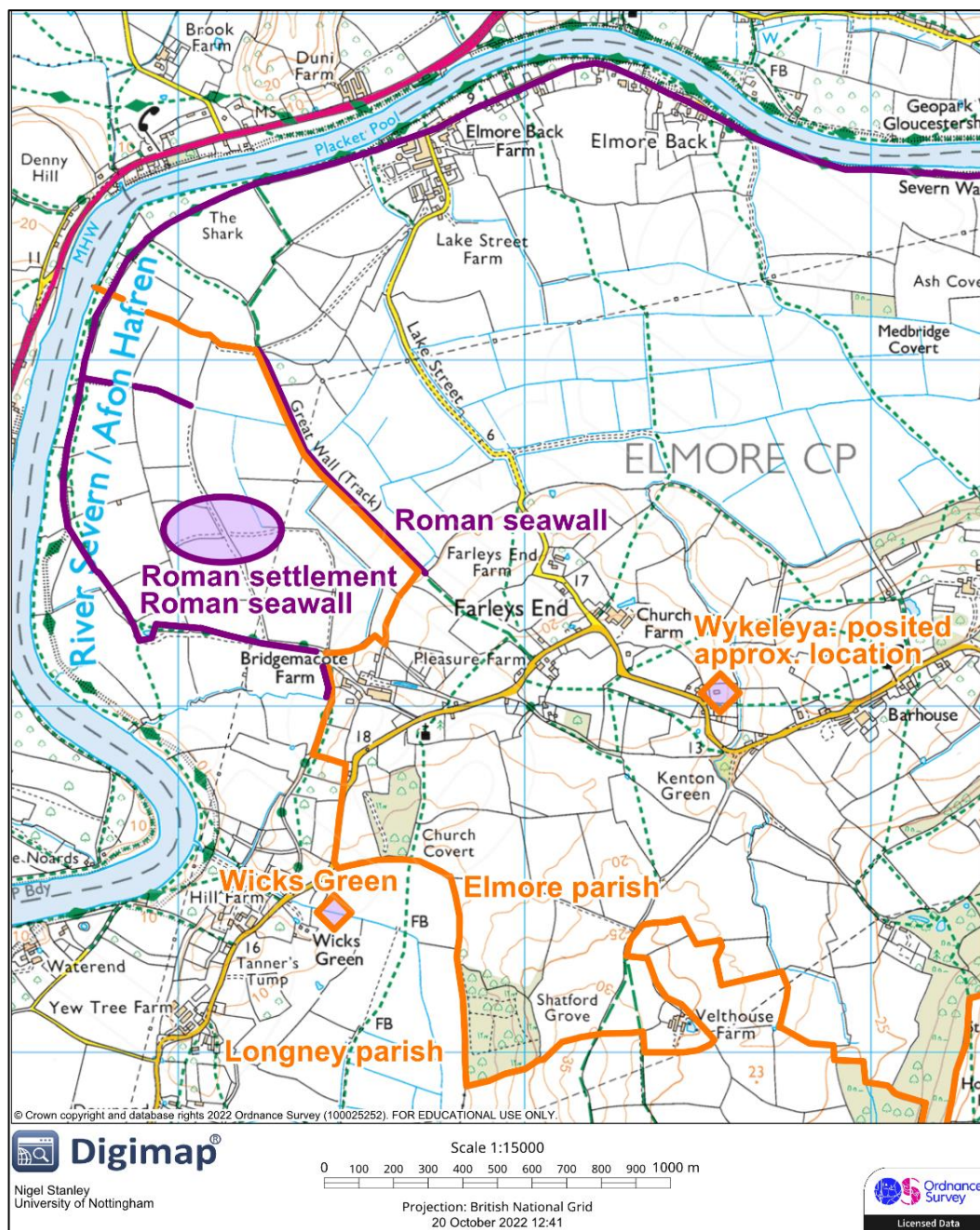
Figure 97: Elmore GLO.

Roman archaeology

A Romano-British settlement (HER 11127) is known at Bridgemacote Farm at SO762154, around 1.3km west of the field called *Wykeleya*. Finds include Roman brick, tile and pottery, mainly of the third and fourth centuries, and slag, suggesting iron-working. Pottery dating from the tenth to fifteenth centuries has also been found here. Massive sea defences from the late Roman period are

present in Elmore parish, suggesting a major programme of land reclamation in an area of rich alluvium and former salt-marsh; these include an embankment now called the Great Wall, north of Bridgemacote Farm. Another area of Roman settlement in Elmore was 2.5 km north-east of Bridgemacote Farm (Copeland 2011: 101–02).

(36) DOR.22B *Wikele* (Almer)

Attestation

Wikele late 13th, *Weeckley Wood* 1692 (Mills 1998, 2: 58).

Mills regarded the compound as OE *wīc* + *lēah*, without proposing the meaning of *wīc* here. Mills later discusses the possibility that in Dorset place-names such as Witchampton, the specific *wīc* might refer to Romano-British settlement (2020, 5: 52–56).
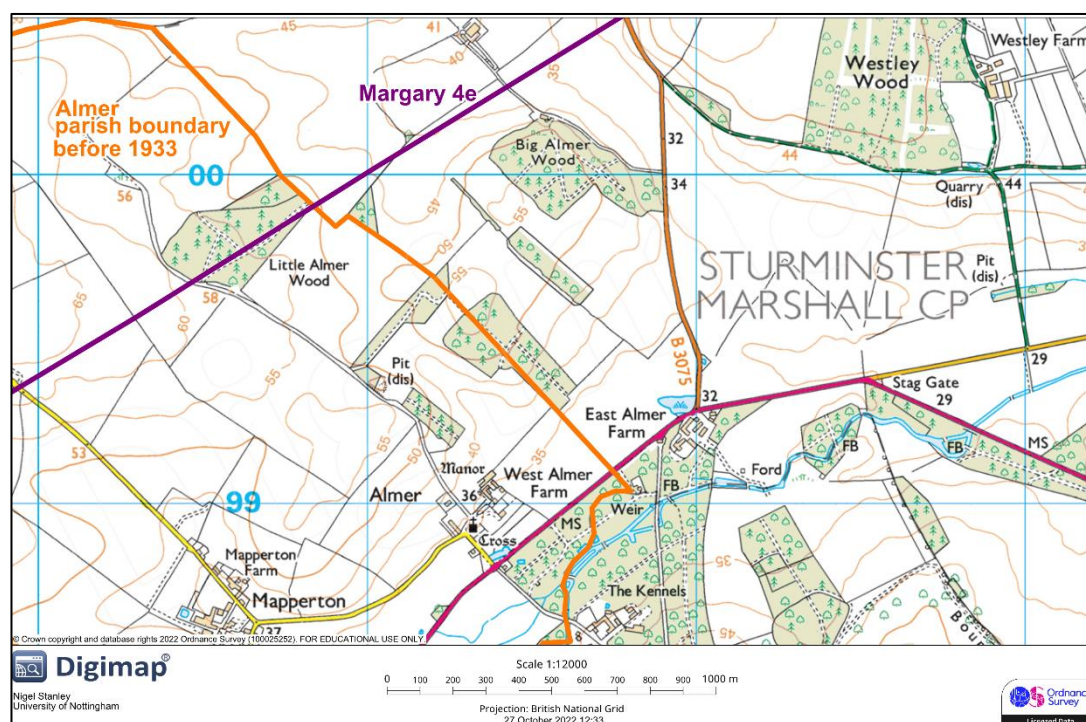
Figure 98: Woodland today near Almer DOR.

Location

Almer church at SY913989, 10km west of Wimborne Minster, is a proxy location for *Weeckley Wood*, whose precise location is uncertain. Attested as *Wikele* c.1299, the wood was part of East Almer manor (Dorset History Centre PE-WM/TD/1/17/6). Woods in Almer named on OS mapping c.1880 include Old Rectory Wood, 300m east of the church, and Legg's Clump, 500m north of the church. Other woodland on the Almer tithe map c.1840 includes (Little) Almer Wood, 1km north-west of Almer church and on the route of Margary 4e.
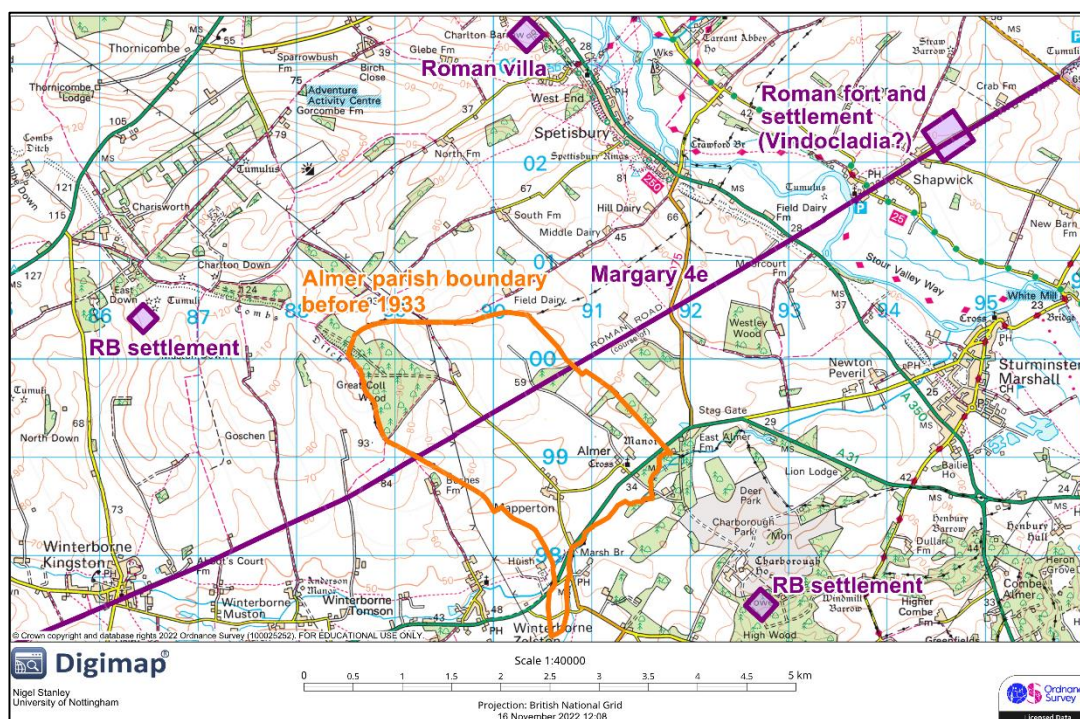
Figure 99: Almer DOR area.

Roman archaeology

Almer is 1.5km south of Margary 4e from Badbury Rings to Dorchester. 4.5km north-east of Almer, at Crab Farm, Shapwick (ST945022), there was a Roman fort and large settlement, extending over at least 25 hectares, which may be the site of Roman *Vindocladia*, mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary (Putnam 2007: 75–77; HER MD06050).

Developing from an Iron Age settlement, this was a large unwalled town which developed piecemeal, rather than having a planned street-grid. A fort was built within the Roman town in the second or third century, and hypocaust flue-tiles found in the fort may suggest a *mansio* or posting-station. 30 coins from the second to early fifth centuries have been found. The Roman settlement appears to have extended further south-west, beneath present-day Shapwick village (Putnam 2007: 77).

Around 4.5km north of Almer, a Roman villa (HER MDO3663) is suspected at Charlton Marshall at ST904033. Various other Romano-British settlement sites are known around Almer, including 2km south-east at Charborough Park (HER MDO7818) and 5km north-west at Lower Whatcombe (HER MDO5255).

T) The compound *wīc-mǣd*

(37) BRK.24B *La Wykmede* (Lambourn)

Attestation

La Wykmede 1328 (Gelling 1974: 342).

Location

A proxy location for *La Wykmede*, a lost field-name, is Lambourn parish church, at SU326789. Gelling (1974: 336–37) mentioned the lost place-name *Wyke* or *La Wyke*, with the sense 'dairy-farm', attested at two separate locations in Lambourn parish in 1311: at Bockhampton, a village around SU331791, and at Eastbury, a village around SU346771.
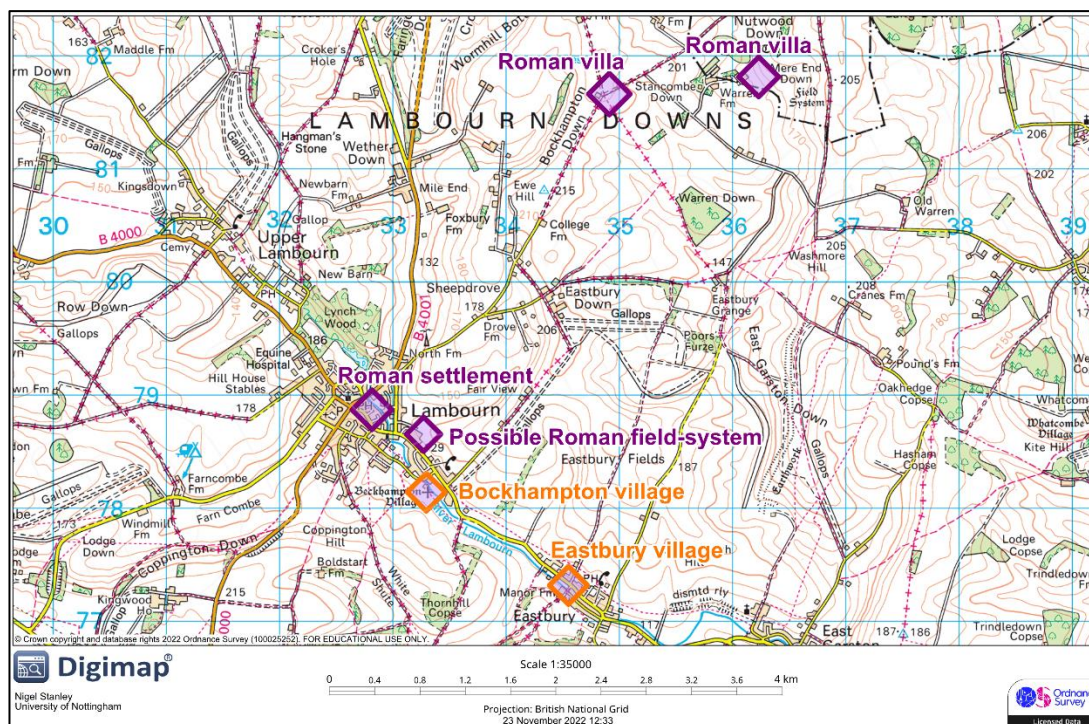
Figure 100: Lambourn BRK.

Roman archaeology

Two Roman villas are known around 4km north-east of Lambourn: at Stancombe
Down, SU349816, with an adjacent cemetery at SU348815; and at SU362817
(Scott 1993: 23). In Lambourn, at SU328789, finds of a Roman well, a corn
dryer containing spelt wheat, and pottery from the first to fourth centuries, may
suggest a prosperous Roman household (HER MWB21746). A possible Roman
field-system is known 500m south-east at SU332786 (HER MWB18223).

U) The compound *wīc-ōra*

(38) HMP.21B Wicor Farm (Portchester)

Attestation

de Wicor' (pers.n.) 1306, *Wicor* 1404–1553, *Wikore* c.1300, *Wikoure* c.1400,
Wycor' 1303, *Wyker* c.1537 (Gover 1961: 22; Hanna 1988, 1: 189, 2: 124;
Hampshire Archives); Wicor Farm c.1860 OS.

The place-name *wīc-ōra* was discussed by Coates (1999b: 16–18), who regarded this compound of two OE loan-words from Latin, *wīc* + *ōra*, as remarkable in the case of Wickor Point in West Thorney SSX. In the name Wicor in Portchester, the predominantly flat coastal topography strongly suggests that the OE generic *ōra* here means 'shore'. Gover (1961: 22) regarded the generic *ōra* in Wicor as 'shore' and the specific *wīc* as 'dairy farm', translating Wicor as 'dairy farm by the shore'; however, as noted by Coates (1999a: 109), this was a mistranslation, reversing the sequence of the specific and generic elements of *wīc-ōra*. Coates translated Wicor as '*wīc* bank or shore', stating that the significance of the name has yet to be established. Cole (2013: 324) includes Wicor in the 'Portsmouth group' of around seventeen settlements whose names include the element *ōra*, without explaining the etymology of Wicor.

Hawkins (2020: 55) regards the specific *wīc* in Wicor as meaning 'a trading site', describing Wicor as 'a trading (*wic*) site outside the walls of Portchester Castle'. As a generic element, *wīc* can certainly refer to trading sites, as in *Lundenwic* and *Hamwic*; however, in translating *wīc-ōra*, we should note that the generic *ōra* here means 'bank or shore' (Gover 1961, Coates 1999a). Hawkins does not translate *ōra* in her discussion of the name Wicor; moreover, Wicor Farm is 2.2km west of Portchester Castle, not adjacent to the castle walls.

Kitson (1995: 81–82) believed that the distribution of *ōra* suggests that it went out of productive use in place-names c.600 at the northern end of its range and c.650 along the south coast. This view implies that the name Wicor also dates from before c.650. By comparison, Marker Farm (*Merkore* 1296) in West Thorney SSX is a compound of *mearc* + *ōra* meaning 'boundary shore'; this might refer to the boundary between Sussex and Hampshire in the creek at Marker Point (Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 62). The shires, however, were not in existence until around 900. This suggests either that *ōra* remained in productive use beyond c.650, or that *mearc-ōra* refers to the western boundary

of the kingdom of Sussex, perhaps c.700 (see Appendix to Chapter 1 for map of *ōra* place-names).

Location

Wicor was a medieval manor in the south-west of Portchester parish and was probably granted to Titchfield Abbey in 1230 (Page 1908: 151, 159). Wicor Farm, the remnant of the manor, was at SU601050, around 80m from the current Mean High Water Mark in Portsmouth Harbour. Wicor Farm is below the 5m contour-line, and the adjacent land is predominantly flat, with a gentle uphill slope to the north-east. The area around 200–400m south-east of Wicor Farm is today called Wicor Shore (see Figures 101(b)-(d) below).
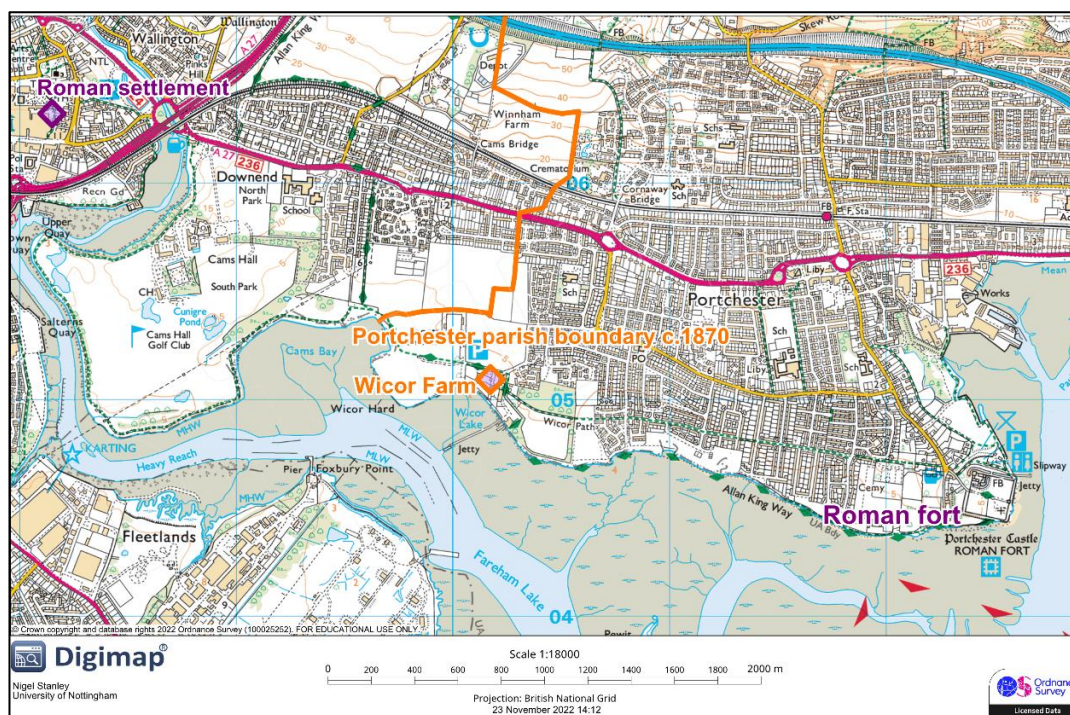
Figure 101(a): Wicor in Portchester HMP.

Figure 101(b): Welcome sign, Wicor Shore HMP
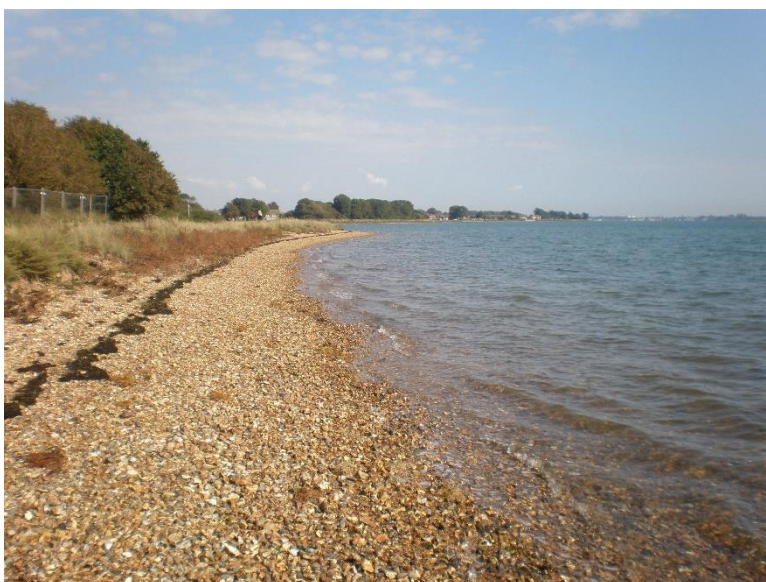
Figure 101(c): Wicor Shore, looking east towards Portchester Castle

Figure 101(d): Interior of eastern gateway, Portchester Castle

Roman archaeology

2.2km east of Wicor, the Roman fort of Portchester, centred at SU624045, was probably constructed in the 280s (Johnson 1976: 109–11). Around AD 400 the fort was under the command of the *Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam* or 'Count of the Saxon Shore', mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and it is possible, but not certain, that the fort was the *Portus Adurni* listed in the *Notitia* (Johnson 1976: 63–70; Rivet and Smith 1979: 441–42; Watts 2004: 478). The fort (HER 19234) was excavated in the 1930s and by Cunliffe from 1961–72. The later forts of the 'Saxon Shore', such as Portchester, have a defensive character, and their locations may have required the presence of sailors and patrol boats; however, the precise purposes and military uses of the later forts are debatable (Mattingly 2007: 242–43). Phases of coin-loss at Portchester suggest that military occupation during the fourth century was probably not continuous, and military occupation had ceased by 370 (Johnson 1976: 61–62).

Finds of female artefacts, and burials of children from AD 300 onwards, indicate a civilian community within the fort (Mattingly 2007: 242–43; Goodall 2008: 28). The low-lying location of the Portchester fort was probably more suitable for cattle-rearing than sheep-production, and around half of the 29,000 pieces of animal bone identified from the Roman era are of cattle, while sheep and pig bones together constitute just under 25%; whole animals were probably brought into the fort for butchering (Grant 1975: 381–405). Two huts of SFB type were constructed in the fort in the fifth century, and there seems to be virtual continuity between Roman civilian occupation and early medieval occupation of the fort (HER 19259); indeed, Cunliffe (1970: 67) suggests likely continuous occupation from the late third century to the nineteenth century. Excavations at Portchester Castle have produced evidence of occupation throughout the early medieval period, with various types of pottery dating from the fifth to tenth centuries (Cunliffe 1970: 67–85).

In Fareham, 2.5km north-west of Wicor and west of Wallington River, a small Roman settlement is known from various finds at SU581063, where fragments of roof-tiles suggest domestic or agricultural buildings (HER 20126). Scott (1993: 83) suggests a villa here, though this is not supported by the HER.

V) The compound *wīc-stede*

(39) WLT.22B Wickstead Farm (Highworth)

Attestation

Nicholas *de Wykstede* 1279, *Wexstede* 1422, *Wekestede* 1463 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1939: 27).

Location

Wickstead Farm is at SU220930, 2km east of Highworth, 10km north-east of Swindon and 7.3km north-east of Margary 41b.
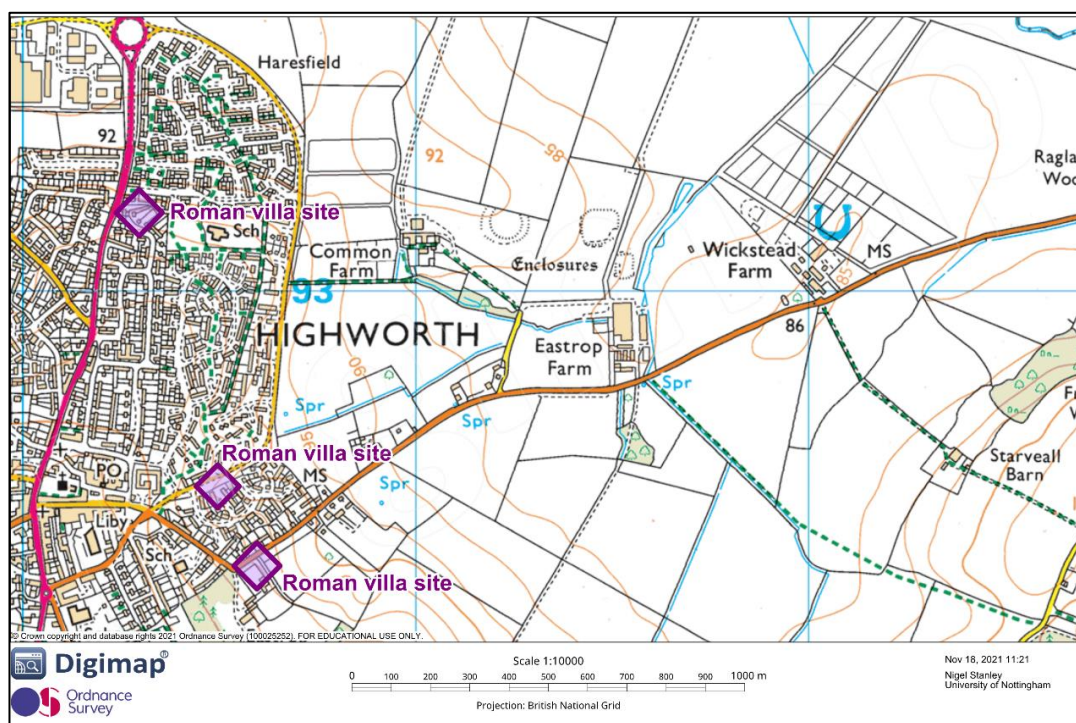
Figure 102: Wickstead Farm, Highworth WLT.

Roman archaeology

Extensive Roman archaeology is known in Highworth, including three likely Roman villa sites around 1.7km west and south-west of Wickstead Farm: at SU203932, at SU206923 and at SU205925 (Scott 1993: 203). At the latter location, four separate Roman stone buildings are known (HER MWI20329), along with pottery from the second to fourth centuries. Various enclosures known as 'Highworth Circles' are present around 400–800m west of Wickstead Farm. Probably constructed for stock management, these are mostly found in north-east Wiltshire, and perhaps of medieval date; over 40 examples have been recorded around Highworth (Historic England Research Record 609567).

(40) CHE.24B Wicksted Old Hall (Wirswall)

Attestation

Wyckestede 1315, 1360, *Wykkested*, *Wickestude* 1358, *Whicksteed* 1315 (Dodgson 1971, 3: 112–13).

Location

Wicksted Old Hall is at SJ552439, 2.5km north-east of Whitchurch.

Roman archaeology

Whitchurch was the site of the Roman defended settlement of *Mediolanum*, with a small fort around SJ541416. Wicksted Old Hall is 600m north-west of the route of Margary 700, from Whitchurch north to Middlewich.
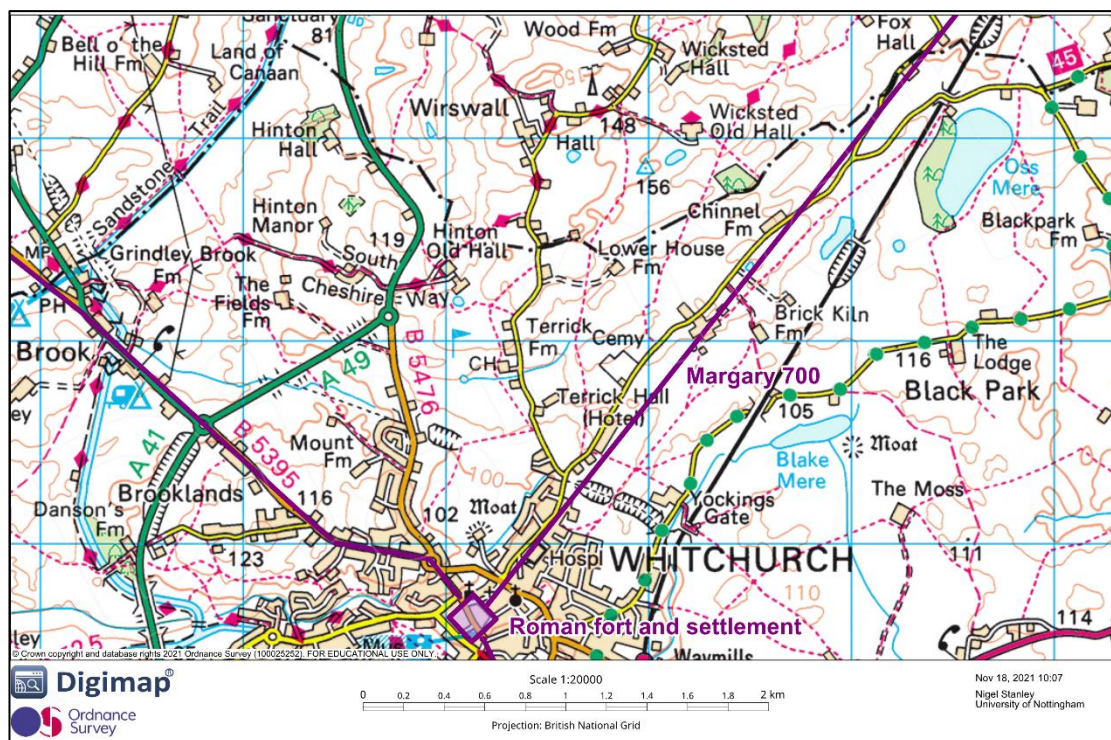
Figure 103: Wicksted in Wirswall CHE.

J) The compound *wīc-stōw*

(41) GLO.104B *Wyckstowe* in Ham and Stone

Attestation

de Wickstowe, de Wistowe, de Wigstowe (pers.n.) c.1250–64 (Walker 1998: 128, 160–62); *Wyckstowe in Hamme* 1374, *Wikestowe* 1417 (Smith 1964, 2: 225).

The form *Wistowe* appears in early attestations alongside *Wickstowe* and *Wigstowe*. The latter form has voiced /g/, which is unusual in *wīc-* compounds but sometimes occurs as in Wigford LIN (*Wich*(*e*)*ford'* c.1107–1219, *Wigeford* 1196) and Wighill YON (*duas Wicheles* 1086 DB, *Wikale* 1219, *Wi- Wyghal*(*e*) 1303–1535).

Location

Wyckstowe is a lost place-name in the parish of Ham and Stone, south-west of Berkeley. The earliest reference occurs in the names of Elias de Wickstowe and Edith his wife, in various grants of land around 1250–64 in the neighbouring parish of Hill, to St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol (Walker 1998: 197, 160–62). The mention in these documents of named individuals in Stone, Bevington and Hill, along with land in *Stukemere* (cf. Stuckmoor Lane, 1km south-west of Bevington) suggests a location for *Wickstowe* somewhere near Bevington. A proxy location for *Wyckstowe* is in Bevington at ST657969.
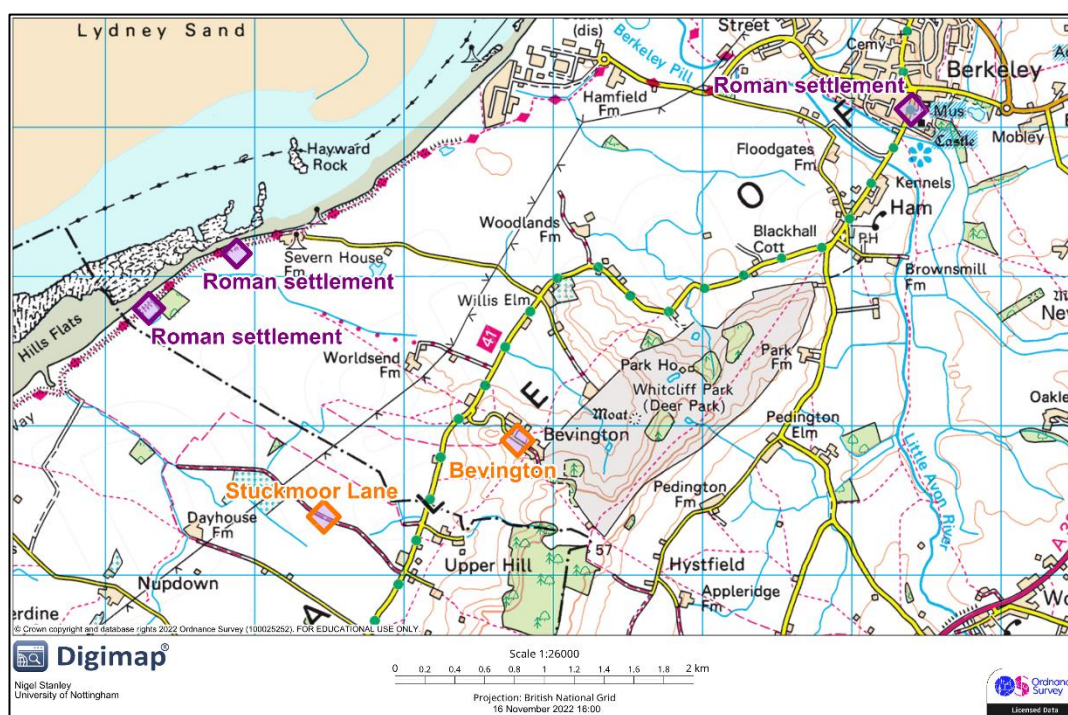
Figure 104: Ham and Stone area, GLO.

Roman archaeology

2.5km north-west of Bevington, Roman settlement sites are known near Severn House Farm, ST638982 (HER 763738) and Hills Flats, ST633977 (HER 763743); at the latter, pottery from the second to fourth centuries is known. These settlements were associated with land reclamation in the Roman era, perhaps for cattle-grazing on the rich alluvium of the Severn estuary (Copeland 2011: 100–

03). At Berkeley, 3.4km north-east of Bevington, a Roman settlement (HER 6404) is known from finds at St Mary's church, including brick, tile and remains of a coffin. Many Roman structures and artefacts have been excavated at Berkeley since 2000, though the nature of the settlement remains uncertain.

W) The compound *wīc-wella*

(42) OXF.21B *Wickewelle* in Sibford Gower

Attestation

Wickewelle c.1240 (Salter 1934: 312; Gelling 1953: 18).

Location

Wickewelle is a lost field-name in Sibford Gower. Centred around SP352378, Sibford Gower is 10km west of Banbury, in the hills of north-west Oxfordshire. The manor of Sibford Gower was in the medieval parish of Swalcliffe, becoming a separate parish in the nineteenth century. Oseney Abbey cartulary records a grant c.1240 of half an acre at *Wickewelle* in the western field (*in campo occidentali*) of Sibford Gower (Salter 1934: 12); however, the bounds of this field are uncertain (Oxfordshire History Centre, personal communication). Numerous springs occur in Sibford Gower, and it is unclear whether the generic of *Wickewelle* refers to a spring or a stream. Sibford Gower church at SP352378 is a proxy location for *Wickewelle*.
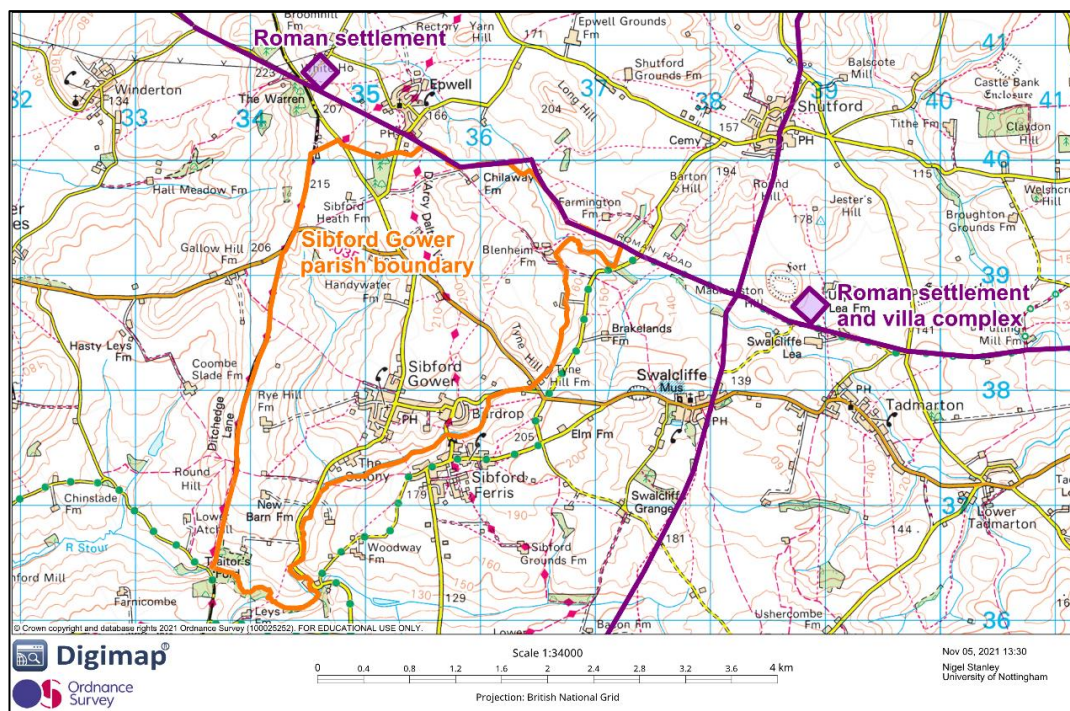
Figure 105: Sibford Gower OXF.

Roman archaeology

On the RRS map, Sibford Gower is 2.2km south-west of Margary 56a, running

south-east from the Foss Way, and 2.6km west of a Roman road running north

through Swalcliffe. A large Roman settlement at Swalcliffe Lea (HER 2444),

centred around SP389386, covered around 50 acres; the settlement included a

winged-corridor villa dating from around AD 270, around 2km east of the Sibford

Gower boundary and 3.7km north-east of Sibford Gower village. A small Roman

settlement is suspected from cropmarks (HER 335251) at SP345406, 1km west

of Epwell and 2.9km north of Sibford Gower.

4.5 Proximity between *wīc* place-names and Roman archaeology: statistics and discussion

The issue of proximity

Section 4.5 addresses the proximity of *wīc* compound place-names (with generics other than *hām*) to Roman settlements and archaeological features, such as roads, villas, villages, towns and forts. The aim is to assess whether the data supports Gelling's hypothesis that the specific *wīc* in these names might sometimes refer to Roman settlement. Table 15 below tabulates a range of approximate distances between known Roman archaeology and the locations of *wīc* compound names with various generics, using the statistical methods discussed in the Introduction (Chapter One) and used in sections 3.6–3.7 on *wīc-hām*. Tables 16–17 provide comparative and analytical data relating to Table 15.

Table 15: Locations and distances: place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics

Type A: Place-names attested by 1200 (22 examples)			Distances to Roman archaeology (km)*					Colour key	
Generics	Place-name and site I.D.	Location	Road	Villa	Town	Village**	Fort***		
bold	Wychbold WOR.23A	SO929658	0.1	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.5	Up to 1km	
dūn	Wigton YOW.22A	SE324410	0.1	3.0?	13.9	4.8	4.8	1.1–4.0km	
feld	Wickfield Farm BRK.21A	SU380730	0.5	5.6	16.8	2.0	16.8	4.1–10km	
	Wicesfeld CHE.21A	SJ652523?	1.0?	13.7	15.2	1.0?	15.2	Over 10km	
ford	(*to*) *Wicford*(*a*) WOR.21A	SO869631	2.6	2.8	2.8	–	3.3		
	Wickford ESX.21A	TQ745932	0.1	1.4	1.4?	1.4	1.4?		
	Wigford LIN.21A	SK975711	0.1	2.0	0.2	0.2?	0.2		
halh	Wighill YOW.21A	SE473465	2.2	7.3	2.2	3.5	2.2		
hlāw	*Wicklaw* SFK.21A	TM309569?	0.3?	0.4?	0.4?	–	19.8		
lēah	(*on*) *wic leage* WLT.21A	SU124615	6.8	1.2	12.1	2.0	12.1		
	Weekley NTP.21A	SP887807	0.8	1.0?	1.6	1.0?	14.2		
lēah, wudu	Wicklewood NFK.21A	TG069023	0.6?	2.0?	2.0?	–	15.8		
mere	Wickmere NFK.22A	TG167333	1.5	1.5	11.7	0.5	11.7		
stall	*Wixstalker* YOW.24A	SE378307?	4.3?	14.1?	6.2?	1.2?	6.2?		
stōw	Wistow HNT.21A	TL278809	9.3	9.4	10.8	1.1?	10.8		
	Wistow YOW.21A	SE592356	11.5	3.5?	13.0	1.5?	13.0		
tūn	Witton WOR.22A	SO898626	0.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.3		
	Wyton HNT.22A	TL278722	2.3	1.2	3.7	0.1?	3.7		
	Wighton NFK.23A	TF940399	1.5	1.3?	1.5	–	1.5		
	Market Weighton YOE.22A	SE877418	1.0	6.3	2.6	1.0	7.1		
	Witton WAR.21A	SP088916	1.4	14.0	14.0	2.2?	9.5		
	Witton CHE.21A	SJ664738	0.3	13.9	1.2	–	1.2		
	Mean distances (Type A place-names)		**2.2**	**5.1**	**6.3**	**1.7?**	**8.0**		

Type B: Place-names attested by 1350 (20 examples)							
beorg	Weekaborough DEV.1B	SX844640	1.2?	29.5	30.0	2.4	30.0
denu, mǣd	*Wikedenesmede* GLO.21B	SO768032?	1.9?	0.3?	16.8	–	16.8
feld	Wicks Field HRT.24B	TL327207	1.2	2.0	7.0	3.2	23.2
	Wuchefeld CHE.22B	SJ703662?	1.0?	13.5	1.0?	1.0?	1.0?
(ge)hæg	Wickhay Green ESX.21B	TL777081	3.7	1.3	7.4	1.3	7.4
haga	Wighay Farm NTT.21B	SK529502	13.0	14.4	19.2	1.2?	7.3
hrycg	Wickridge GLO.22B	SO815270	5.3	3.7	8.3	2.0	8.3
hyrst	Wykehurst Farm SRY.22B	TQ080412	0.2	0.3	9.0	–	9.0
	Wickhurst Manor KNT.21B	TQ517512	8.4	8.1	11.5?	–	28.0
	Wickhurst Farm KNT.22B	TQ526478	8.4	11.5	13.8?	–	29.5
lǣs	*Wikelese* BRK.23B	SU294854	7.0	2.5	10.2	–	10.2
land	Wicklands SSX.26B	TQ463176	2.0	5.5	4.5	–	22.2
lēah	*Wykeleya* GLO.23B	SO775151	3.7	11.8?	6.5	1.3	6.5
	Wikele DOR.22B	SY913989?	1.5?	4.5?	4.5?	2.0?	4.5?
mǣd	*La Wykmede* BRK.24B	SU326789?	3.0?	4.0?	14.8?	0.2?	14.8?
ōra	Wicor Farm HMP.21B	SU602050	5.0	8.8	2.2	–	2.2
stede	Wickstead Farm WLT.22B	SU220930	7.3	1.7	8.0	–	8.0
	Wicksted Old Hall CHE.21B	SJ552439	0.6	19.2	2.5	–	2.5
stōw	*Wyckstowe* GLO.24B	ST657969?	7.0?	6.5?	10.6?	3.4?	18.0?
wella	*Wickewella* OXF.21B	SP352378?	2.2?	3.7?	3.7?	2.9?	15.1
	Mean distances (Type B place-names)		**4.2**	**7.6**	**9.6**	**1.9?**	**13.2**
	Mean distances (Type A and B place-names)		**3.2**	**6.3**	**7.8**	**1.8?**	**10.5**

NOTES:

*In a topographical compound name, the location of the name, and of the name's generic element, might be spatially distant from a Roman settlement to which the specific *wīc* might potentially refer.

**Village or roadside settlement. Distances are shown if settlements are known and potentially relevant to the *wīc* compound name.

***Fort or defended settlement

Table 16: Distances from locations of *wīc* compound names (with various generics) to Roman archaeology

16a) Distances to Roman roads

	Type A names		Type B names		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to 1.0km	12	54.5	3	15.0	15	35.7
1.1–4.0km	6	27.3	9	45.0	15	35.7
4.1–10.0km	3	13.6	7	35.0	10	23.8
Over 10km	1	4.5	1	5.0	2	4.8
Total	22	100	20	100	42	100

16b) Distances to Roman villas

	Type A names		Type B names		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to 1.0km	2	9.1	2	10.0	4	9.5
1.1–4.0km	12	54.5	6	30.0	18	42.9
4.1–10.0km	4	18.2	6	30.0	10	23.8
Over 10km	4	18.2	6	30.0	10	23.8
Total	22	100	20	100	42	100

16c) Distances to Roman towns

	Type A names		Type B names		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to 1.0km	3	13.6	1	5.0	4	9.5
1.1–4.0km	10	45.5	3	15.0	13	31.0
4.1–10.0km	1	4.5	8	40.0	9	21.4
Over 10km	8	36.4	8	40.0	16	38.1
Total	22	100	20	100	42	100

Table 17: *Wīc* compound place-names (Types A and B) and mean distances to Roman archaeology: recurrent and individual compounds

NOTE: Tables 15 and 16a–c above refer to locations individually, whereas Table 17 below refers to recurrent compounds collectively.

Type and number of place-name examples	Mean distances to nearest Roman archaeology (km)		
Recurrent habitative compounds	Road	Villa	Town
wīc-stōw (3)	9.3	6.5	12.5
wīc-tūn (6)	1.2	6.4	3.0
Other habitative compounds			
wīc-bold (1)	0.1	4.0	3.5
wīc-stall (1)	4.3	14.1	6.2
wīc-stede (2)	4.0	10.5	5.3
Recurrent topographical compounds			
wīc-feld (4)	0.9	8.7	1.8
wīc-ford (3)	0.9	2.1	1.5
wīc-hyrst (3)	5.7	6.6	11.6
wīc-lēah (5)	2.7	4.1	5.3

Individual topographical compounds			
wīc-beorg	1.2?	29.5	30.0
wīc-denu	1.9?	0.3?	16.8?
wīc-dūn	0.1	3.0?	13.9
wīc-(ge)hæg	3.7	1.3	7.4
wīc-haga	13.0	14.4	7.3
wīc-halh	2.2	7.3	2.2
wīc-hlāw	0.3?	0.4?	0.4?
wīc-hrycg	5.3	3.7	8.3
wīc-lǣs	7.0	2.5	10.2
wīc-land	2.0	5.5	4.5
wīc-mǣd	3.0?	4.0?	14.8?
wīc-mere	1.5	1.5?	11.7
wīc-ōra	5.0	8.8	2.2
wīc-wella	2.2?	3.7?	3.7?
Habitative *wīc* compound names (13)	3.6	7.4	6.0
Topographical *wīc* compound names (29)	2.9	5.8	8.6

Figure 106: *Wīc* compound names and distances to Roman archaeology, expressed as scatter-graphs (a)-(c).

Figure 106(a)

Figure 106(b)

**Distances to Roman villas: *wīc* compound names
with generics other than *hām***

Distance in kilometres

Cumulative number of locations (each dot shows one location)

Figure 106(c)

**Distances to Roman towns: *wīc* compound names
with generics other than *hām***

Distancee in kilometres

Cumulative number of locations (each dot shows one location)
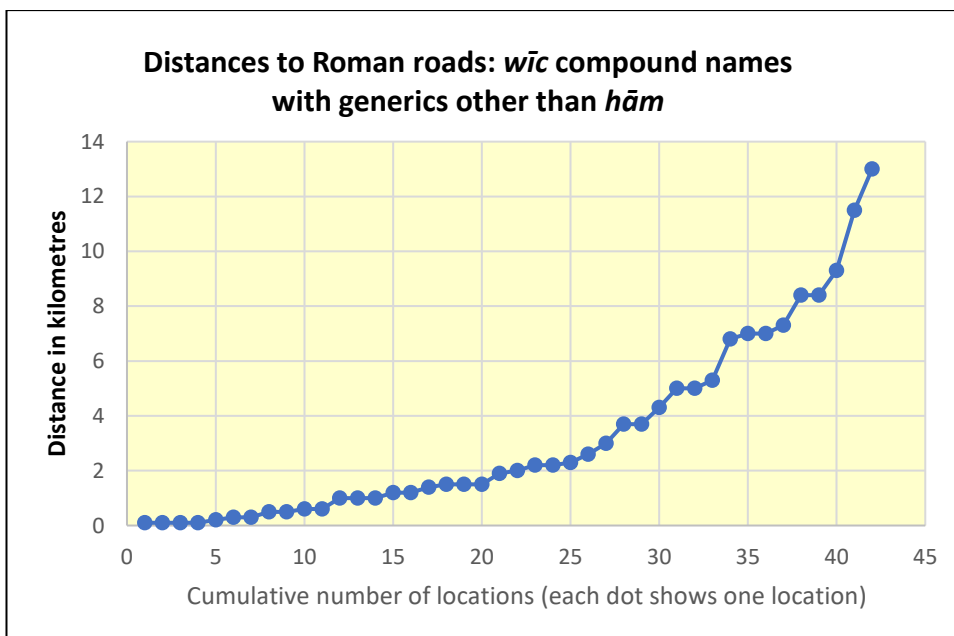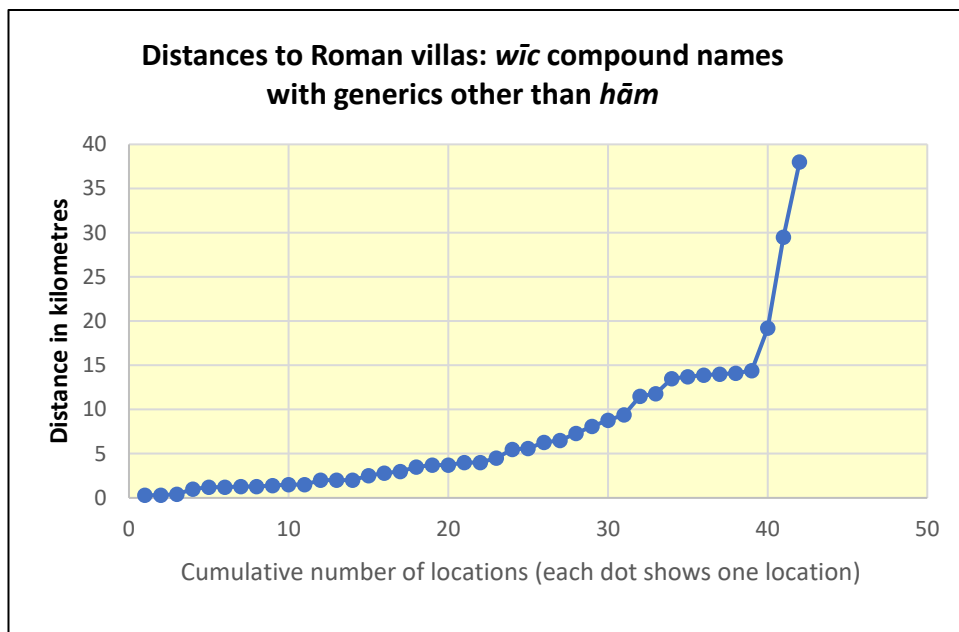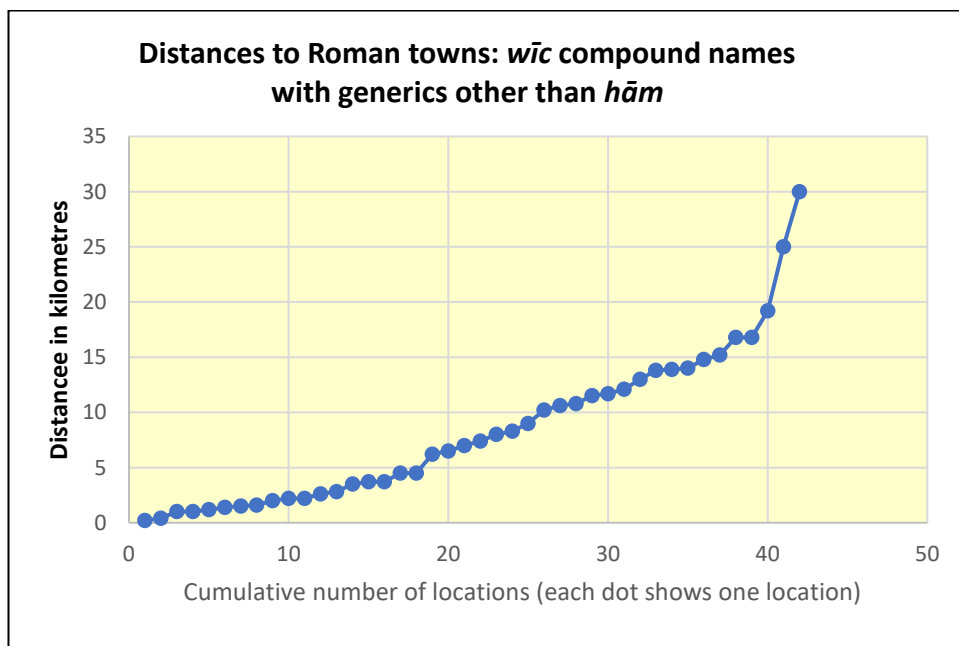
**The proximity between *wīc* compound names (with various generics)
and Roman archaeology: issues of methodology**

In addressing proximity between *wīc* compound names and Roman archaeology,

several problems of classification and methodology arise. Firstly, in identifying

Roman roads, the data-sets in the RRS map have been used; however, the RRS

map does not include all minor roads, nor potentially ancient trackways such as

the Ridgeway and Icknield Way. Secondly, Roman settlements were more densely concentrated in some regions than others. The Lowland Zone of south-eastern Britain had a higher concentration of Roman roads, villas, towns, roadside settlements, villages and farmsteads than the Highland Zone in the west and north, and even within the Lowland Zone, a Roman rural settlement could be distant from a metalled road, villa or town. Therefore, the specific *wīc* in place-names might potentially refer to a Roman rural settlement, despite large spatial distances from Roman roads, villas or towns. Conversely, proximity to Roman infrastructure does not necessarily mean that the specific *wīc* refers to Roman settlement, and many medieval settlements are likely to be in areas of earlier Roman settlement, especially where Roman roads had a lasting impact on later settlement patterns.

Other spatial issues relate to Roman villas and their estates, and indeed to other types of Roman rural settlement. A villa-estate could extend for several kilometres from the villa buildings, as at Gatcombe GLO (McCarthy 2013: 48–50). This thesis assesses the distances from *wīc* compound place-names to Roman sites known from archaeological evidence. If the specific *wīc* sometimes refers to a Roman villa-estate, a topographical compound place-name with specific *wīc* might be several kilometres from the villa buildings. Therefore, in the case of *wīc* compound names with generics other than *hām*, the search for Roman settlement archaeology, to which the specific *wīc* might refer, may need to extend for several kilometres, and further than the initial 600m search parameter for *wīc-hām* place-names. It can therefore be difficult to assess, in *wīc* compound names with topographical generics, whether *wīc* refers to a known Roman settlement or not, and can be unclear which local Roman settlement, if any, *wīc* might refer to. Moreover, if *wīc* refers to a villa-estate, the distance between the topographical place-name and the estate might arguably be zero.

Finally, in classifying Roman settlements, Table 16 above groups Roman towns with cities, roadside settlements, forts and defended settlements;

however, Tables 15 and 17 aim to distinguish between towns, villages and forts, where possible. This allows a more detailed comparison of *wīc* compound names with different types of Roman rural settlement. However, a Roman fort might, or might not, have had a civilian settlement or *vīcus* alongside, and forts could be occupied or empty at different times; moreover, large parts of the country had no Roman forts at all.

The spatial relationship of *wīc* compound names and Roman archaeology

Despite these problems of classification and methodology, Tables 15–17 may allow some meaningful observations on the spatial relationship between *wīc* compound place-names (with various generics) and Roman archaeology. 54% (12 of 22) of the *wīc* compound names of Type A are up to 1km distant from Roman roads, while 27% (6 of 22) are 1.1km–4.0km distant. The 22 Type A *wīc* compound names have a mean distance of 2.2km from Roman roads and thus a closer proximity to Roman roads than random place-names have (3.1km). This may suggest a strong correlation between *wīc* compound names of Type A and Roman roads. However, 18% of the locations (4 of 22) are over 4km from Roman roads, in areas of sparser rural settlement, and these locations sometimes have large distances from Roman roads, of up to 11.5km. These greater distances, in a minority of the 22 locations, raise the overall mean distance to 3.2km.

63% (14 of 22) of *wīc* compound names of Type A are up to 4km from a Roman villa, such as (*on*) *wic leage* in Alton Barnes, 1.2km from Stanchester villa. This distance is consistent with what we might expect if *wīc* refers here to a villa-estate (see paragraph below in this section 4.5: The size of Roman villa-estates). However, 18% of Type A *wīc* compound names are 4.1–10km from a villa, and 18% more than 10km from a villa. The mean distance of 5.1km is higher than the mean control figure of 3.3km from random English place-names to Roman villas, established in section 3.7. This is perhaps because four of these

22 names (*Wicesfeld* CHE, *Wixstalker* YOW, Witton WAR, Witton CHE) occur at distances over 13.5km from the nearest villa, in predominantly rural areas where villas are sparsely distributed.

The mean distance from locations of *wīc* compound names of Type A to Roman towns is 6.3km. 59% (13 of 22) are situated up to 4.0km from a Roman town; however, 36% (8 of 22) are over 10km from a Roman town. This might reflect the fact that Roman towns were more sparsely distributed than Roman villas, of which around 2,000 are known.

The proximity of Type B names to Roman roads, at 4.2km, is higher than the control figure of 3.1km. This is perhaps because Type B names are all minor place-names, such as names of farms or fields; these might typically be further from Roman roads than random place-names, which are all major settlement-names. Together, the 42 *wīc* compound names of Types A and B have a mean distance of 3.2km from Roman roads, which compares closely with the mean control figure of 3.1km from random place-names to Roman roads, established in section 3.7, and compares with Briggs' mean control figure (MX) of 5.5km from uniform random points to Roman roads.

Amongst *wīc* compound names of Type B, 40% (8 of 20) are up to 4km from a Roman villa, while the mean distance is 7.6km. This mean distance may be highly inflated by a small number of locations which are distant from Roman villas, such as Weekaborough DEV (29.5km) and Wicksted CHE (19.2km); villas had a restricted distribution in Roman Britain, and few were situated in the later counties of Devon and Cheshire. Type B *wīc* compound names are predominantly more distant from Roman towns, with a mean distance of 9.6km, than Type A names (6.3km), and this distance of 9.6km might arise from the predominantly rural locations of the Type B names.

The suggested mean distances in Table 15 from *wīc* compound place-names to Roman villages or roadside settlements (1.7km for Type A names, 1.9km for Type B) should be treated with caution, as it is difficult firstly to define

what constitutes a village rather than a town, and secondly to calculate accurately the distance from *wīc* locations to Roman villages. The relatively high mean distances to Roman forts or defended settlements (8km for Type A names, 13.2km for Type B) may reflect the fact that defended Roman settlements were more sparsely distributed than Roman towns, but a *wīc* compound name can also occur close to a fort, as in Wigford, 0.2km south of Lincoln.

In interpreting the above data in this section (4.5), it should be clearly remembered that the data evaluates Gelling's hypothesis (1974: 326) that the specific element *wīc* in compound names *may* refer to a Roman settlement, if it does not refer to a nearby place called Wick. However, aiming at objective evaluation, the above data includes all examples of *wīc* compound names, even where the specific element might refer to a place called Wick, or might carry a possible sense of OE *wīc* or ME *wike* such as 'farm, dairy farm'. We should therefore not expect all examples of *wīc* compound names to refer, or be close, to Roman settlement.

It should also be remembered that information on Roman archaeology discussed in section 4.5 derives from many sources in addition to the RRS project. Different patterns of settlement distribution might therefore potentially arise, since the RRS project utilised the results of commercially-funded excavations since 1991, fundamentally limiting the types of site included in RRS data distribution.

The size of Roman villa-estates

In addressing proximity between *wīc* compound place-names and Roman settlement archaeology, an important issue is the size and layout of Roman villa-estates, since 'estate' is one of the senses of Latin *vīcus*. Around 2,000 Roman villas are known in Britain, but the size and layout of villa-estates is uncertain.

Van Ossel and Ouzoulias (2000: 150–59) have emphasized the diversity and complexity of late Roman estates in Northern Gaul, commenting that archaeology cannot reconstruct landed property, while Fleming (2021) sees villa-estates in Britain as typically patchworks of parcels of land. Bowden (2017) observes the conspicuous position of the villa at Southwell NTT, at the centre of a tenth-century estate, but notes that the latter was not a geographical unit and that the view that medieval estates originated in Roman estates is problematic.

The problems of reconstructing Roman villa-estates are evident at Bignor SSX and Withington GLO. The Bignor estate as reconstructed by Applebaum (1975) may have extended 3.5km from the villa, while the Withington estate as reconstructed by Finberg (1955) may have extended 4.5km from the villa (see Figures 106(d) and 106(e) below); however, the precise extents and boundaries of these two villa-estates are uncertain. No topographical compound place-names with specific element *wīc* are found on these two reconstructed estates; nonetheless, if the reconstructions are accurate, and if these estates are typical of villa-estates elsewhere in southern Britain, this might suggest that *wīc* could refer to a *vīcus* or villa-estate if a compound topographical place-name with specific *wīc* occurs up to 4.5km from a Roman villa.
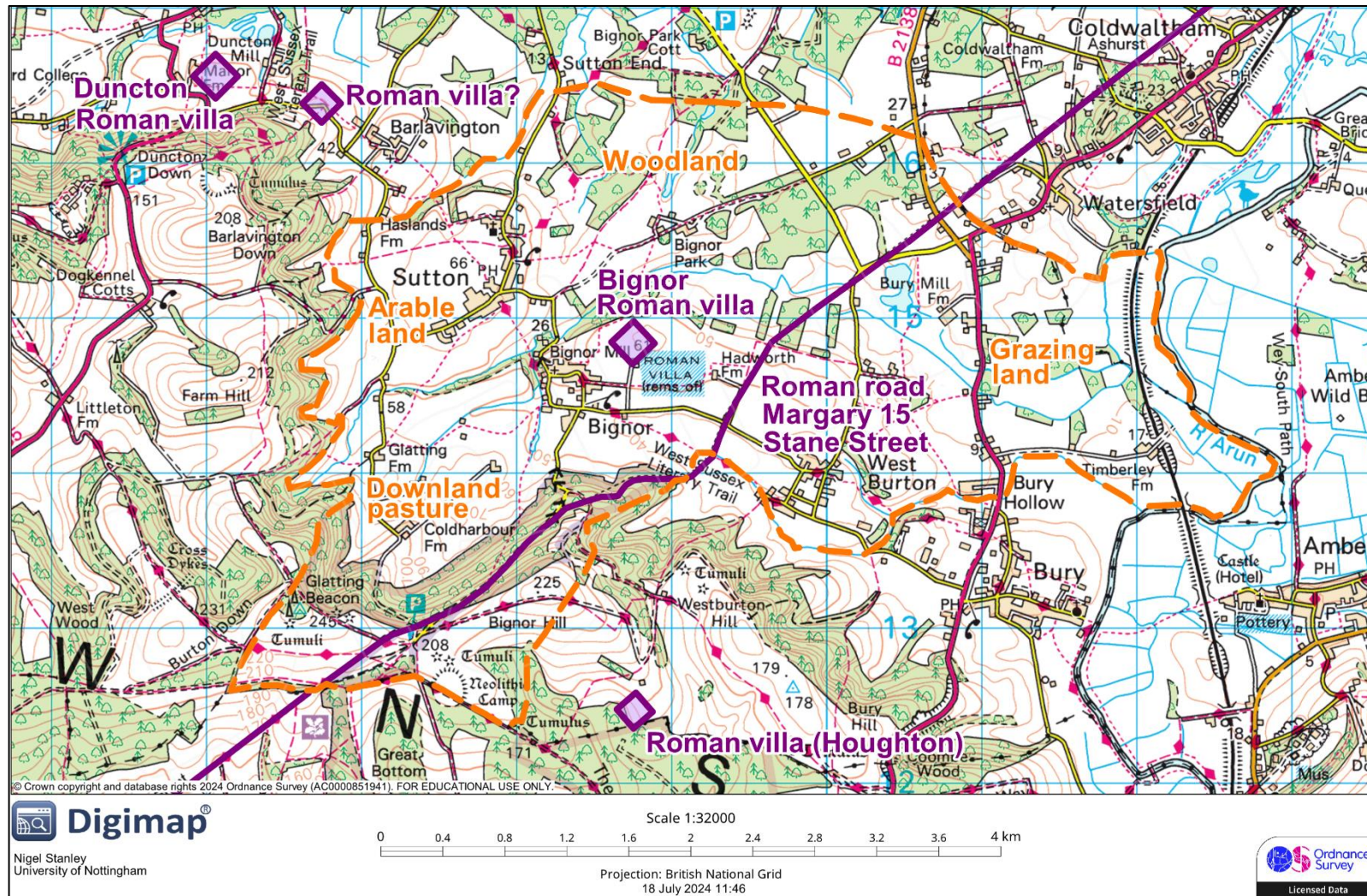
Figure 106(d): Hypothetical reconstruction of Roman villa-estate at Bignor SSX, based on Applebaum (1975).
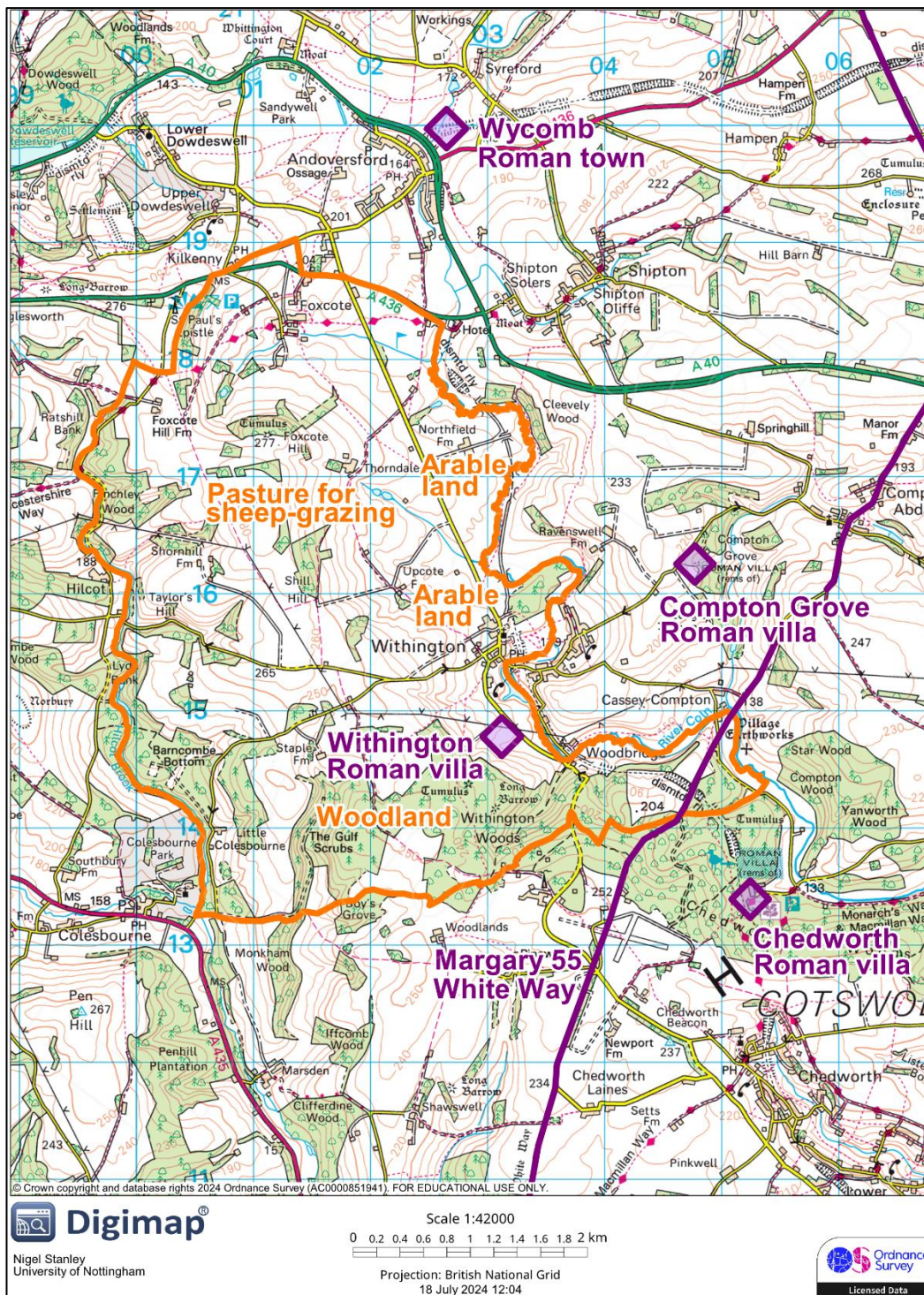
Figure 106(e): Hypothetical reconstruction of Roman villa-estate at Withington GLO, based on Finberg (1955).

4.6 Roman settlements to which the specific *wīc* might refer in compound place-names with various generics

As seen in Chapter 2, scholars have concluded that Latin *vīcus* was used in Roman Britain to refer to various types of settlement, including small towns or villages with a degree of self-government, but also settlements outside forts, and wards of a city. This thesis considers the possibility, more broadly, that the senses of *vīcus* in Roman Britain might have included any of the senses of *vīcus* found in Classical Latin literature, including 'country seat, estate'. In addressing a possible association between Roman institutions and the OE specific element *wīc* in place-names, this thesis also considers that the senses of OE *wīc*, a loan from Latin *vīcus*, might include any of the known lexical senses of *vīcus.* All potential senses of Latin *vīcus* should therefore be addressed when studying compound *wīc* place-names and archaeological evidence of Roman institutions, although later senses of OE *wīc* such as 'farm, productive or trading site' must also be considered when discussing these names and locations. The discussion below results from detailed consideration of the lexical and onomastic use of *wīc* compounds and their generic elements in section 4.2, from detailed gazetteers of place-name attestations, locations and Roman archaeology in sections 4.3 and 4.4 above, and from detailed consideration of proximity in section 4.5 above.

Recurrent *wīc* compounds with habitative generics

Discussion of *wīc-tūn*

In the case of Wyton HNT, extensive Roman settlement is now known in the contiguous villages of Wyton and Houghton, with finds of Roman material at eleven or more sites (see section 4.3). Roman material has been found 100m from Wyton church, while a likely villa is known in Houghton, 1.2km south-east of Wyton church. In the name Wyton, the specific *wīc* might therefore relate to a

Roman settlement of uncertain type close to Wyton church, or to the estate of a villa, or more broadly to a Roman village.

When discussing Wighton NFK, Gelling (1967: 98) and Coates (1999a: 108) were unaware of archaeological discoveries, from the 1940s onwards, at the site of a large Roman town, 1.5km south of Wighton. Given this local Roman settlement, the specific *wīc* might possibly refer to the Roman town, or else to the estate of a suspected villa in the Roman town area.

In the case of Market Weighton YOE, Watts (2004: 659) interpreted OE *wīc-tūn* as possibly meaning 'settlement, village near the Roman *vīcus*'. A Roman settlement is known at Rose Hill, 1km north-east of Market Weighton, and seven smaller Roman settlements or enclosures are noted in section 4.3 above, all at least 1.5km from Market Weighton. The nearest known small Roman town or roadside settlement was in Shiptonthorpe, 2.6km west of Market Weighton. However, the nature of any Roman settlement near Market Weighton church is unclear from current archaeological evidence, and it is uncertain whether *wīc-tūn* refers to a Roman settlement here.

In discussing Witton WAR, Mills (2011: 505) derives the name from OE *wīc-tūn*, possibly meaning 'farmstead by an earlier Romano-British settlement'. However, no archaeological evidence exists of a Romano-British settlement at Witton, which might now be difficult to find within the urban Birmingham landscape. 2.2km west of Witton, a Roman pottery kiln is known in Perry Bar, but this provides no clear evidence of whether the specific element of Witton refers to Roman settlement.

In the case of Witton WOR, a Roman villa was present at Bays Meadow in Droitwich, 1.5km north of Witton, raising the possibility that in the name Witton, the specific *wīc* might refer to the villa or its estate. However, other explanations of Witton are equally plausible. These include 'enclosure by the wic' (Mawer, Stenton and Houghton 1927: 286), 'farm near the place called *Wīc*' (Gelling 1967: 98), and 'tūn (enclosure or estate) by the wīc' (Hooke 1981: 127).

The proximity of Witton to the salt-works at Droitwich, 1km to the north, leads Cameron (1996: 148) to regard Witton as meaning 'village, estate near a salt-production centre'. Less plausible is the view of Mawer, Stenton and Houghton (1927: 289) that in Witton WOR, the *wīc-tūn* was probably the dwelling-place of the industrial workers at the Droitwich salt-works; archaeology now suggests that the workers in the salt industry, both Roman and medieval, lived alongside the salt-workings on both sides of the Salwarpe (Woodiwiss 1992: 2–7). Another issue is whether *wīc-tūn* here might mean 'the settlement which administers the salt-works', by analogy with recurrent compounds in Shropshire such as Acton and Wootton (Gelling 1990: 1–3, 325–26). However, the Droitwich salt industry in the seventh century and later may have been managed from the Mercian royal estate centre at Wychbold (Hurst 2006: 244), rather than from Witton.

In the case of Witton CHE, the specific *wīc* might possibly refer to the Roman fort of *Condate* or to its extensive civilian *vīcus*, around 1km south-west of Witton. However, traditional explanations of Witton seem equally plausible. Ekwall (1964: 528) regarded the name as probably meaning '*tūn* by a *wīc*', while Dodgson (1970: 194) gave 'village with a *wīc*'. Mills (2011: 505) prefers 'estate with a salt-works', while Coates (1999: 108) states that the name Witton may be related to Northwich. Any of these views might be correct. No Roman or early medieval archaeology is known in Witton, and it is not known where any medieval brine works were located, nor whether the brine workers' settlement was in Witton, nor whether there was any continuity between Roman and early medieval brine working (Shaw and Clark 2003: 12–23).

Appearing in six locations, *wīc-tūn* is a recurrent compound, and in each case the name might mean, for example, '*tūn* near a *wīc*'. In Witton WOR, the location is within 1km of known salt-works, to which the specific *wīc* might refer, but the location of early salt-works in Witton CHE is unknown, and the other four Witton locations are all remote from salt-works, therefore *wīc* must have another sense in these four locations. However, it is not certain that *wīc* has the same

sense in every location. Overall, therefore, the compound *wīc-tūn* remains unresolved.

Discussion of *wīc-stōw*

As noted in section 4.2 above, the OE compound *wīc-stōw* in lexical use means either 'camp' or 'dwelling-place', and this might also be the meaning of the place-name *wīc-stōw*. In place-names, the generic *stōw* frequently means 'place' or 'site' and refers especially to land with a religious purpose, but scholars have suggested other senses of *stōw* in minor place-names, including 'a place where animals were herded and restrained from straying' (Smith 1956, 2: 160). It is therefore possible that in the compound *wīc-stōw*, the generic *stōw* might have this rarer sense. Since *wīc-stōw* is a recurrent place-name, it might be expected to have a similar sense wherever used.

Roman settlement is known 1.2 km north and 2.8km north of Wistow HNT, and it is possible, though far from certain, that in the name Wistow the specific *wīc* might refer to one of these settlements. In the name Wistow YOW, the specific *wīc* might refer either to the Roman settlement in Cawood Park, 3.5km north-west of Wistow, or to the estate of the possible villa there, or to the extensive Roman village settlement 2.5km south-west of Wistow, where excavated animal bones from the Roman period include those of cattle, pigs and sheep or goats. Thirdly, in the lost place-name *Wickstowe*, attested c.1250 near Bevington GLO, the specific *wīc* might refer to the Roman settlement at Berkeley, 3.4km north-east of Bevington, or to one of the two Roman coastal settlements 2.5km north-west of Bevington. These coastal settlements were associated with land reclamation, and perhaps with cattle-grazing on the rich alluvium of the Severn estuary (Copeland 2011: 100–03).

It seems possible that in at least the latter two examples of *wīc-stōw*, the specific *wīc* might refer to a Roman settlement and the generic *stōw* to an animal-enclosure. However, this conclusion should be considered as possible

rather than likely. We should not discount alternative proposals, that in place-names the compound *wīc-stōw* might have a meaning similar to its lexical senses, such as 'dwelling-place, camp' (Smith 1963, 4: 36; Mills 2011: 504).

Other *wīc* compounds with habitative generics

Discussion of *wīc-bold*

A Roman farmstead is known 800m south-west of Wychbold Court, but in the place-name Wychbold, an association seems more likely between a Mercian royal building and the generic *bold*. A charter of 831 (S 188), issued by King Wiglaf, states *Actum est in regale uillo que nominatur Wicbold*, describing Wychbold as a 'royal vill'. Hurst (2006: 244) considers that the Droitwich salt industry in the seventh century and later may have been managed from Wychbold, while Bassett (2008: 237) argues that *Wich* (DB), the early name of Droitwich, applied originally to an extensive territory around Droitwich. Mawer and Stenton (1927: 285) proposed that Wychbold means 'buildings by the *wīc*', while Hooke (1981: 129) preferred 'dwelling-place or hall by the *wīc*'. An alternative explanation is that the specific element in Wychbold may be the name of the salt-works at Droitwich, and that *bold* may refer to a manor-house where the salt-works were administered.

Discussion of *wīc-stall*

In the case of the lost field-name *Wixstalker* in Swillington YOW, a Roman farmstead and field system are known in the north of Swillington parish; however, the location of the field-name is unknown, and no firm connection can be made between *Wixstalker* and Roman archaeology. The lexical sense of *wīc-stall* 'a camp' is another possible explanation of this field-name, but it seems more likely that the specific *wīc* might refer here to a medieval farm, perhaps a dairy-farm, in which case the generic *stall* might mean 'site' or 'cattle-stall'.

Discussion of *wīc-stede*

Despite the presence of three likely Roman villa sites around 1.7km west of Wickstead Farm WLT, it seems unlikely that the specific element *wīc* here refers to Roman settlement. Rather, *wīc-stede* seems more likely to mean 'dairy-farm site' (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1939: 27), with reference to a medieval dairy-farm. Around 400–800m west of Wickstead Farm, the animal-enclosures called 'Highworth circles', of uncertain date but perhaps medieval, might support the suggested translation of *wīc-stede* as 'dairy-farm site'. In the name Wicksted CHE, the meaning again seems likely to be 'dairy-farm site', with reference to a medieval farm, despite the location's distance of 600m from a Roman road and 2.5km from Whitchurch, the Roman defended settlement of *Mediolanum*. A less likely sense of *stede* here is 'a farm or estate', which is rare in northern counties except in later place-names (Smith 1956, 2: 148).

Recurrent *wīc* compounds with topographical generics

Discussion of *wīc-feld*

Gelling (1974: 326) regarded Wickfield BRK as meaning 'open land by the *wīc*', commenting that Wickfield Farm is just over a mile from Wickham in Welford, where Roman pottery and coins have been found. Gelling later (1984: 237) suggested that the generic *feld*, in early use, was used by inhabitants of the surrounding villages in reference to communal pasture (see section 4.2 above).

Considerably more is known today about Roman settlement at Wickham in Welford than in 1974 (see section 3.3 above). At Wickham there was a Roman roadside settlement of reasonably high economic status, occupied from the second to fourth centuries. Given the distance of 2km between Wickham and Wickfield Farm, it can now be more firmly proposed that in Wickfield, the specific *wīc* refers to the Roman settlement at Wickham. *Wīc–feld* might refer to land on both sides of Margary 41b, west of Wickham, since Wickfield Farm is north of

this road, and Wickfield Copse to the south. Alternatively, the Wickfield Copse woodland might once have belonged to Wickfield Farm, 1.4km north.

Viewing the field-name *Wykefeld* 1338 (Wicks Field 1840) in Little Munden HRT, the specific *wīc* seems likely to refer to a local Roman settlement, either the estate of a possible villa around 2km to the south-west, suspected from tesserae found at Bardolph's Farm, beside Margary 21a, or the Roman settlement 3.2km south-west of Wicks Field in Watton-at-Stone. In either case, OE *feld* may refer to open land or common pasture belonging to the Roman settlement. Woodland is present today south-west of Wicks Field, and if woodland also existed here in the Roman era, this might explain the generic *feld* with a sense such as 'open land, pasture', beyond the woodland.

In some examples of *wīc-feld*, the specific *wīc* might not refer to Roman settlement, but rather to a medieval settlement called *Wich*. Roman saltworks and settlements existed at both Middlewich and Nantwich CHE, but it seems unlikely that the specific element of *wīc-feld* refers to the Roman settlements here. Dodgson (1970, 2: 247) considered the field-names *Wuchefeld* and *Wychefurlong(e)* in Middlewich to mean respectively 'field and furlong at a *wīc*' or 'belonging to Middlewich', and this explanation seems entirely acceptable. The various forms of *Wicesfeld* in Nantwich, including *le Wichfeld* 1239, may mean 'the district around *The Wich*, i.e. Nantwich', or 'field belonging to *The Wich*' (Dodgson 1971, 3: 6); it seems less likely, as noted in section 4.2, that the specific derives from OE *wice* 'wych-elm'. Therefore, in these compound field-names in Cheshire, the specific element probably derives from the simplex *Wich* or from OE *wīc* in reference to medieval salt-works.

Discussion of *wīc-ford*

As noted in section 4.2 above, Ekwall (1964: 24) believed *Wicford* WOR to mean 'the Droitwich ford' or 'the ford on the road to Droitwich'. In *Wicford*, the specific *wīc* might indeed refer to Droitwich, or to the medieval salt-works or *wīc* at

Droitwich, since the road from Ombersley, after crossing the River Salwarpe, leads towards the salt-works around 2.8km east of the ford. Names of fords can sometimes refer to earlier place-names to which the fords gave access (Gelling and Cole 2014: 76). Alternatively, the specific element in *Wicford* might relate to the estate or *vīcus* of the Roman villa at Bays Meadow, 2.8km east of the ford; however, it is not possible to demonstrate that this explanation is any more likely than Ekwall's definition. In *Wicford* WOR, the meaning of *wīc* is therefore uncertain.

Gelling (1984: 323, 1988a: 247) proposed that Wickford ESX may mean 'ford by a Romano-British settlement', a definition modified by Mills (2011: 497) as probably 'ford by an earlier Romano-British settlement'. In view of the Roman archaeology now known at Wickford, Gelling's explanation of the name can be firmly supported. *Wīc* seems likely to refer either to the estate of the Roman villa 1km east of the ford, at Beauchamps Farm, or to the Roman village or small town by the villa.

The compound *wīc-ford* also occurs in Wigford LIN. Hill (1948: 35) regarded *wīc* here as an early loan from Latin *vīcus*, with the sense 'hamlet or street'. Cameron (1985: 45–46) commented that *wīc* is very likely to refer to a Roman site south of the city of Lincoln and south of the Witham, while Gelling (1988a: 247) observed that there may have been a Roman suburb (*vicus*) at Wigford. In discussing Wigford, Cameron and Gelling both alluded to a Roman suburb there, without citing archaeological evidence, but excavation has now confirmed the presence of a Roman suburb or *vīcus* in Wigford, extending around 700m south of the Witham, including sixteen known Roman commercial buildings (Jones 1993: 20–24; Steane 2001: 1–10, 307–29).

In explaining the name Wigford LIN, an important issue is whether the Witham was crossed by a bridge or a ford south of Lincoln, and if so, when. As mentioned above (section 4.3), archaeological evidence demonstrates that Ermine Street crossed the Witham on a Roman stone bridge. However, the name

wīc-ford implies that when this compound name was formed, the *wīc* or suburb south of the Witham was accessed by ford from Lincoln, not by a bridge. Therefore, the name Wigford might have been coined when the Roman suburb still existed, but the Roman bridge was derelict or no longer useable. Fleming (2021: 183–85) discusses the decay of Roman infrastructure, with severe economic effects, and the name Wigford may provide onomastic evidence of this process in the context of Roman Lincoln.

Bassett (1989: 15–17) took a different approach to the name Wigford. Bassett accepted that *wīc* may refer to the Roman *vīcus* or suburb south of the Witham, since epigraphic evidence suggests that Roman Lincoln was sub-divided into *vīcī* or wards, of which one or more may have been extra-mural. Likewise, at Trier in Germany, a Roman *vīcus* lay at the far end of a river-bridge from the town (Bassett 1989: 15–16). Bassett argued that the name Wigford is linguistic evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement, and that the name 'would have been coined early on by Anglo-Saxons who were living, still archaeologically invisible to us, quite close to the ford, and their settlement must have been permanent if we are to account for the name's survival'. However, Bassett did not define here what he meant by 'Anglo-Saxon' – for example, whether this meant 'speakers of Old English'.

Bassett's explanation of the name Wigford relied on a traditional historical paradigm of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but alternative possibilities should also be considered. The name *wīc-ford* suggests that speakers of Old English formed this compound name while the Roman *vīcus* (suburb) still existed, accessed by ford rather than by bridge. Some commercial buildings in Wigford were abandoned by the mid-fourth century, while others were still used in the late fourth century (Steane 2001: 311–14); however, it is unclear whether, or when, the Roman suburb (*vīcus*) was abandoned, and at what date it ceased to be called *vīcus* by local speakers of Latin.

Bassett also proposed (1989a: 16–17) a second reason for the name Wigford: that an Anglo-Saxon market, trading-centre or *wīc* may have existed there, and that over time, *wīc-ford* may have taken on a new meaning, in which *wīc* referred to an emporium, irrespective of whether the name had an earlier origin. An Anglo-Saxon trading emporium at Wigford was also proposed by Vince, who suggested that Wigford was of Anglo-Scandinavian origin, in terms of its name and its reoccupation (Steane 2001: 1). Jones (2004: 24) argues that no archaeological evidence supports the idea of an Anglo-Saxon trading emporium or *wīc* at Wigford, while Steane (2016: 485–86) considers it possible that a trading emporium might have existed on the small 'Thorngate Island' in the Witham, around 200m north-east of the Wigford promontory. However, this island is separate from Wigford. Overall, therefore, a combination of the available onomastic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggests that in the name Wigford, the specific *wīc* probably refers to the Roman suburb south of Lincoln (*Lindum Colonia*).

Discussion of *wīc-lēah*

In the OE charter clause *(on) wic leage* in Alton Barnes WLT, the woodland in question seems to have been at Tawsmead Copse, and the referent of *wīc* seems likely to be the Roman villa 1.2km to the east, in a field called Stanchester, 500m south of West Stowell, rather than a hypothetical dairy-farm as proposed by Grundy (1919). In Weekley NTP, Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1933: 173) considered *wīc-lēah* to mean 'clearing or wood by the wic'. Watts (2004: 659) regarded Weekley as 'the wood or clearing by the *wīc*', noting the Romano-British industrial settlement exploiting iron-stone deposits at Weekley, while Mills (2011: 487) defines Weekley as probably 'wood or clearing near an earlier Romano-British settlement'. If Watts is correct, the specific *wīc* in Weekley might refer to the possible villa and early Roman industrial buildings, 1km north of Weekley. Alternatively, *wīc* might refer to the Roman small town at Kettering,

1.6km south-west of Weekley. In either event, OE *wīc* seems likely to refer to Roman settlement.

In Wicklewood NFK, the specific *wīc* seems likely to refer to the Roman settlement at Crownthorpe, 2km east of Wicklewood church. The site, where finds have included a temple, tesserae, wall plaster, tile and more, is regarded as a possible villa by Scott (1993: 139) but as a village or small town by Gurney (2005: 29). In the name Wicklewood, it seems likely that the original OE compound was *wīc-lēah*, whose generic probably refers to woodland belonging to the *wīc*, and that the pleonastic *wudu* was added later.

Regarding the field-name *Wykeleya* (c.1263–84) in Elmore GLO, Smith (1964, 2: 163) gave the meaning as OE *wīc* 'farm' + *lēah*. However, it now seems more likely that *wīc* refers to the Roman village or settlement at Bridgmacote Farm in Elmore, around 1.3km west of *Wykeleya*, and that the generic *lēah* may refer to woodland pertaining to the Roman village, or to a clearing made in the woodland. The Roman village, sited in a former salt-marsh, would have needed local timber as fuel, for domestic use and for the iron-working known at the site.

Finally, in the compound *wīc-lēah* in Almer DOR (*Wikele* c.1300, *Weeckley Wood* 1692), *wīc* again seems likely to refer to a Roman settlement, perhaps the large Roman town 4.5km north-east of Almer at Shapwick, perhaps the site of *Vindocladia*, which would have needed large supplies of timber for fuel and for construction of dwellings. Other possible referents of *wīc* include the Roman villa around 4.5km north of Almer at Charlton Marshall, or a small Roman settlement such as at Charborough Park, 2km south-east of Almer.

Discussion of *wīc-hyrst*

The Roman villa at Rapsley Farm was unknown when the EPNS Surrey volume was published in 1934. Following the villa's discovery in 1956, only 300m north-east of Wykehurst Farm, it seems likely that the OE specific *wīc* refers here to

the estate of the villa, or to the villa itself. Wykehurst Farm is on a hillside surrounded by woodland, which may have provided fuel for the Roman tileworks, 300m south of Wykehurst Farm. While Wykehurst SRY is a minor place-name, nonetheless it is of interest chronologically. The buildings of the Rapsley Farm villa were destroyed and abandoned around AD 330, but the villa estate might perhaps have continued to function as an institution after 330. If so, *wīc* might refer to the estate of the villa, still intact as a working Roman institution, and *wīc-hyrst* might mean 'estate woodland'.

Wickhurst Manor (Sevenoaks KNT) and Wickhurst Farm (Leigh KNT) are both woodland settlements in the Weald. The nearest known major Roman settlement was the winged-corridor villa at Church Field, Otford, one of the largest villas in Kent, built around 250 and demolished around 350. The extent of the villa's estate is unknown, but it might possibly have extended several kilometres southwards. In both Wickhurst Manor (Sevenoaks) and Wickhurst Farm (Leigh), it therefore seems possible – though far from certain - that the specific *wīc* might refer to the estate of the Church Field villa, despite the villa's distance of 8km and 11.5km respectively (5 miles and 7 miles) from these two *wīc-hyrst* locations. These two *wīc-hyrst* place-names in Sevenoaks and Leigh might perhaps suggest continuity in the existence or administration of the Otford estate from the Roman era to medieval eras; as explained in the gazetteer, Otford manor before 1066 may have extended around 13km south of Otford, as far as the Medway (D. Cole 2014: 75–92). However, continuity of the estate is far from certain. Moreover, we should not exclude the possibility that *wīc-hyrst* conceivably had a meaning such as 'wooded slope by a dairy farm', with reference to a medieval settlement.

Discussion of individual *wīc* compounds with topographical generics

Compounds where *wīc* probably refers to medieval settlement

In the place-name Weekaborough in Berry Pomeroy DEV, the generic *beorg*
refers to the rounded hillside in this location. Margary 491 may have run 1.2km
west of Weekaborough, and there was a Roman roadside settlement 2.4km
north of Weekaborough. However, as discussed in section 4.4, the specific *wīc*
seems likely to refer here to a medieval dairy-farm, or to be the place-name
Week, rather than referring to Roman settlement.

Secondly, regarding the lost field-name *La Wykmede* in Lambourn BRK, it
seems likely that this was a meadow belonging to one of the two lost medieval
settlements in Lambourn called *Wyke*: *La Wyke by Bokhampton* (1311) or *La
Wyke by Estburi* (1311). In each case the simplex name may have the sense
'dairy-farm' (Gelling 1974: 342, 336–337). Another attribute of *La Wykmede* is
the French definite article *La*, common in fourteenth-century field-names, which
suggests that the field-name is a likely medieval formation. The specific element
seems less likely to refer to the small Roman settlement in Lambourn, or to the
estate of one of the Roman villas situated 4km north of Lambourn.

**Compounds where the specific *wīc* may refer to either Roman or
medieval settlement**

In various *wīc* compound names, the specific element might potentially refer to
Roman settlement, but a medieval origin of the name is also plausible. In the
case of *wīc-dūn*, the specific *wīc* might potentially refer to the Roman settlement
at Adel, 4.8km west of Wigton Moor YOW, or to the estate of a Roman villa
suspected 3km north-east of Wigton Moor, near Biggin Farm. However, the
specific element of Wigton might alternatively be the place-name Wike. Located
1.5km from Wigton Moor, Wike was a medieval settlement, attested as *Wich*
1086–1230, where the simplex may mean 'dairy-farm' (Smith 1961, 4: 187).

In the case of *wīc-(ge)hæg*, Wickhay in Little Baddow ESX is on the edge of woodland, today fragmented but still extensive, and the sense of the generic seems likely to be 'woodland enclosure'. In view of the Roman villa known at Little Baddow church, 1.3km west of Wickhay Green, and a possible Roman settlement south of the church, the specific *wīc* might refer to the estate of the villa, or to a Roman village utilising the woodland. However, in Wickhay the specific *wīc* might potentially refer to a medieval farm or dairy-farm, and the generic to an enclosure, perhaps on the edge of woodland. In the similar case of Wighay in Linby NTT, where the generic *haga* is related to *(ge)hæg,* Roman settlement is known from finds of pottery and coins in Hucknall, 1.2km from Wighay, and this raises the possibility that in *wīc-haga* the specific *wīc* might refer to a local Roman settlement. However, *wīc* might alternatively refer to a medieval farm at, or near, Wickhay Farm. Therefore, the specific element of Wighay might refer to either Roman or medieval settlement.

In the compound *wīc-hrycg*, the specific *wīc* might possibly refer to the Roman settlement in Ashleworth GLO, 2km south of Wickridge Street, or to the estate of the Roman villa in Bishop's Norton, 4km south-east across the Severn, though it is unclear whether the estate's boundaries would have extended across the river. Smith (1963, 3: 153) regarded Wickridge as meaning 'ridge with a dairy-farm', and this explanation also seems plausible, though it is uncertain whether a medieval dairy-farm ever existed at Wickridge Street. The medieval settlement at Wickridge Street was a squatters' settlement on the boundaries of two parishes, Ashleworth and Hasfield (Elrington 1968: 282–90). Overall, therefore, the specific *wīc* might refer either to a local Roman settlement or to a hypothetical medieval farm at Wickridge.

The field in Woolstone BRK attested as *Wikelese* c.1306–07 was probably south-west of Uffington hill-fort, at a site now called Woolstone Hill Barn. The specific *wīc* might refer here to a Roman villa in Woolstone, 2.5km north of *Wikelese*, or to its estate. However, *wīc* might possibly refer to a hypothetical

medieval farm in Woolstone. In either scenario, the location of *Wikelese*, on the Berkshire/Oxfordshire Downs, might suggest that this was a sheep-pasture.

Finally, at Wicklands SSX a medieval farmstead is suspected, and the specific *wīc* might refer to the farm, attested as *at Wyklonde* (pers.n.) c.1300. Alternatively, the generic *land* might have the early sense 'newly broken-in arable land', and *wīc* might refer to a Roman settlement farming the arable land, such as the Roman town at Upper Wellingham, 4.5km south-west of Wicklands, or the estate of the Roman villa at Barcombe, 5.5km south-west, or a smaller Roman settlement closer to Wicklands.

Individual compounds where *wīc* probably refers to Roman settlement

In six individual compound names under discussion, the specific *wīc* seems likely to refer to Roman settlement. The locations of the meadow *Wikedenesmede* in Coaley GLO, and of the valley referred to as *denu*, are uncertain; nonetheless, given the close relationship between Coaley and Frocester, the specific *wīc* probably refers to the estate of one of the two Roman villas in Frocester. The largest valley in Coaley is around 300m west of the Roman villa at St Peter's church, Frocester, while other smaller valleys in Coaley are within 2km of both Roman villas in Frocester.

In establishing the meaning of *wīc-halh*, the topography of Wighill YOW is important. The village and church are situated on raised ground, between the 20m and 35m contour-lines, and between two rivers, the Wharfe and Foss, which are around 10–15m above sea-level. *Halh* in this location might have a topographical sense such as 'land between rivers', rather than 'low-lying land liable to flooding'. However, *halh* sometimes has the sense 'nook of land', and the specific *wīc* might therefore refer to a settlement which owned, farmed, or administered the 'nook of land'.

Gelling's association of the specific *wīc* with Tadcaster (1988a: 247–48), followed later by Coates (1999a: 109), is certainly plausible. Tadcaster is 3.5km

south of Wighill. However, Gelling was unaware of the Roman fort at Newton Kyme, 2km south-west of Wighill, marked on OS maps since the 1950s, along with its adjacent civilian settlement or *vīcus*. Occupation here continued through the fourth century (Boutwood 1996: 344). On balance, the specific *wīc* in Wighill seems likely to refer to the Newton Kyme settlement rather than to Tadcaster, on grounds of proximity to Wighill but also size; Tadcaster seems to have been a minor and undefended Roman settlement (Historic England Research Record: Calcaria Roman Town).

In the compound name *wīc-hlāw*, the generic *hlāw* means 'tumulus, hill' (Gelling and Cole 2014: 178–80) and might sometimes imply a place of assembly (Smith 1956, 1: 248–49). Discussing the possible location of *Wicklaw* at Gallows Hill in Hacheston SFK, where *Wittlow Galowes* is attested in 1433, Briggs (2019: 13) considers that if this is the correct site of *Wicklaw*, OE *wīc* would have the sense 'Roman settlement' and would plausibly refer to the Roman town at Hacheston, 300m east of Gallows Hill. Discovered in 1964, and spreading over 60 acres, the town was occupied from the first to fourth centuries; finds of over 3,000 Roman coins, including high numbers from 330–48 (Reece period 17) relative to other Suffolk sites, indicate flourishing occupation in the mid-fourth century.

The generic *hlāw* would be appropriate topographically for Gallows Hill, which rises above the surrounding landscape at a meeting-point of several roads. Furthermore, a Roman burial-ground, not discussed by Briggs, is known at Gallows Hill, at TM309569, where around 12 cremation burials in small pits were found in 1986, dating from around AD 100–250, in an area now eroded by ploughing and modern quarrying, around 300m west of the centre of the Roman town at Hacheston. It is not known whether use of the cemetery continued after AD 250. Gallows Hill probably served as the burial-ground for the Roman town (Plouviez 1987: 237, 2004: 203–07). The chronological significance of *Wicklaw* is

that the formation of this OE compound name may be contemporary with the Roman town at Hacheston.

In the name Wickmere NFK, the OE generic *mere* seems to mean 'wetland', 'pool' or 'marshy ground', in reference to marshy streams and ponds south of Wickmere church. Ekwall, Watts and Mills have regarded the specific *wīc* in Wickmere as meaning respectively 'dairy-farm', 'farm' and 'dwelling or dairy-farm'. However, it seems likely that *wīc* refers here to a Roman settlement (NHER 28044) a few hundred metres south and west of Wickmere parish church, where Roman pottery and numerous Roman brooches have been found, or else to a Roman settlement (NHER 28037) 1.2km west of Wickmere, where finds might suggest a nearby villa.

In discussing *wīc-ōra*, as noted in section 4.4, Coates (1999a: 109) defined Wicor as '*wīc* bank or shore', stating that the significance of the name has yet to be established. Coates also asked whether the specific element *wīc* might refer to the Roman town at Portchester (1999b: 16–18). On balance, it seems very likely, both linguistically and topographically, that the OE specific *wīc* in Wicor has the same sense as Latin *vīcus* 'small town', referring to the Roman civilian settlement in the fort at Portchester, 2.2km to the east. The shoreline at Wicor is a westward extension of the southern Portchester shoreline, and the Wicor landscape is fully connected with, and part of, the Portchester landscape. Wicor was a medieval manor in Portchester parish. If this view is correct, it seems likely that inhabitants of the town at some date, speaking Old English, were describing the shore as *wīc-ōra.* In this scenario, it is notable that the walled settlement at Portchester is referred to, perhaps colloquially, as *wīc*, rather than *port* or *ceaster*. It is less likely, in terms of proximity and topography, that *wīc* might refer to a small Roman settlement at Fareham, 2.5km north-west of Wicor.

Finally, in the lost spring-name or stream-name *Wickewelle* in Sibford Gower OXF, it seems likely that the specific *wīc* refers to a local Roman

settlement, such as the extensive settlement at Swalcliffe Lea, 3.7km north-east of Sibford Gower village. This included a winged-corridor villa dating from around AD 270. Another potential, but less likely, referent of *wīc* is a possible small Roman settlement 2.9km north of Sibford Gower and 1km west of Epwell. It is relevant to note Fleming's view (2021: 17) that most Roman villa estates were probably patchworks of separate parcels of land, rather than fully contiguous territories. The specific element of *wīc-wella* might therefore relate to ownership of the spring or stream, in distinction from nearby land with different ownership.

Chapter 5: Synthesis and Conclusions

5.1 Summary of the main conclusions of the thesis, and limitations of the evidence and findings

The distribution of *wīc-hām* place-names

Chapter 3 of this thesis examined twenty *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200,

three possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200, and twelve possible examples

attested by 1350, producing a total of 35 potential *wīc-hām* locations under

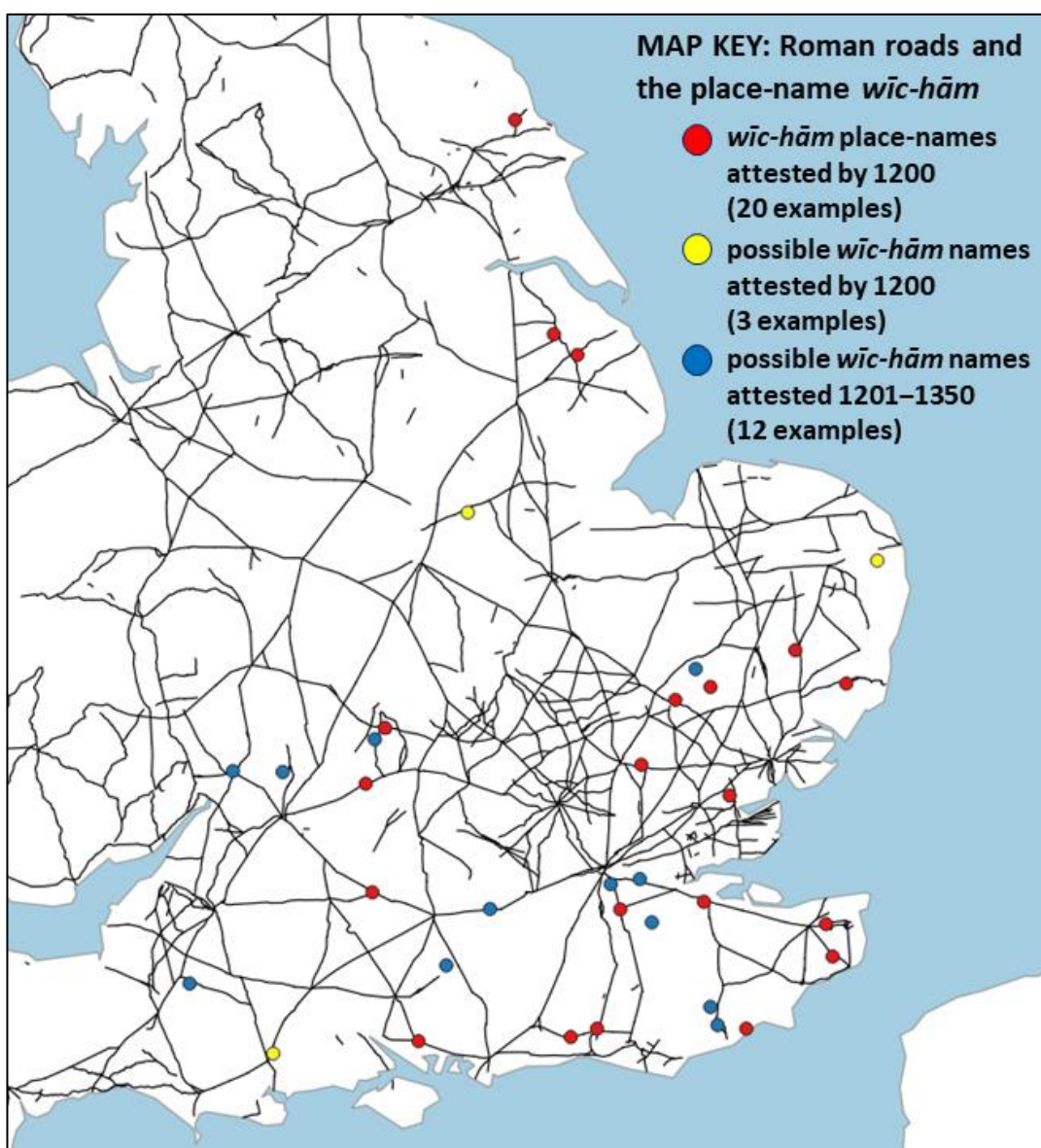investigation. Their distribution is shown in Figure 107 below.

Figure 107: Distribution of *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (Type A) and possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (Type AP) and 1350 (Type B).

Roman archaeology at potential *wīc-hām* locations: a summary

The first research-question of this thesis is whether a significant correlation

exists between the specific *wīc* and Roman archaeology. By synthesizing the

evidence from the 35 potential *wīc-hām* locations, detailed in sections 3.6–3.7, it

can be proposed that a significant correlation exists between *wīc-hām* locations

and Roman archaeology. The twenty sites of Type A, *wīc-hām* names attested by

1200, have a mean distance of 1.1km from Roman roads, while the fifteen sites

of Types AP and B, possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 and 1350

respectively, have a mean distance of 1.5km from Roman roads. By comparison,

the 44 place-names in the control data of this thesis, random *-hām* names and

random major place-names, have a mean distance of 4.5km from Roman roads.

These figures suggest that *wīc-hām* names have a significantly closer spatial

relationship to Roman roads than random place-names have; however, the

control data provide a comparison rather than statistical certainty.

The present study concludes that a significant spatial correlation exists

between the place-name *wīc-hām* and Roman small towns, roadside settlements

or villages: these are known within 600m at 20% of sites (4 of 20) of Type A,

and at 13% of sites (2 of 15) of Types AP and B. Overall, 17% of the locations

studied (6 of 35) have a Roman small town, roadside settlement or village within

600m of the name-location.

A correlation also exists between the place-name *wīc-hām* and Roman

villas. A Roman villa or *mansio* is known within 600m at 10% of sites (2 of 20) of

Type A, and at 33% or more sites (5 or 6 of 15) of Types AP and B. Overall, at

least 20% of the locations studied (7 or 8 of 35) have a Roman villa or *mansio*

within 600m.

Roman ceramic material is known within 600m at 80% of sites (16 of 20)

of Type A, and at 47% of sites (7 of 15) of Types AP and B. 90% of Type A sites

(18 of 20) have Roman ceramic material within 1km, as do 67% (10 of 15) of

Type AP/B sites. Type A *wīc-hām* sites clearly have a strong correlation with

Roman ceramic material; we should perhaps expect the correlation for the twelve sites of Type B to be lower, as these include four 'lost' *wīc-hām* names, whose precise location is unknown. In these cases, the distance has been measured from the church of the parish where *wīc-hām* was located, to the nearest known Roman archaeology, but the actual location of *wīc-hām* might have been closer to Roman settlement. Excluding the four lost *wīc-hām* names, Roman ceramic material is known within 600m at 62% (5 of 8) of Type B sites.

Fourth-century Roman coinage has been found within 600m at 30% of *wīc-hām* locations (6 of 20) of Type A, and at 40% of locations (6 of 15) of Types AP/B. 35% (7 of 20) of Type A sites have fourth-century Roman coinage found within 1km, as do 53% (8 of 15) of Type AP/B sites.

Roman archaeology has not been discovered within 600m of every *wīc-hām* place-name. This is perhaps because, at some sites, no excavation or archaeological investigation has taken place, and as noted in Chapter 1, it is therefore impossible to say for certain whether Roman archaeology might be found beneath existing buildings or farmland.

The meaning of the appellative *wīc-hām*

While the evidence is not fully conclusive, it seems possible to propose the likely meaning of the OE appellative *wīc-hām*, based on the linguistic, archaeological and topographical evidence available. If glossed literally, the specific element *wīc* seems to mean *vīcus*, and the compound *wīc-hām* seems likely to have meant originally 'a settlement (*hām*) called *vīcus*', and to signify in effect 'a Roman rural settlement'. No single modern English word fully represents the meaning of *wīc-hām*, but the term 'settlement' probably comes closest, with reference to a Roman rural settlement of a type which could be called *vīcus* in Latin. The archaeological evidence studied in this thesis suggests that OE *wīc–hām* can refer to various types of Roman rural settlement, including a small town, roadside settlement, village, villa, and perhaps also a farmstead.

Brindle (2018: 71–77) stresses the importance of connectivity and the imperial road network for the spread of literacy and bilingualism in Roman Britain, and that the use of Latin was probably expected in roadside settlements; these were dynamic places with flows of people from the local countryside. The present thesis notes that four excavated *wīc-hām* locations attested by 1200 have archaeological evidence of a Roman small town, roadside settlement or village within 600m, which might suggest that some speakers of pre-Old English became familiar with Latin words, though not necessarily bilingual, in such settlements.

The chronology of the formation of the appellative *wīc–hām*

An issue closely associated with the meaning of the appellative term *wīc–hām* is the chronology of its formation. For this chronology to be accurately understood, a detailed linguistic understanding of *hām*, *vīcus* and *wīc* is necessary, but also a detailed, prior examination of archaeology at *wīc-hām* locations.

As noted in section 3.1, *hām* has various meanings in OE literature, and these include sites inhabited in the past, as in the poem *Genesis*, and more figuratively heavenly dwellings and final resting-places such as graves (DOEC GenA 28, Fates 91, Leof 89). However, as the generic element of settlement-names, also called habitative place-names, -*hām* refers to a contemporary settlement inhabited by men and women, and can be translated as 'homestead' or 'village' (Cameron 1996: 141–42). Smith (1956, 1: 228) defined *hām* in place-names as 'a village, a village community, a manor, a homestead' (see section 3.1 above for fuller discussion). Latin *vīcus*, from which *wīc* is loaned, also refers in all senses to actual types of habitation, such as 'village' (or 'small town'), 'town-quarter' and 'villa-estate' (see section 2.1).

In the present author's opinion, *wīc-hām* seems likely, as an appellative, to refer to actual habitation in a living settlement, rather than to a site inhabited in the past, and it also seems likely to the present author that a settlement

called *wīc-hām* might have been abandoned after being called *wīc-hām*, but not before, and that the appellative did not refer to ruins when it was first used at a settlement-site.

As noted earlier in this thesis, continuity of settlement after AD 400 is difficult to assess at many Roman settlement sites, owing to the disappearance of datable artefacts such as Roman coinage and pottery. Nonetheless, a short review of two sites studied earlier in the thesis may illustrate how the appellative term *wīc-hām*, studied in combination with archaeology, might allow us to posit the likely approximate date when (pre-)Old English was spoken there. Wickham in Welford BRK is the site of a Roman roadside settlement (see map below).
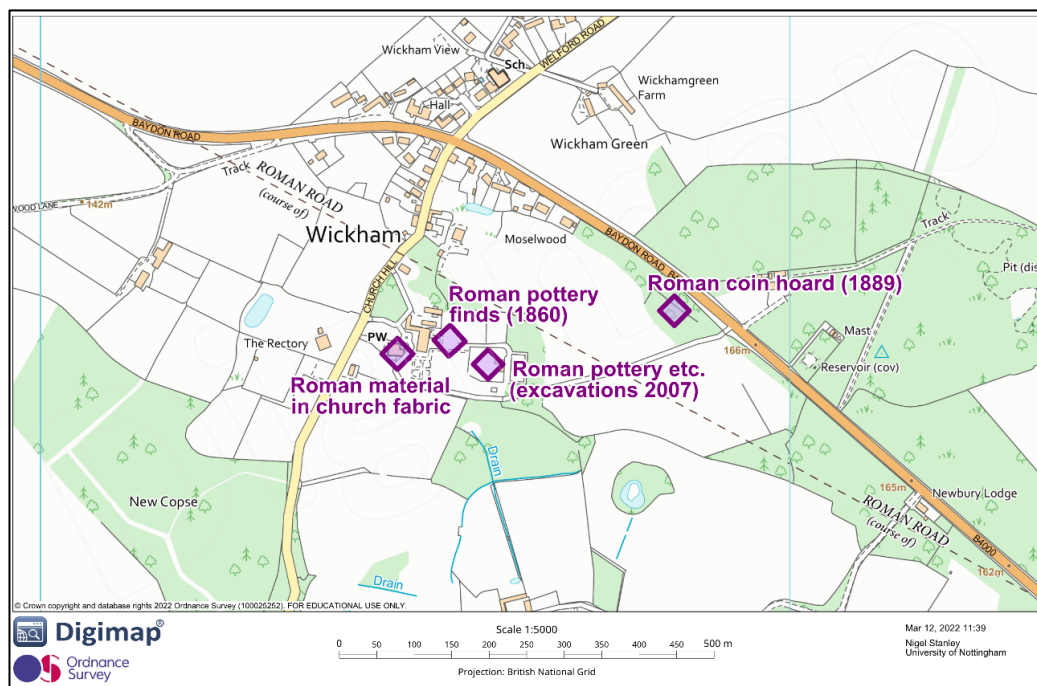
Wickham in Welford BRK (from section 3.3, Figure 5).

Cameron (1996) regarded *wīc-hām* as a very early stratum of name-giving by 'Anglo-Saxons', and scholars with this view might consider that 'Anglo-Saxons' arrived in this area and called the Roman settlement *wīc-hām*, perhaps while speakers of British Celtic and Latin still inhabited the settlement. An alternative view would be that the Roman settlement was called *wīc-hām* by speakers of

pre-Old English during the Roman era, and that this appellative name pre-dates the arrival of 'Germanic' settlers after AD 450.

The Roman archaeological evidence at Wickham in Welford, if viewed in isolation, does not allow us to decide which of these two views is more accurate. However, if archaeology at Wycomb in Whittington GLO (*Wickham* 1248) is considered, a different conclusion might be reached.
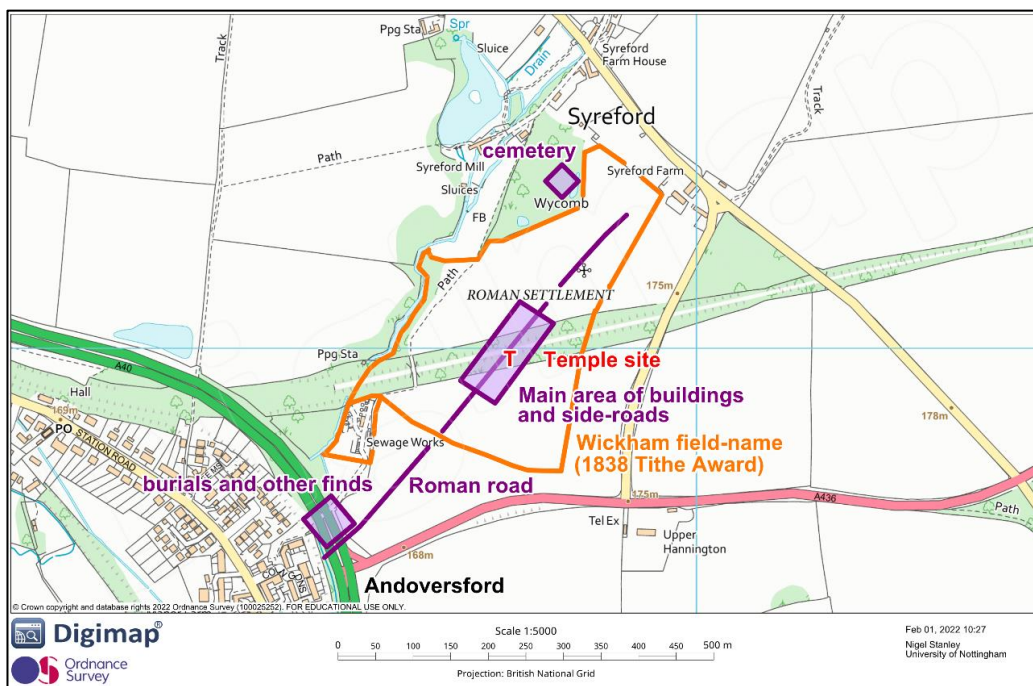
Wycomb in Whittington GLO (from section 3.5, Figure 43).

At Wycomb there is no post-Roman archaeology, and no medieval settlement called *Wickham* is known at the site; in other words, *Wickham* (1248) was the name of a medieval field which contained the remains of a Roman town. Wycomb is one of three examples of *wīc-hām* which may be particularly valuable in suggesting the likely chronology of the formation of the appellative *wīc-hām*, along with *wīc-hām* in Wilcote OXF and Wickham Bushes BRK. These three sites are locations of *wīc-hām* as a field-name or land-name, and of excavated Roman settlements where no post-Roman archaeology is evident and no medieval settlement is known, though it is difficult to be certain when occupation of these Roman sites ended. These three locations might suggest that the use of the

appellative *wīc-hām* was contemporary with Roman settlement, and that the name *wīc-hām* was preserved through continuity of settlement by speakers of (pre-)Old English, either at the site or at other medieval settlements nearby.

At the three sites noted above, *wīc-hām* seems to refer to the Roman settlement itself, not to a later 'Anglo-Saxon' or medieval settlement near or by the Roman settlement. If Faulkner (2000: 174–75) is correct in his view that there was a cultural collapse from c.375–425, that towns were virtually deserted by 425, that town life came to an end, and that almost every building fell down or was eventually demolished, it seems likely that the appellative *wīc-hām* was formed before this date, rather than afterwards, when it occurs at the location of small Roman towns such as Wycomb GLO and Wickham Bushes BRK.

A further reason for believing that *wīc-hām* was possibly formed before AD 450 is its widespread geographical distribution across the Lowland Zone, including areas of the south-west, apparently referring to small Roman towns or roadside settlements, to villas, and perhaps to farmsteads; in other words, there seems to have been a common understanding of the meaning and application of *wīc-hām* which extended geographically across the Lowland Zone. To the present author it seems more likely that this appellative evolved in the economic context of Roman Britain, with a functioning road-system, than in the more chaotic economic and political circumstances of the fifth and sixth centuries, or later.

The meaning of *wīc* in compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics

Research-question 2 of this thesis (see Chapter 1) asks whether it is possible to establish the meaning of OE *wīc* when it occurs as the first element of place-names. As seen above in this section (5.1), in the appellative *wīc–hām*, the specific *wīc* seems to mean *vīcus*. Based on archaeological evidence studied in Chapter 4 of this thesis, *wīc* also seems to mean *vīcus* in some other compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics.

Section 4.6 examined 42 place-names under review, asking whether the specific *wīc* is likely to refer to Roman or medieval settlement, or whether a reference to either of these seems equally possible. It seems likely that OE *wīc* refers to Roman settlement, of a type called *vīcus* in Latin, in 16 of the 42 place-names studied, as summarized below, and possible that *wīc* might refer to either Roman or medieval settlement in another 18 place-names.

OE *wīc* in the sense of Latin *vīcus* 'village, small town, town-quarter'

OE *wīc* probably has the sense of Latin *vīcus* 'town-quarter' in the place-name Wigford LIN, with reference to the suburb of Roman Lincoln, situated at Wigford. *Wīc* probably has the sense of *vīcus* 'village, small town' in *Wicklaw* SFK, referring to the Roman small town at Hacheston; in Wickfield (Farm) BRK, referring to the Roman roadside settlement at Wickham; in Wicor HMP, referring to the small town or civilian settlement within the Roman fort of Portchester; and in Wighill YOW, where *wīc* probably refers to the civilian settlement (*vīcus*) beside the Roman fort at Newton Kyme rather than the Roman settlement at Tadcaster. In the field-name *Wykeleya* in Elmore GLO, *wīc* probably refers to the Roman village at Bridgmacote Farm, while in the woodland name *Wikele* in Almer DOR, *wīc* seems likely to refer to the Roman small town at Shapwick, or to another local Roman settlement.

OE *wīc* in the sense of Latin *vīcus* 'villa-estate' (or 'villa')

In at least three compound place-names, the specific *wīc* seems likely to refer to a Roman villa or villa-estate. OE *wīc* might possibly refer to the buildings of a villa, rather than the villa-estate, since a sense of Latin *vīcus* is 'a group of dwellings, village … (*included in a country estate*)' (OLD). However, the precise senses of Latin *vīcus*, from which OE *wīc* was loaned, may not have been clear to speakers of pre-Old English, and Latin *vīcus* may have referred to both the villa buildings and the villa-estate, just as the modern word 'farm' can refer to farm buildings and their farmland.

Two of these compound names refer to woodland. In Wykehurst Farm SRY, the villa at Rapsley Farm was 300m away, while the location (*on*) *wic leage* in Alton Barnes WLT was around 1.2km from the villa at West Stowell. In the field-name *Wikedenesmede* in Coaley GLO, the specific *wīc* seems likely to refer to Frocester St Peter's villa or Frocester Court villa, or one of their estates.

In another six compound place-names, *wīc* might refer to a Roman villa or villa-estate, or to another type of Roman rural settlement called *vīcus*. In Wickford ESX, *wīc* may refer to the villa at Beauchamp's Farm, or its estate, or the Roman village or small town surrounding the villa. In Weekley NTP, *wīc* may refer to the villa 1km north of Weekley, or its estate, or to the Roman small town in Kettering. In Wicklewood NFK, *wīc* may refer to the Roman village or small town at Crownthorpe, sometimes regarded as a villa-settlement, while in Wickmere NFK, *wīc* might refer to one of two Roman settlements within 1.2km of Wickmere church. In *Wykefeld* HRT, *wīc* may refer to the Roman settlement at Watton-at-Stone or to a possible villa at Bardolph's Farm (or its estate), while in *Wickewella* in Sibford Gower OXF, *wīc* may refer to the large Roman settlement at Swalcliffe Lea or the villa within the settlement (or its estate). In another 18 compound place-names, detailed in Chapter 4, it is possible that the specific *wīc* might refer to either Roman or medieval settlement.

Most of the Romano-British population can broadly be described as peasants, including groups such as tenant farmers and freehold farmers, working their lands mainly as family units, along with an undetermined number of landless bondsmen or slaves (McCarthy 2013: 6–13, 128–32; Fleming 2021: 11). The evidence in this thesis does not provide conclusive proof but raises the possibility that topographical *wīc* compound place-names may have been formed by peasant farmers or estate workers in the rural landscape of Roman Britain.

The geographical distribution of *wīc* compound names with various generics

The sixteen names where the specific *wīc* seems likely to refer to Roman settlement occur in the Lowland Zone of southern and eastern Roman Britain. They occur in East Anglia (Wickmere, Wicklewood, *Wicklaw*); in Essex and the Chilterns (Wickford, *Wykefeld*); in the Weald of Surrey (Wykehurst); in Hampshire and Dorset (Wicor, *Wikele*); in the south-west (Wickfield Farm, *on wic leage*, *Wikedenesmede*, *Wykeleya*); in the Midlands (Weekley, *Wickewella*); and in the north-east (Wigford and Wighill). The geographical distribution of these names may suggest that OE *wīc* was employed as the specific element of compound place-names, to describe Roman settlements and institutions across the Lowland Zone of Roman Britain, if these settlements were of a type called *vīcus* in Latin. However, we should note that there was more Roman settlement in the Lowland Zone of Britain than elsewhere, therefore we might expect to find Roman archaeology in the areas where *wīc* compound place-names are found, irrespective of whether *wīc* refers to a Roman settlement called *vīcus*.

The geographical findings summarized above in this section are mapped below in Figures 108–112.
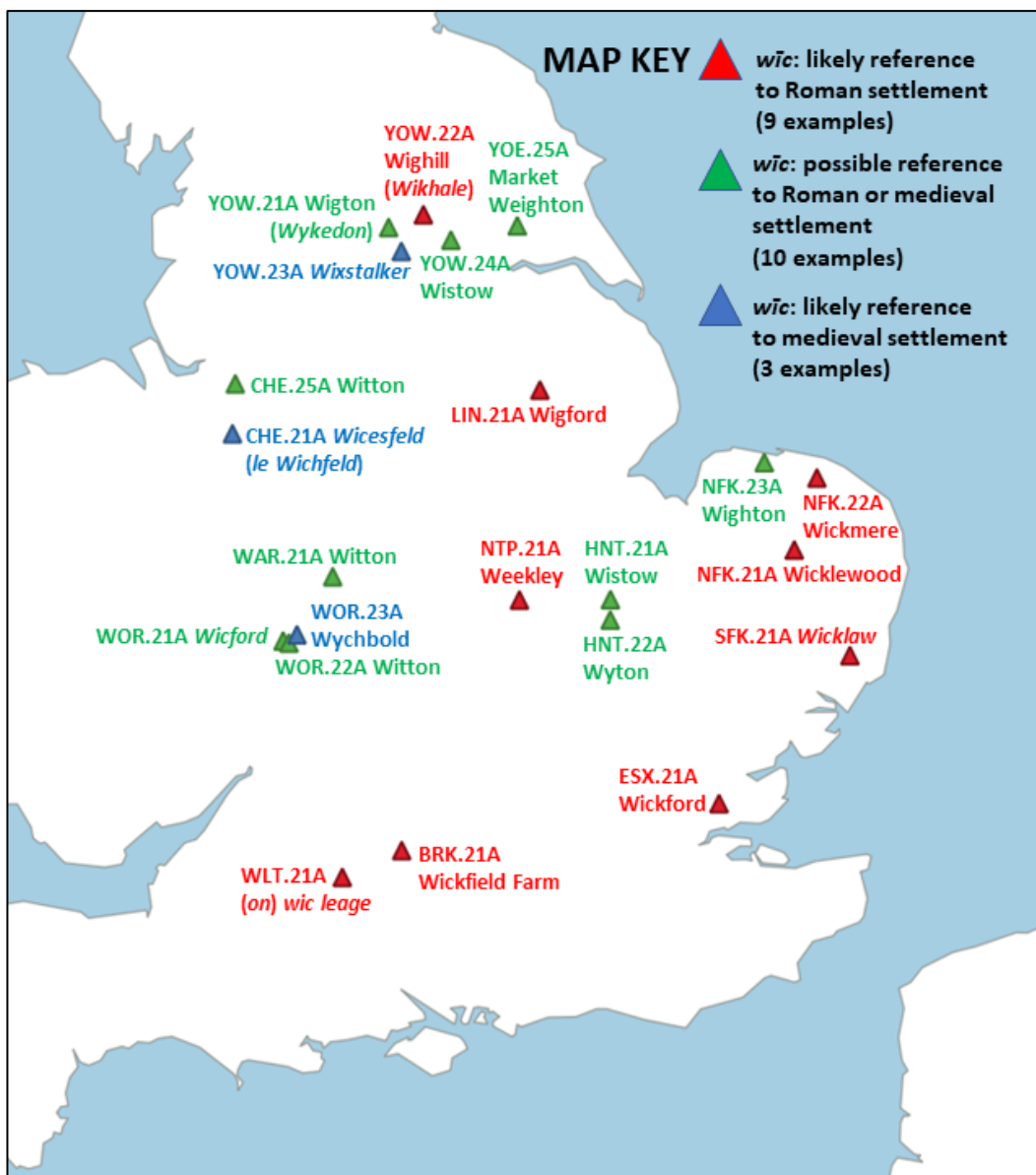
Figure 108: Distribution map of compound place-names (Type A) with specific *wīc* and various generics, showing likely era of settlement referred to by *wīc*.
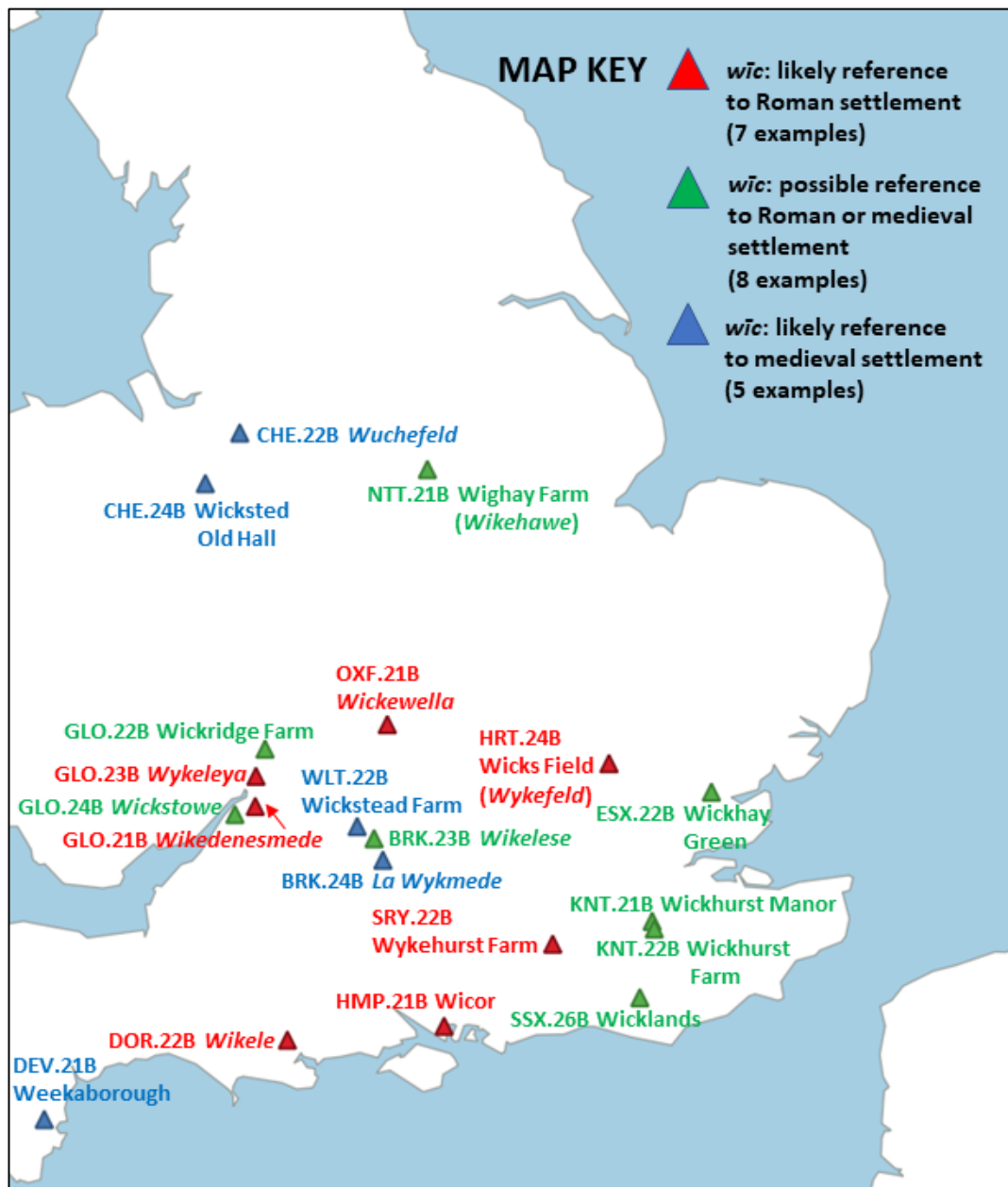
Figure 109: Distribution map of compound place-names (Type B) with specific *wīc* and various generics, showing likely era of settlement referred to by *wīc.*
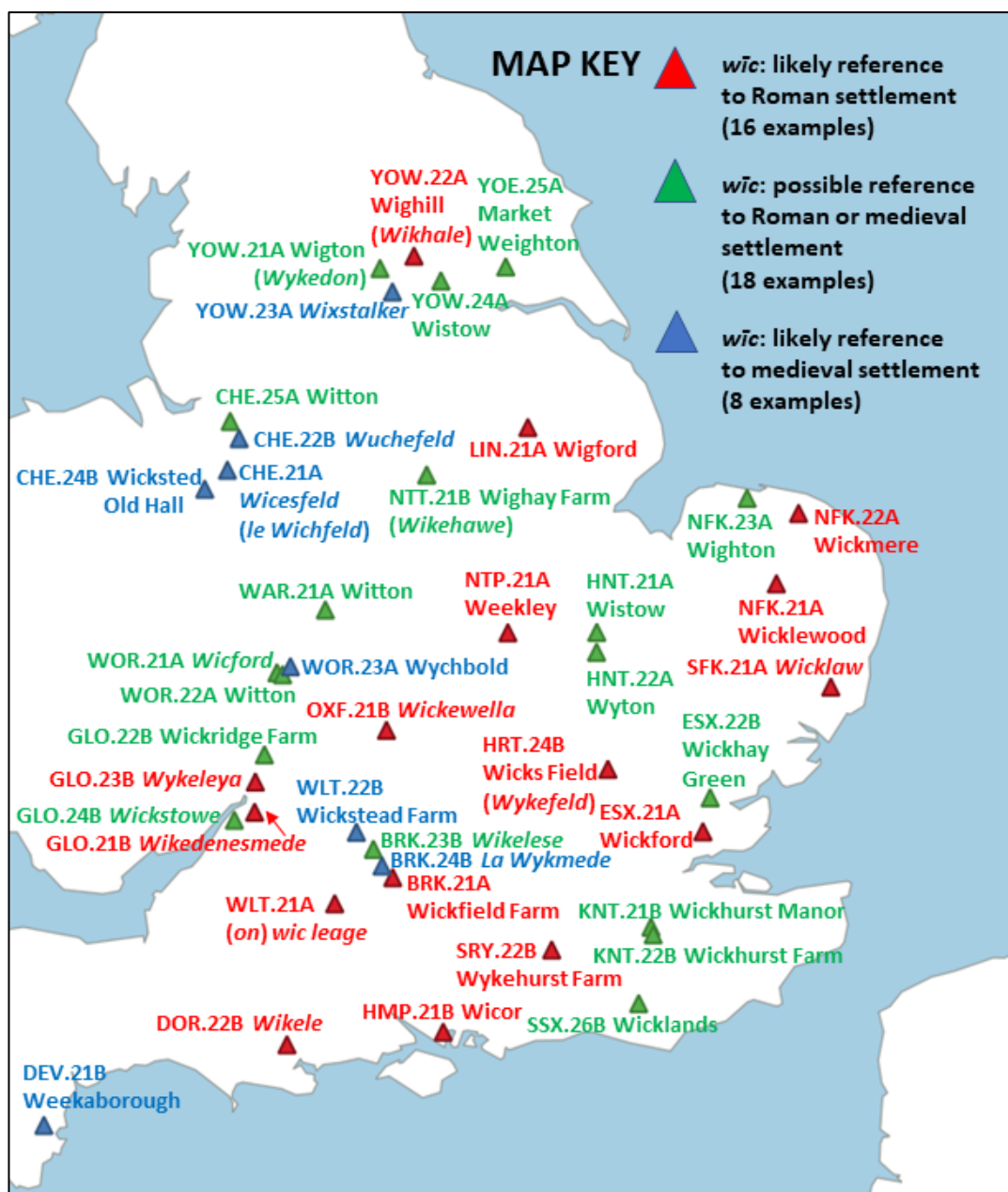
Figure 110: Composite map of compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics (Types A and B), showing likely era of settlement referred to by *wīc*.
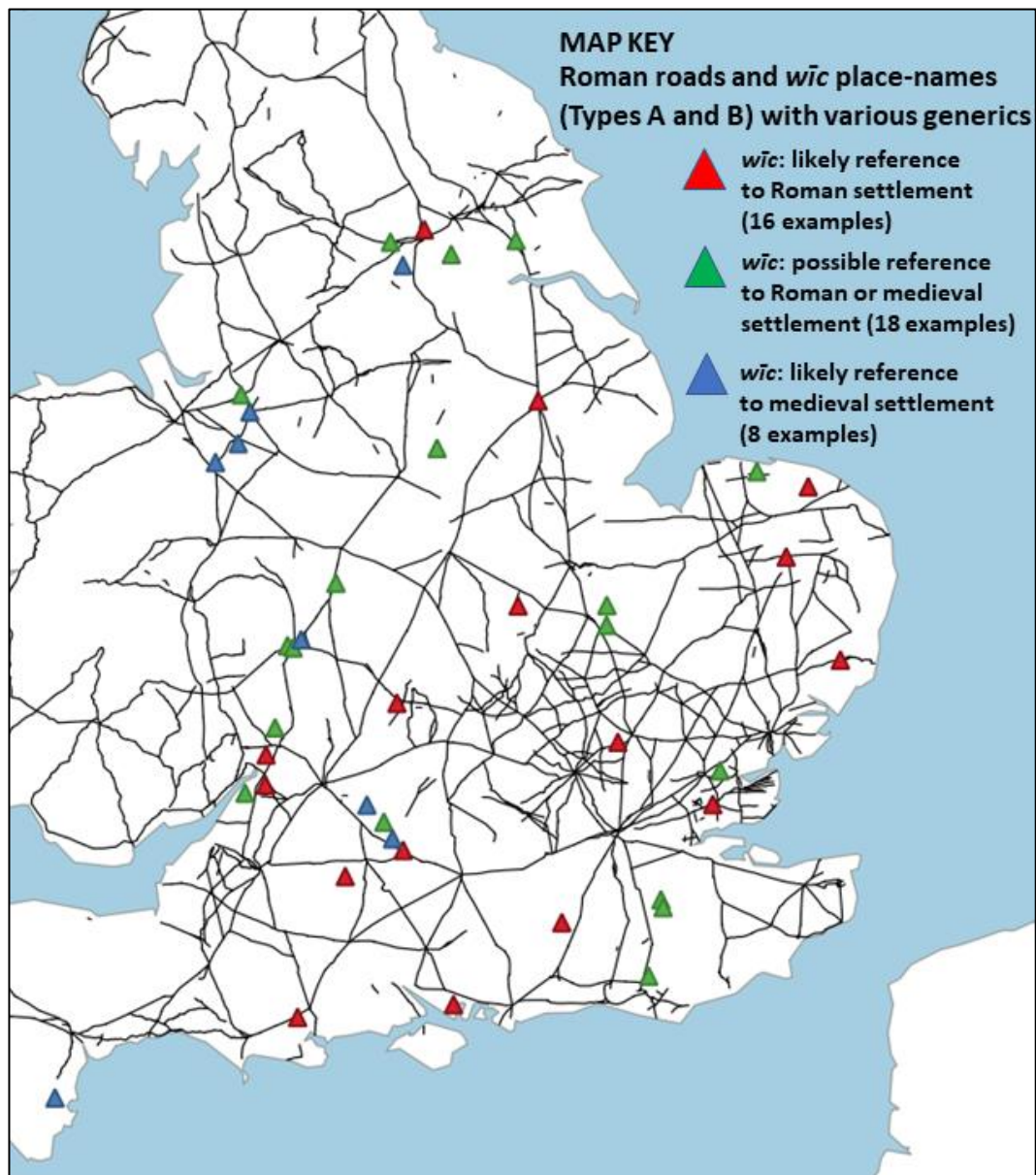
Figure 111: Composite map of Roman roads and compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics (Types A and B), showing likely era of settlement referred to by *wīc*.

MAP KEY

Wīc-hām place-names

● *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (20 examples)

● possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (3 examples)

● possible *wīc-hām* names attested 1201–1350 (12 examples)

Compound names with specific *wīc* and generics other than *hām*

▲ *wīc* compound names attested by 1200: likely reference to Roman settlement (9 examples)

▲ *wīc* compound names attested by 1200: possible reference to Roman or medieval settlement (10 examples)

◆ *wīc* compound names attested 1201–1350: likely reference to Roman settlement (7 examples)

◆ *wīc* compound names attested 1201–1350: possible reference to Roman or medieval settlement (8 examples)

〉 western edge of Lowland Zone (regions forming 'Combined Zone')

Figure 112: Distribution map of *wīc* compound names with other generics, compared to *wīc-hām* names.

The semantic development of OE *wīc*

A further conclusion regards the semantic development of OE *wīc*. Firstly, the specific element *wīc* sometimes seems to correspond semantically to *vīcus* in the sense 'villa' or 'villa-estate'. Many villas developed from other types of farmstead (Smith et al. 2016: 34), and a Roman villa and its estate were essentially a farm. This may explain the semantic development whereby OE *wīc* acquired the sense 'farm', since the semantic step from 'estate' to 'farm' is relatively small. Secondly, senses of Latin *vīcus* include 'a group of dwellings', 'village', and 'a block of houses, streets [etc.] in a town, often forming a social or administrative unit' (OLD) (see section 2.1 above). If pre-Old English was spoken in later Roman Britain, this may provide a direct route of semantic transmission for various senses of OE *wīc* noted in the DOEC corpus, such as 'dwelling-place' and 'small town'. Thirdly, this thesis might shed other lig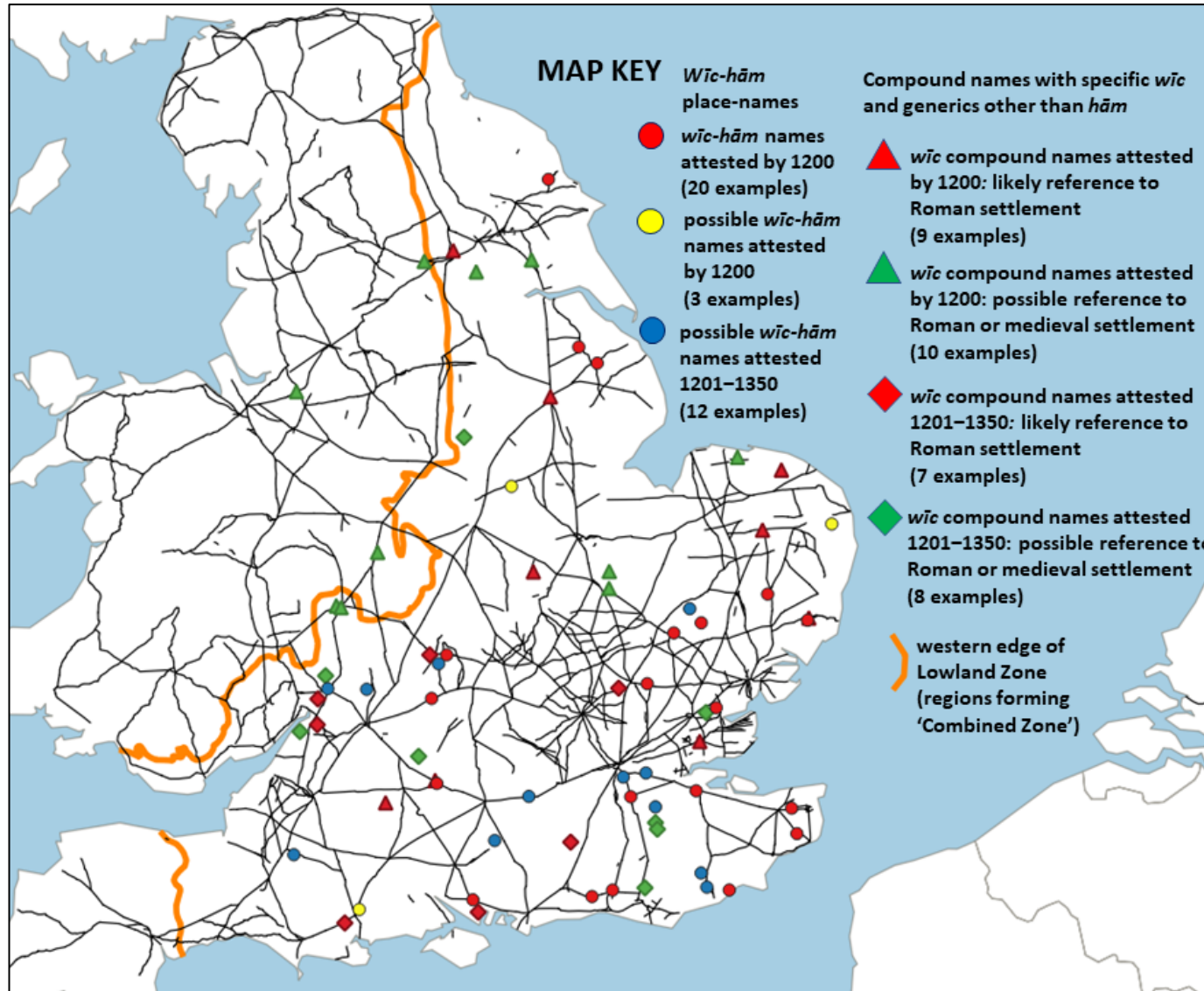ht on the semantic development of *wīc*. The sense of *wīc* 'salt-works' might derive by association, from the location of a salt-works at a settlement called *vīcus* in Latin, such as an estate, village or town suburb. The salt-works at Roman Droitwich, for example, were perhaps on the estate of Bays Meadow villa or in an adjacent settlement termed *vīcus* in Latin and *wīc* in pre-Old English, and *wīc* may eventually have become the name of the salt-works.

The evidence in this thesis might suggest that in at least sixteen place-names with the specific *wīc* and various generics other than *hām*, the senses of *wīc* were rooted in the economy of Roman Britain, and this may provide a more convincing explanation for the semantic development of OE *wīc* than the theory of Coates (1999a), who believed that OE *wīc* 'must have been introduced by the invading Anglo-Saxons' and that it meant 'dependent place with a specialized commercial function' before its importation to Britain. Coates' view is not supported by twentieth-century German place-name scholarship (see section 2.2 above), and the evidence in this thesis may suggest instead a more direct process of semantic transmission in Roman Britain from Latin *vīcus* to OE *wīc*.

Continuity of spoken language from Roman to early medieval Britain

If *wīc-hām* refers to a Roman rural settlement, as archaeological and place-name evidence in this thesis seems to suggest, this may imply that the appellative term *wīc-hām* was formed during the Roman era, while these settlements were still inhabited. Gelling indeed decided (1976b: 204) that the term *wīc-hām* may have been coined before the end of the Roman period, and the present study supports this conclusion, despite Gelling's later reservations (1997: 245). The appellative *wīc-hām* may therefore have been used in the fourth or early fifth century AD as a term for a functioning Roman settlement; in other words, pre-Old English may already have been spoken across the Lowland Zone of Britain in the later Roman era. In this scenario, *wīc-hām* may have continued in use as a place-name after 450, used by speakers of pre-Old English living at the *wīc-hām* location, or living nearby if the *wīc-hām* settlement was abandoned.

In sixteen compound place-names with the OE specific *wīc* and generics other than *hām*, *wīc* probably refers to a Roman settlement which may have been termed *vīcus* in Latin. It therefore seems possible that the loan of OE *wīc* from Latin *vīcus* may have taken place in Britain during the Roman era by AD 450, following language contact in Britain between Latin and pre-Old English.

Continuity of settlement at a site, during the transition from the Roman era to the early medieval era, cannot always be demonstrated archaeologically, owing to discontinuity in the production of Roman material artefacts such as ceramics and metalwork (Arnold 1984: 22–30; Dark 2000: 48–57; Fleming 2010: 32). In contrast, the survival of the place-name *wīc-hām*, and of *wīc* compound place-names with other generics, might suggest continuity of settlement and continuity of a spoken language, pre-Old English, from the late Roman era to the early medieval era. However, the survival of *wīc-hām* and other *wīc* compound place-names does not necessarily suggest institutional continuity, in the ownership or administration of land or resources.

Limitations of the evidence and findings of this thesis

Various limits and weaknesses of the evidence in this thesis, and therefore of the conclusions above, should be clearly recognised. Firstly, problems of etymology exist in the place-names Witchampton DOR, Wycomb LEI and Wickhampton NFK, but also in West Wickham CAM and West Wickham KNT, whose earliest forms might allow an original generic *hamm*. Secondly, a lack of archaeological information is an issue at some sites, as at Wickham Bushes in Lyddon KNT, Wickhambrook SFK, and Wickham Manor in Icklesham SSX.

A third problem is the difficulty of defining Roman settlements precisely from archaeological finds. At twelve *wīc-hām* sites of Type A, the Roman ceramic material found within 600m suggests a Roman settlement of uncertain type, since there is insufficient material to suggest a small town or village and no high-status material suggesting a villa. Moreover, no farmstead has been excavated at any *wīc-hām* site. At least two *wīc-hām* locations might be the possible sites of small Roman settlements such as farmsteads: Wykeham in Nettleton LIN, and Wickham Manor in Icklesham SSX, but this suggestion depends more on the remote topography of these locations than on Roman archaeology discovered within 600m.

Fourthly, problems exist regarding the proximity of potential *wīc-hām* locations to Roman archaeology. In this thesis, a distance of 600m is regarded as potentially significant, and if Roman settlement is found within 600m of a *wīc-hām* place-name, an association between the two is regarded as likely. However, place-names can sometimes refer to large areas, and at some *wīc-hām* sites the perceived place-name location might be more than 600m from known Roman archaeology. Clayton Wickham SSX, where no archaeological investigation is recorded, is around 900m from the Roman roadside settlement at Hassocks; an association between the two is possible but uncertain. As discussed earlier, Wickham Market SFK is around 1km from the Roman town at Hacheston, across the River Deben, and it is uncertain whether *wīc-hām* here refers to the Roman

town. At Clayton Wickham and Wickham Market, settlement shift might have occurred, and the appellative name *wīc-hām* might have transferred from a Roman settlement to a later site more than 600m away, but this is uncertain.

The discussion in this thesis of *wīc* compound place-names with various generics other than *hām* also has limitations. As mentioned earlier in this section, in sixteen place-names the specific element *wīc* seems likely to refer to a Roman settlement called *vīcus*, as in Wickford ESX, but in eighteen other cases, such as Wickhay Green ESX and *Wikelese* in Woolstone BRK, *wīc* might possibly refer to either Roman or medieval settlement. Moreover, even when *wīc* seems likely to refer to a Roman settlement called *vīcus*, it is not always clear which Roman settlement is referred to; for example, in Weekley NTP, *wīc* might refer either to a villa-estate in Weekley or to the Roman settlement in Kettering. The issue of proximity, discussed in section 4.6, is one cause of uncertainty: in a *wīc* compound place-name, there might be a distance of a few hundred metres, or else several kilometres, between a Roman settlement called *vīcus* and a topographical feature referred to by the place-name's generic element. Decisions on whether the specific *wīc* refers to a Roman settlement, and which Roman settlement *wīc* might refer to, are therefore subjective to some extent.

5.2 Compound place-names with specific *wīc* first attested after 1350: a short survey and suggestions for future research

This thesis has so far focussed on evidence provided by compound place-names with the specific element *wīc*, attested by 1200 (Type A) and by 1350 (Type B). However, several more *wīc* compound place-names are first attested after 1350 (Type C), and it is appropriate to explore these briefly, to assess whether these might support the findings in section 5.1 above and might provide a corpus for more detailed future research.
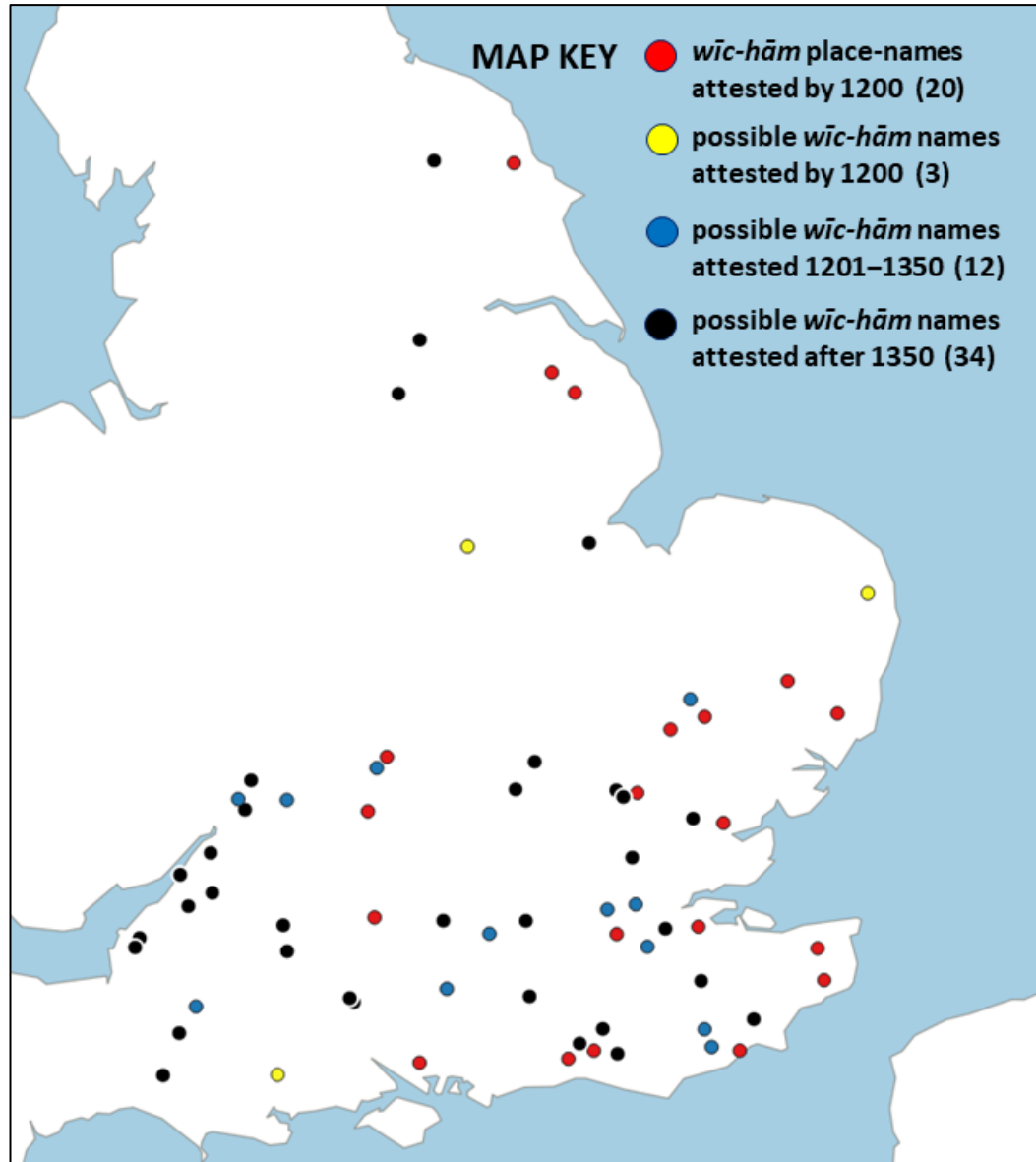
Possible examples of OE *wīc-hām* first attested after 1350 (Type C)

Gelling (1967, 1978) and K. Briggs (2009) did not categorise putative *wīc-hām* place-names by date of attestation, which possibly led them to accept some names with dubious etymology as examples of *wīc-hām*. This thesis has followed a stricter approach, prioritising Type A names attested by 1200 as the core corpus and comparing them with possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (Type AP) and by 1350 (Type B). This allows confidence that Type A names are genuine examples of the appellative OE *wīc-hām*, rather than names derived from *wīc-hamm* or *wīcum*. Nonetheless, consideration of Type C names, which are predominantly minor place-names and field-names, is also appropriate, provided that caveats are issued and precautions taken, including categorisation of names by date of attestation for comparison and analysis. Minor names and field-names *per se* provide important evidence for place-name scholars and local historians (Carroll and Kilby 2019: 277–80).

Table 22 below contains 34 possible examples of OE *wīc-hām* first attested after 1350 (Type C names), and these are mapped in Figure 113, below Table 22. At least two other potential examples are suspected (see Note beside Figure 113); however, since a few Type C names might derive from *wīc-hamm* or *wīcum*, rather than *wīc-hām*, it seems safer to regard the total potential *wīc-hām* corpus as currently around 60–70 examples.

Table 22: Possible examples of OE *wīc-hām* first attested after 1350 (34 place-names)

Site ID	Place-name and date of attestation	Parish	Location	References
LIN.3C	Wykeham (*Wickham* c.1368)	Weston	TF276263	Gelling 1997: 246; Giles 1845: 161
GLO.2C	Wickham Meadow (*Wikeham* 1424) (f.n.)	Deerhurst	SO879282	Smith 1964, 2: 81
WLT.1C	Wickham Green (*Wykeham heyes* 1460)	Urchfont	SU025568	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1939: 316
SOM.2C	*Wykhamfurlong* 1475 (f.n.)	Congresbury	ST418630	Gardner 1985: 19; Costen 1992: 58
SOM.3C	*Wykehamfurlong* 1475 (f.n.)	Banwell	ST399591?	Lambeth Palace Compotus Rolls 22324
SUR.3C	Wickhams (*Wykehammes* 1485) (f.n.)	Cranleigh	TQ029389	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1934: 392
YOW.2C	Wikeham Field (*Wikehamfeld* 1502) (f.n.)	Burghwallis/Owston	SE576102	Smith 1961: 31
GLO.5C	Wickham Court 1610 (*Wikham Bridge* 1536)	Stapleton	ST619761	Smith 1964: 102; Coates 2017: 202–03
SSX.7C	Wickham Barn (*Wickham* 1542)	St John Without	TQ393152	ESRO SAS-SH/11
SSX.8C	Wickhams (*Wickham* 1579)	Twineham	TQ238193	ESRO ADA 193
SSX.9C	Wickham Farm 1583	Lindfield/Cuckfield	TQ332254	WSRO SRL 1/1/24-26
BDF.1C	Wickham Hill 1608 (f.n.)	Tilsworth	SP971247	Schneider 1997: 8–9, 24
BDF.2C	Wickham Slade 1608 (f.n.)	Tilsworth/Stanbridge	SP971244	Schneider 1997: 31, 86
HRT.2C	Wickham Hill (*Wicombs* 1626) (f.n.)	Braughing	TL388241	Williamson 2010: 83, 126–27
YOW.3C	Wycomb Wells (*Wikeamwell Close* 1659) (f.n)	Thurcroft	SK488880	Sheffield Archives FC/P/Tre/12L
DOR.2C	Wickham Mead 1684 (f.n.)	Corscombe	ST515062	DHC D.1/MO 1
KNT.7C	Wickham House 1684	Appledore	TQ956294	Kent Archives U3213/T10
BDF.3C	Wickham Field 1797 (f.n.)	Maulden	TL051359	Simco 1984: 93, 111
YON.4C	Wykeham Dale 1823	Pockley	SE635842	Bassett 2017: 19–21
ESX.2C	Wickham Ley 1838 (f.n.)	Little Waltham	TL705124	Essex Record Office D/CT 380a/380b
ESX.3C	Wickhams 1838 (f.n.)	Chigwell	TQ453963	Essex Record Office D/CT 78a/78b
KNT.8C	Wickham Field 1838 (f.n.)	Fawkham	TQ591669	TA (www.kentarchaeology.org.uk)
GLO.6C	Wickham Mead 1839 (f.n.)	Alkington	ST712982	Smith 1964, 2: 211; Gwatkin 1995
GLO.7C	Wickham Hill 1839 (f.n.)	Old Sodbury	ST720817	TA (www.gloucestershire.gov.uk)
GLO.8C	Wickham Bridge Close 1840 (f.n.)	Upton St Leonards	SO853184	As above
GLO.9C	Wickham Mead 1840 (f.n.)	Elberton	ST586892	Smith 1964, 3: 115
HMP.3C	Wickham 1840	Nether Wallop	SU303364	TA (Hampshire Record Office)
SOM.4C	Wickham 1840 (f.n.)	West Camel	ST582237	Costen 1992: 58
KNT.9C	Wickham Orchard, Wickham Field 1841 (f.n.)	Marden	TQ738453	TA (www.kentarchaeology.org.uk)
BRK.3C	Wickhams 1842 (f.n.)	Burghfield	SU673702	Gelling 1973: 210; Crockett 1996
WLT.2C	Wickhams Close 1845 (f.n.)	Calne Without	SU012683	Draper 2011: 94
HRT.3C	Wickham Spring c.1870 (f.n.)	Standon	TL416212	Gelling 1978: 68; Williamson 2010: 138
HMP.4C	Wickhams 1888	Over Wallop	SU287381	Hampshire Record Office 46M84/D29/1
SUR.4C	Wickham Lodge, Wickham Lane c.1890	Thorpe	TQ014701	OS; Bird 2004: 78

MAP KEY

- 🔴 *wīc-hām* place-names attested by 1200 (20)
- 🟡 possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200 (3)
- 🔵 possible *wīc-hām* names attested 1201–1350 (12)
- ⚫ possible *wīc-hām* names attested after 1350 (34)

Note: Table 22 above is not definitive and other potential examples of OE *wīc-hām* may exist, such as Wickham Lodge (TQ728589) in Aylesford KNT and Wickham House (TQ899521) in Lenham KNT. Research for Table 22 has included study of parish registers on the websites ancestry.co.uk and familysearch.org, aiming to exclude minor place-names deriving from surnames, such as Wickham's Farm in Pirbright SUR (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1934: 145).

Figure 113: 34 possible examples of OE *wīc-hām* first attested after 1350 (Type C), shown in relation to earlier-attested examples.

The corpus of 34 Type C names (possible *wīc-hām* names first attested after 1350) may permit some useful observations. Firstly, the Type C names are broadly found in the same areas of England as Types A, AP and B, in the Lowland Zone of Britain, ranging from Yorkshire (x3), south-eastwards through Bedfordshire (x3) and Essex (x2) to Kent (x3), Sussex (x3) and Hampshire (x2); however, there is a concentration of Type C names in south-west England, in Gloucestershire (x6), Somerset (x3), Wiltshire (x2) and Dorset (x1). Also evident is the heavy concentration of Type C names in southern England, and a relative dearth in the Midlands. These distribution-patterns might perhaps suggest extensive continuity of settlement and language (pre-Old English) in areas where the Type C names occur, and possibly that continuity of settlement and language in the Midlands was less extensive, perhaps disrupted by incoming migration after AD 400.

The topography of some locations of Type C names might suggest that the original generic in those names was the topographical *hamm* rather than *hām*. As noted in section 4.4, the field-name Wickham in Maisemore GLO (*Wycham* c.1263–84) may derive from OE *wīc-hamm*, in an area of meadow beside the Severn where the specific *wīc* might refer to Roman settlement just across the river. Bearing this example in mind, four other meadow-names deserve attention: Wickham Meadow in Deerhurst GLO, Wickham Mead in Corscombe DOR, Wickham Mead in Alkington GLO, and Wickham Mead in Elberton GLO. No Roman archaeology is known within 600m of the four fields in question, and in each case, Wickham might derive from either *wīc-hām* or *wīc-hamm*. In the latter event, the elements Mead and Meadow might be pleonastic additions to *wīc-hamm*, and *wīc* might potentially refer to a Roman settlement which farmed the *hamm*, but this is currently unclear.

Some locations of potential *wīc-hām* place-names of Type C have already been explored archaeologically. In section 5.1 above, the verdict was reached that OE *wīc–hām* can refer to various types of Roman rural settlement, including

small towns, roadside settlements, villages, villas, and perhaps also farmsteads. Evidence supporting the latter idea may occur in the place-name Wickham Barn (*Wickham* 1542) near Chiltington SSX, possibly the site of a Roman farmstead beside Margary 140. Excavated features include two Roman pottery kilns 300m west of Wickham Barn, from the late third and early fourth centuries, and structures interpreted as workshops and/or pottery drying sheds; this was possibly an independent rural industrial site run by a farmer who was also a potter (Butler and Lyne 2001: 68–69). The pottery produced here was of Alice Holt type and is called 'Wickham Ware' (Lyne 2003: 146–48; Russell 2006: 242).
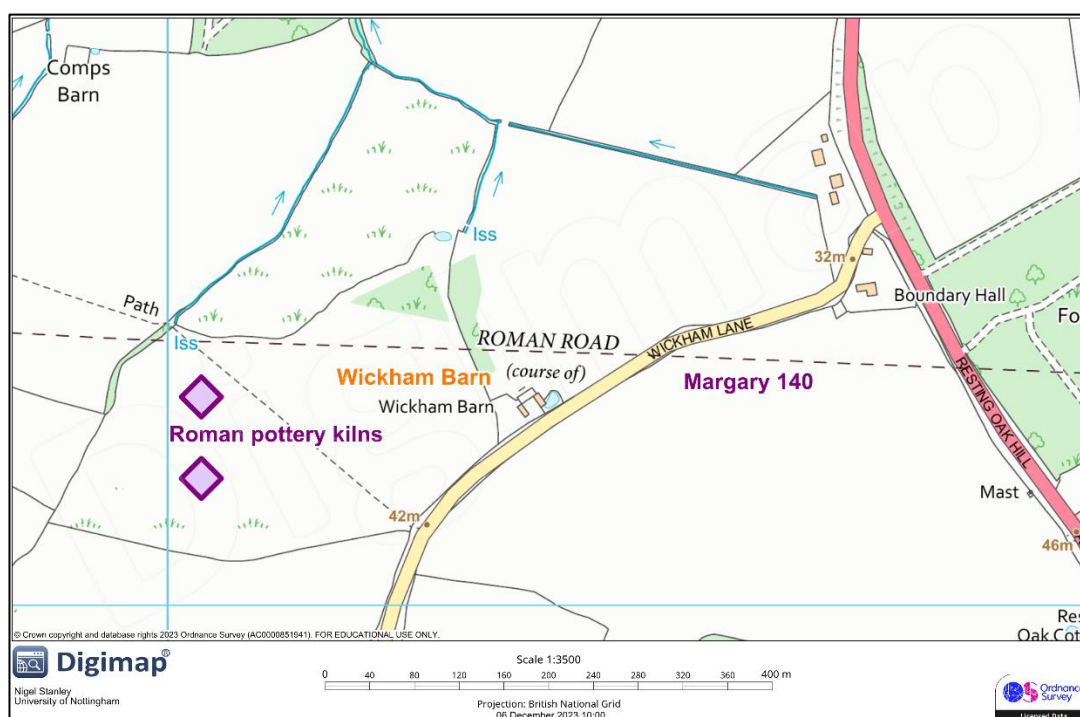

Figure 114: Wickham Barn near Chiltington SSX.

Further evidence that *wīc-hām* can refer to a Roman villa may occur in the place-name Wykeham Dale in Pockley (YON.4C), first attested in 1823 (Bassett 2017: 19–21). The opening of the narrow Wykeham Dale is 300m north-east of Beadlam Roman villa at SE634841.
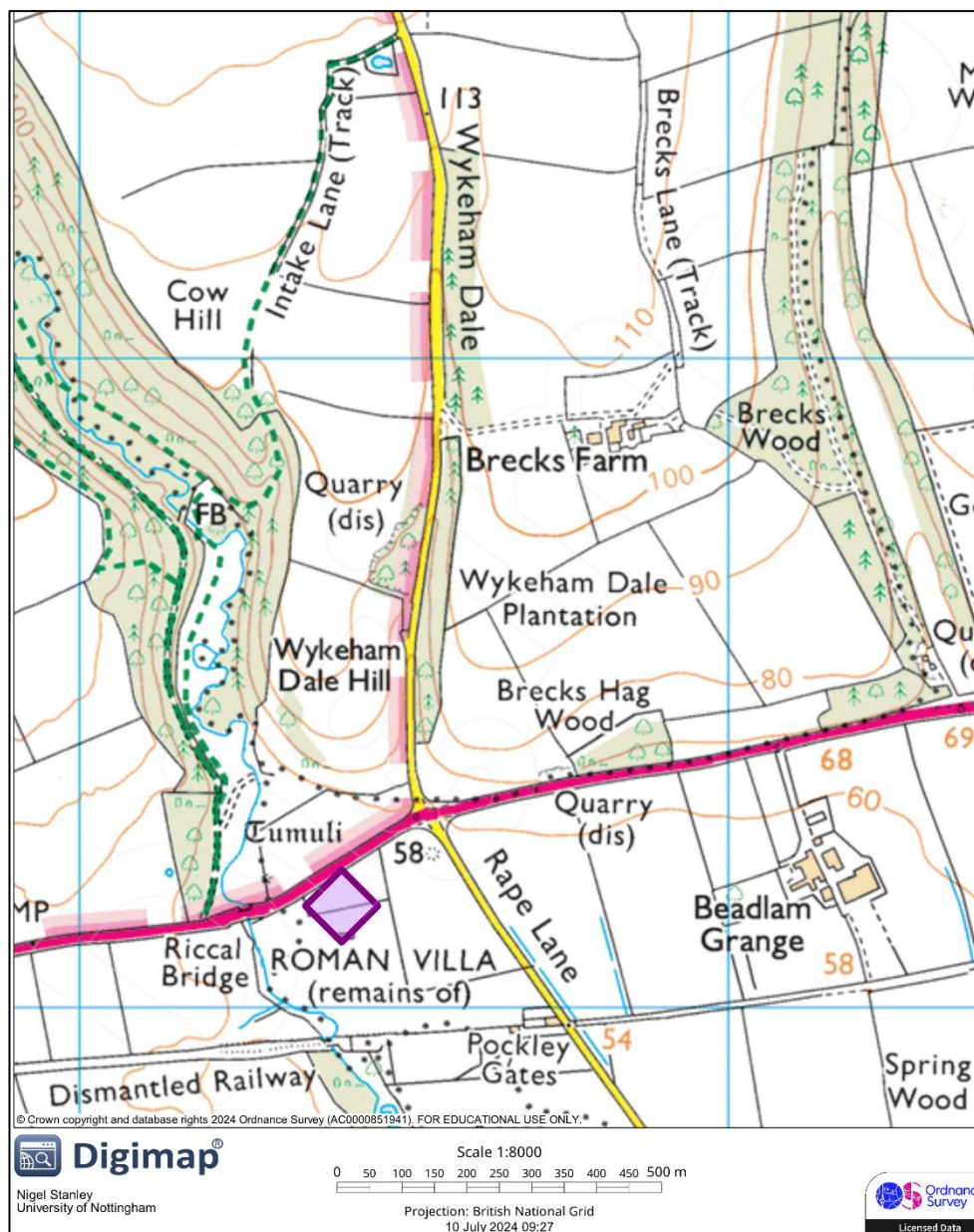
Figure 115: Wykeham Dale YON and Beadlam Roman villa.

The villa buildings, excavated from 1966–78, included a courtyard, a mosaic with hypocaust, a bathhouse and plunge pool, and a traditional roundhouse. The villa was mainly occupied in the third and fourth centuries, with the principal buildings constructed in the early fourth century; the end of occupation seems to have been in the late fourth century (Ottaway 2013: 263–64; HER MNY 1359). Wykeham Dale is the northernmost example of close proximity between an excavated Roman villa and a place-name probably derived

from OE *wīc-hām*. Given the evidence compiled in this thesis, of potential *wīc-hām* names of Types A, AP and B, the place-name Wykeham seems very likely in this location to refer to Beadlam Roman villa.

A field-name with close proximity to a Roman villa settlement is Wickhams (1838) in Chigwell ESX at TQ453963, around 400m from Margary 30 and from a Roman settlement around TQ455960, perhaps the site of Roman *Durolitum*, mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary (Kemble 2009: 124). Excavations have revealed a Roman mosaic floor, bath-house with hypocaust, 46 burials, jewellery, extensive quantities of pottery, and a timber-lined well. Wickhams may be a variant form of Wickham and may derive from *wīc-hām*; similar potential variants in Table 22 are Wickhams (*Wykehammes* 1485) in Cranleigh SUR, Wickhams (*Wickham* 1579) in Twineham SSX, Wickham Hill in Braughing HRT (*Wicombs* 1626), Wickhams (1842) in Burghfield BRK, and Wickhams (1888) in Over Wallop HMP. However, as the name of pasture beside the River Roding, Wickhams might alternatively derive from *wīc-hamm*, potentially referring to river-meadow (*hamm*) on a Roman villa-estate (*vīcus*).
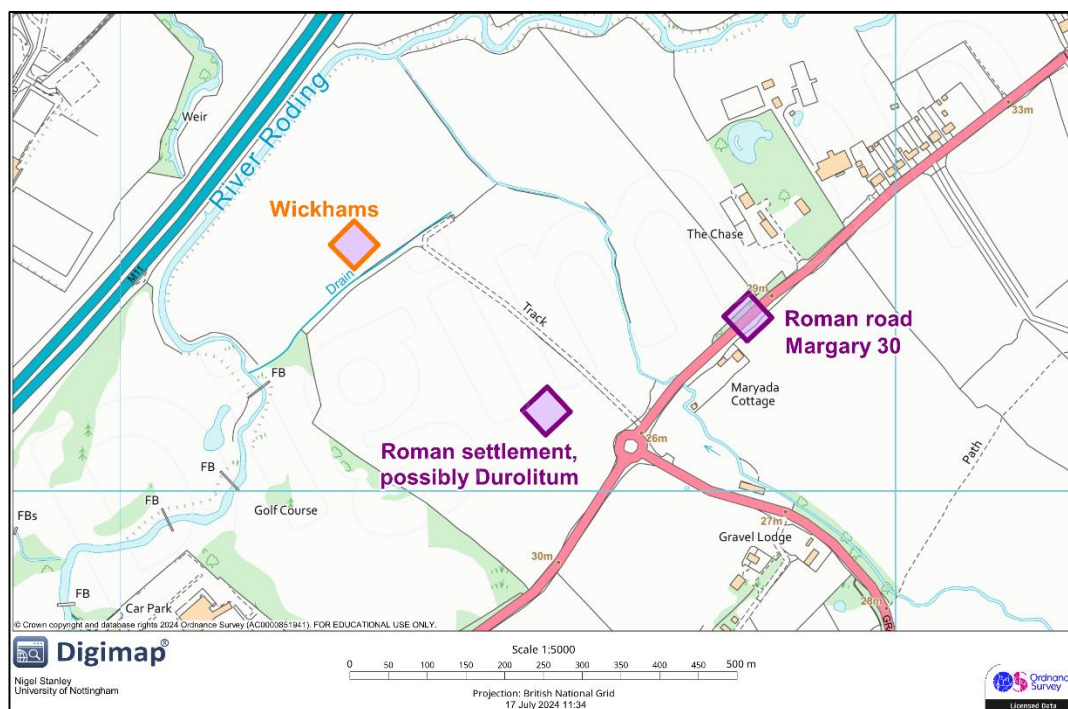

Figure 116: Wickhams in Chigwell ESX.

Compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics, first attested after 1350 (Type C)

In addition to the 34 potential *wīc-hām* names (Type C) discussed above, at least 42 compound place-names are first attested after 1350 with specific *wīc* and various generic elements other than *hām*. These are listed below in Table 23 and mapped in Figure 117, below Table 23. This corpus of Type C names may form a valuable addition to the earlier corpus of *wīc* compounds with various generics, of Types A and B, assembled in Chapter 4; however, in researching Type C names, investigators must remain wary of potential problems at the outset. In some field-names such as Wickfield or Wick Field, for instance, the specific *wīc* might refer to Roman settlement and the generic *feld* to open land, perhaps beyond a wood, but elsewhere the specific element might refer to a medieval farm or *wick*, or a place called Wick, and the generic to a field. Adequate background research of local history and topography is thus essential, to establish the likely origin and antiquity of each place-name.

Various implications are raised by Figure 117. These minor place-names of Type C are most densely concentrated in Gloucestershire (x13), Berkshire (x9) and Sussex (x6), and might suggest a high degree of continuity of settlement and language (pre-Old English) in these areas from the late Roman to early medieval eras. By comparing their distribution with *wīc* compound place-names with various generics attested earlier, by 1200 (Type A) and by 1350 (Type B), as seen on Figure 122, various patterns emerge. Firstly, *wīc* compound names with various generics, of Types A, B and C, are heavily concentrated in Gloucestershire and Berkshire, and to a lesser extent in Sussex; secondly, these names are also distributed, albeit more lightly, through the Midlands into East Anglia and Yorkshire. It should be remembered that various English counties, such as Somerset, have not yet been surveyed in EPNS volumes, and that more examples of *wīc* compound names might therefore exist in archives and be published in future.

Table 23: Compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics, first attested after 1350 (42 place-names)

Generic	Site ID	Place-name and date of attestation	Parish	Location	References
croft	BRK.47C	*Wykecrofte* (f.n.) 1473–74	Buckland	SU342982?	Gelling 1974: 388
feld	GLO.68C	Wick field (*Wikefeld* 1370)	Hawkesbury	ST760891	Smith 1964, 3: 35
	HRT.25C	Wick Field (f.n.) (*Wykefeld* 1406)	Great Gaddesden	TL049112	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 269
	HRT.26C	Wick Field (f.n.) (*Wykefeld* 15th)	Ware	TL377142	ib.307
	HRT.27C	Wick Field (f.n.) (*Wykefeld* 15th)	Thundridge	TL348163	ib.306
	WLT.21C	Wickfield Farm (*Wekefeld* 1554)	Lydiard Tregoze	SU090825	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1939: 276
	GLO.69C	*Wickefeilde* (f.n.) c.1603–25	Rodmarton	ST928967	Smith 1964, 1: 108
	BRK.48C	*Wickfield* (f.n.) 1615	Sutton Courtenay	SU504942?	Gelling 1974: 425
	BRK.49C	*Wickfield* (f.n.) 1663	Bray	SU905764	ib.47
	GLO.70C	Wickfield Wood (*Wickfield* 1733)	Cherington	ST921969	Smith 1964, 1: 90
	GLO.71C	Wickfields Farm (*Wick field* 1839)	Woodmancote	SO988284	Smith 1964, 2: 95
	DRB.1C	Wickfield Plantation 1840	Beighton	SK405843	Cameron 1959: 211
	YOW.22C	Wikefield Farm (*Wike Field House* c.1890)	Harewood	SE319422	OS
ford	SSX.21C	Wickford Bridge (*Wykefordyebrigge* 1484)	Pulborough	TQ064180	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 155
hǣð	WLT.21C	Wickheath Copse (*Wike heth* 1553)	Collingbourne Ducis	SU275155	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1939: 343
heccing	BRK.50C	*Wick Hitchings* (f.n.) 1619	Buscot	SU226981?	Gelling 1974: 356
hlāw	GLO.72C	Wicklow (f.n.) 1839	Hardwicke	SO915267	Smith 1964, 2: 182
hrycg	GLO.73C	Wickridge Hill (*Wykeryge* 1540)	Painswick	SO861069	ib.1: 136
	DEV.22C	Wickeridge (*Wykerig* 1543–58)	Woodland	SX784698	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1931: 525
hyll	GLO.74C	*Wykehyll* (f.n.) 1482	Ashchurch	SO939312?	Smith 1964, 2: 56
hyrst	SSX.22C	Wickhurst Farm (*Wickherst* 1624)	Wadhurst	TQ638353	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 389
	SSX.23C	*Wickhurst* (f.n.) 1737	Fernhurst	SU898285?	WSRO COWDRAY/4948
	SSX.24C	Wickhurst Barns 1840	Poynings	TQ254116	Mawer, Stenton and Gover 1929: 287
	SSX.25C	Wickhurst Copse, Wickhurst Lane 1844	Horsham	TQ150313	TA/TM
lǣs	BRK.51C	*Wycheles* (f.n.) 1548	Blewbury	SU531859?	Gelling 1973: 154
	BRK.52C	Wick Leaze (f.n.) 1838	Baulking	SU316916	Gelling 1974: 352
land	BRK.53C	*Wykelonde* (f.n.) 1414	Cookham	SU896855?	Gelling 1973: 87
	BRK.54C	*The Wykelond* (f.n.) c.1509–47	Challow	SU380882?	Gelling 1974: 294

	HRT.21C	Wickland's Wood (*Wykland* c.1509–47)	Hunsdon	TL422138	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 193
	GLO.75C	Wicklands (f.n.) 1839	Minsterworth	SO794174	Smith 1964, 2: 164
	SRY.21C	Wickland Farm c.1870	Abinger	TQ115414	Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1934: 262
lēah	GLO.76C	Wickley Wood (*Wykeley* 1448)	Horsley	ST838970	Smith 1964, 1: 94
	GLO.77C	Wickley (f.n.) 1575	North Nibley	ST739939	ib.2: 243
	GLO.78C	Wigley field (f.n.) (*Wickley Hill* 1575)	Bitton	ST681701	Smith 1964, 3: 77
	DOR.21C	Weekley Coppice (*Weekly Coppice* 1839)	Tarrant Monkton	ST962078	Mills 1998: 293
mǣd	LEI.21C	*Wikmedow* (f.n.) 1507	Great Bowden	SP746888?	Cox 2009: 184
ōra	SSX.27C	Wickor Point (*Wickerbush or poynt* c.1665, *Wicor* 1883)	West Thorney	SU748039	Coates 1999b: 16–18
slæd	BRK.55C	Wickslet Copse (*Wickslet Hill* 1846)	Catmore	SU445803	Gelling 1974: 497
stōw	GLO.79C	Wickster's Bridge (*pontem de Wiggestowe* 1368, *Wikestowe* 1608)	Frampton on Severn	SO756048	Smith 1964, 2: 196
	LEI.22C	*Wistowe Hill* (f.n.) 1601	Hallaton	SP778956	Cox 2009: 101
wella	GLO.80C	Wickswell (f.n.) 1811	Chedworth	SP042130	Smith 1964, 1: 152
	SFK.21C	Wicker Well c.1880	Somerleyton	TM489965	OS

Note: this corpus is not definitive but forms a foundation for further research of the potential relationship between the specific *wīc* and Roman or medieval settlement. The 42 place-names are mapped in Figure 117 below.
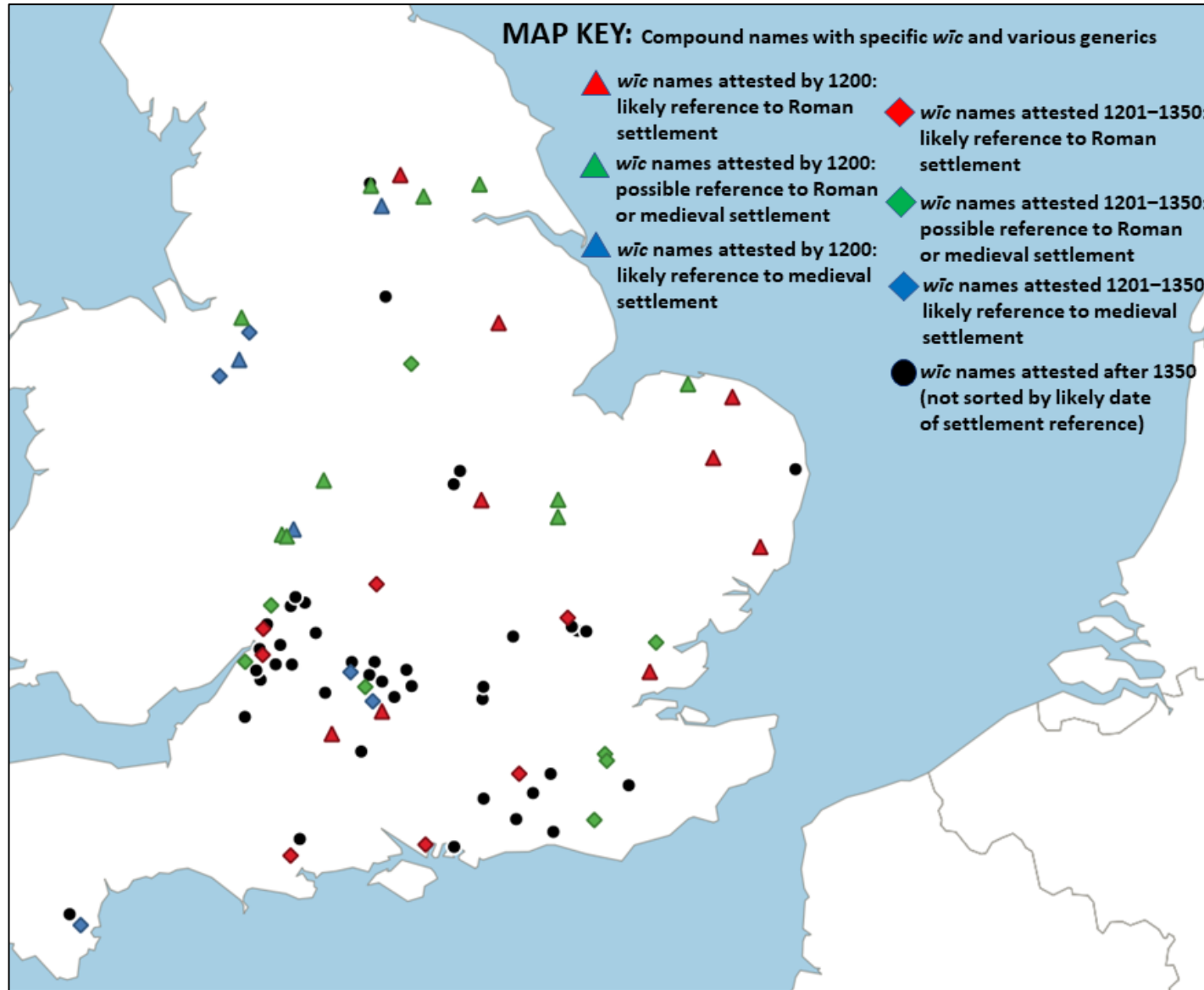
MAP KEY: Compound names with specific *wīc* and various generics

▲ *wīc* names attested by 1200: likely reference to Roman settlement

◆ *wīc* names attested 1201–1350: likely reference to Roman settlement

▲ *wīc* names attested by 1200: possible reference to Roman or medieval settlement

◆ *wīc* names attested 1201–1350: possible reference to Roman or medieval settlement

▲ *wīc* names attested by 1200: likely reference to medieval settlement

◆ *wīc* names attested 1201–1350: likely reference to medieval settlement

● *wīc* names attested after 1350 (not sorted by likely date of settlement reference)

Figure 117: Compound place-names with specific *wīc* and various generics, including names first attested after 1350.

Examples of *wīc* compound names attested after 1350 (Type C)

The full corpus of *wīc* compound place-names in Table 23 (above) merits detailed future investigation, for their potential relationship to Roman archaeology and the potential meaning of these names. For now, three examples will be briefly explored: *wīc-ford*, *wīc-leah* and *wīc-stōw*. An example of *wīc-ford* is Wickford Bridge in Pulborough SSX (*Wykefordyebrigge* 1484) at TQ064180, where the bridge's name suggests that this was previously the site of a ford called *wīc-ford*. The location is 600m north of a Roman villa with a bath-house near Wiggonholt (Coates 1999a: 109). The villa was beside the junction of Margary 140 and 152; the latter crossed the confluence of the rivers Chilt and Stor at Wickford Bridge. Margary (1965: 81) regarded the name Wickford Bridge as 'suggestive', and the specific *wīc* in *wīc-ford* seems likely to refer to the estate of the Roman villa.
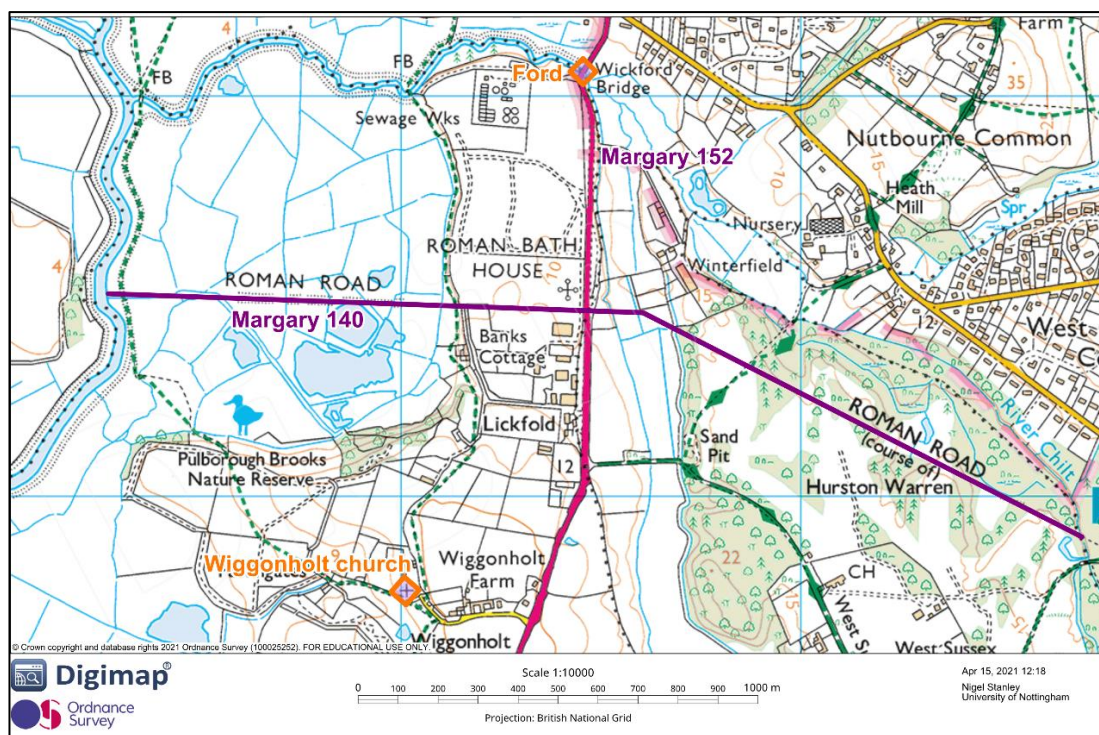

Figure 118: Wickford Bridge in Pulborough and Wiggonholt SSX (now Parham).

Four examples of the compound woodland name *wīc-leah* are attested after 1350, three in Gloucestershire and one in Dorset, and in each case *wīc* might refer to a Roman settlement. An example is Weekley Coppice (*Weekly Coppice* 1839) in Tarrant Monkton DOR. Mills (1998, 2: 293) considers that *wīc* here may mean 'dairy farm'; however, Mills gives no example of a local dairy-farm, and later concludes (2020: 52) that in some Dorset place-names the specific *wīc* refers to a Roman settlement. Weekley Coppice is 2km north of East Hemsworth Roman villa, and *wīc* may possibly refer here to the villa-estate (*vīcus*), therefore *wīc-leah* might mean 'estate woodland'.
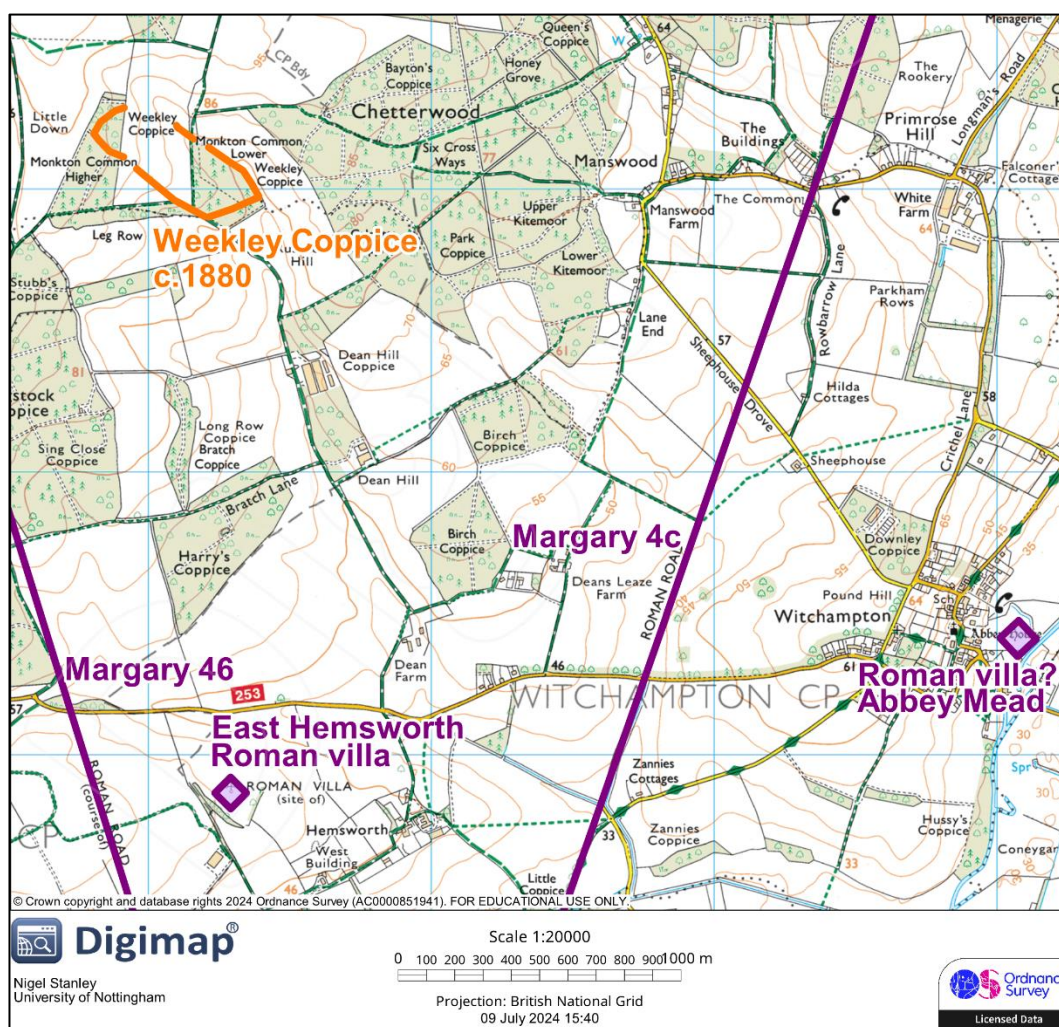

Figure 119: Weekley Coppice in Tarrant Monkton DOR.

Two examples of the habitative place-name *wīc-stōw* are attested after 1350. The roadside field-name *Wistowe Hill* (1601) occurs in Hallaton LEI (Cox 2009: 101), while Wickster's Bridge GLO (*pontem de Wiggestowe* 1368, *Wikestowe* 1608) is on Margary 541 (Smith 1964, 2: 196). These two locations might potentially support an earlier proposal in this thesis: that in *wīc-stōw*, the generic *stōw* might refer to an animal-enclosure at the place-name location, and the specific *wīc* might refer to a Roman settlement called *vīcus*, perhaps a few kilometres distant, or to its estate. Wigster's Bridge was perhaps a suitable location for an enclosure for herding sheep or cattle, perhaps on the estate of the Roman villa at Frocester St Peter's or Frocester Court villa, before they were driven to market at Gloucester, Uley or elsewhere.

Figure 120: Wickster's Bridge GLO and its Roman environment.

The above survey in section 5.2 is intended as a brief introduction to the 34 potential *wīc-hām* names (Type C), and to the 42 *wīc* compound names with other generics (Type C). A more detailed investigation of these names, and of their potential relationship to local Roman archaeology, would be a valuable topic for future research, including the measurement and evaluation of the spatial proximity of these names to Roman roads and Roman archaeology.

5.3 A discussion of the interpretations in this thesis, compared with alternative theories

In section 5.1 above, this thesis has arrived at the hypothesis, on the basis of

wīc-hām and other *wīc* compound place-names, that (pre-)Old English may have

been widely spoken in the Lowland Zone of Roman Britain by AD 450. However,

previous scholars have offered different interpretations of these place-names,

and of the chronology of the arrival of Old English in Britain, therefore the

interpretations of this thesis must be compared briefly with alternative options.

Counter-arguments to the current hypothesis

(A) A serious potential objection to the hypothesis that (pre-)Old English may

have been widely spoken in later Roman Britain is the absence of Germanic

vocabulary in the place-names of Roman Britain. By contrast, the place-names of

Roman Britain contain much Celtic vocabulary, which has previously suggested

to place-name scholars that the main native language of Roman Britain was

British Celtic (Brittonic) rather than Latin (see section 1.5).

(B) A second major objection is that various alternative explanations of the

appellative *wīc-hām* have been proposed by previous place-name scholarship, as

explained in section 3.2 above. The main views deserve further discussion and

are summarized below as (B1) to (B3).

(B1) Gelling (1967: 96) initially viewed *wīc-hām* as a term for an 'Anglo-Saxon'

settlement, adjacent to a surviving Romano-British *vīcus* which was still

inhabited when 'English-speaking' people first arrived in the area; Gelling

believed that *wīc-hām* suggested co-existence near these sites of 'British people

and Anglo-Saxon invaders'. To support this view, Gelling noted that 20 *wīc-hām*

sites are within 5 miles of a pagan Anglo-Saxon burial site. Mills (1991: 497)

adopted a similar view of *wīc-hām*: that it was usually a 'homestead associated

with a *vicus*, i.e. an earlier Romano-British settlement'. A somewhat different opinion of Cox (2002: 219) was that *wīc-hām* was possibly an OE term for a small Romano-British town which had survived 'without being swamped by Germanic settlers'; in this scenario, *hām* might refer to the inhabited Roman town, rather than a new 'Germanic' settlement.

(B2) Gelling's second explanation of *wīc-hām* (1967: 96) was that it might mean 'village near (or on) the site of a defunct Roman *vicus*', perhaps with visible Roman building remains such as heavy stone building-foundations, or traces of paved or cobbled streets.

(B3) Gelling's third explanation (1967: 96) was that *wīc-hām* might be a term for an early Anglo-Saxon settlement with a 'more general' connection with a Roman *vīcus.* Cox (2002: 219) developed this idea, proposing that *wīc-hām* might refer to an early Anglo-Saxon estate (*hām*) comprising the territory of a *vīcus*.

    In the context of this debate, it is notable that the opinions of Coates have fluctuated. Coates (1983: 12) stated of *wīc-hām* that 'This most important word has been shown beyond all reasonable doubt by Gelling 1967 to mean an actual Roman settlement'. Later (1989: 175), Coates argued that *wīc-hām* refers to a Roman small town or villa complex, but 'What is not clear is whether it denotes a physical entity (e.g. stone buildings) or a legal or tenurial one as well (i.e. a sign of persistent Roman administrative activity)'. Coates subsequently decided (1999a: 107) that in *wīc-hām*, the specific element *wīc* 'exclusively denoted visible remains of Roman material culture'.

Counter-arguments to the main objections, and arguments in favour of the current hypothesis

(A) The evidence in this thesis may suggest that (pre-)Old English was widely spoken in the Lowland Zone of Britain by AD 450; however, there is no suggestion that it was spoken throughout this region in the first century.

(B) A response to previous scholarly views on *wīc-hām*

(B1) As noted above in section 3.2 and this section (5.3), previous scholars have proposed the meaning of *wīc-hām*, including amongst others Skeat, Ekwall, H. Smith, Gelling, Cameron, Mills, Coates, Cox and Watts. While Mawer (1924) recognised a potential relationship between *wīc-hām* and Roman archaeology, Gelling (1967) was the first to explore in depth whether *wīc-hām* might refer to a Roman settlement by studying Roman archaeology near *wīc-hām* sites.

Some modern place-name scholars, such as Coates (1983, 1989) and Cameron (1996), have accepted, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that *wīc-hām* referred to a Roman settlement; however, the theories of some other place-name scholars regarding the meaning of *wīc-hām* may not have been based on a detailed archaeological scrutiny of the locations in question, but rather predicated on a preconceived narrative of 'Anglo-Saxon' invasion found in early twentieth-century histories such as Chadwick's *The Origin of the English Nation* (1907). These traditional national narratives were derived ultimately from early medieval texts, especially Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Chronicle*. As Mills wrote (1991: xv), 'The Anglo-Saxon conquest and settlement of Britain began in the 5th century AD … These new settlers were the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, Germanic tribes from Northern Europe whose language was Anglo-Saxon, now usually called Old English'. However, since the 1970s numerous scholars have cast doubt on the reliability of early medieval texts as sources for events before AD 600 (Dumville 1977; Sims-Williams 1983; Wormald 1983; Howe 1989; Yorke 1995, 2008; Hamerow 1997; Brooks 2000; Dark 2000; Halsall

2013; Woolf 2018). The interpretations of *wīc-hām* by some place-name scholars may therefore be based on unreliable sources of evidence. In the present author's opinion, *wīc-hām* cannot be accurately defined or understood without a detailed, prior study of archaeology at the locations in question. The search should focus on *wīc-hām* place-names first attested by 1200, but as seen in section 5.2, around 60–70 potential examples of *wīc-hām* in total now merit consideration.

(B2) On the basis of evidence discussed in section 5.1, there is no strong reason to believe that the compound appellative *wīc-hām* ever referred to the ruins of Roman settlements when it was formed or first used in reference to a settlement. This theory, floated as an alternative by Gelling (1967) but later embraced by Coates (1999a), relies on the preconception that Old English was brought to Britain by 'Anglo-Saxon' settlers, and as argued above, this is a modern narrative based on early medieval sources which are unreliable in their coverage of the fifth and sixth centuries. As noted in section 3.1, *hām* in lexical use has various meanings, but the generic -*hām* in place-names always seems to refer to an inhabited settlement, not an abandoned settlement or ruin, at the time of name-formation or initial use. Latin *vīcus*, from which *wīc* is loaned, also refers in all its senses to actual habitation of some kind, not abandoned ruins.

(B3) As noted and explained in section 5.1, the OE appellative *wīc-hām* is distributed across the Lowland Zone of Britain, apparently referring to small Roman towns or roadside settlements, to villas, and perhaps farmsteads. To the present author, it seems likely that this appellative evolved in the context of Roman Britain, with its functioning road-system, rather than after AD 400, and that the compound *wīc-hām* was formed while Latin was still widely spoken across southern and eastern Britain.

(B4) As discussed in section 5.1, in the present author's view, the Roman sites at Wycomb GLO, Wilcote OXF, and Wickham Bushes BRK may be important in helping to resolve the chronology of the formation of the appellative *wīc-hām*. It is not possible to be certain when occupation of these sites ended, but no post-Roman archaeology or settlement is evident at these three locations. Potential 'Type C' *wīc-hām* names, first attested after 1350 and briefly explored in section 5.2 above, also include examples where *wīc-hām* seems to refer to a Roman settlement, rather than a later settlement, such as *Wykhamfurlong* in Congresbury SOM (Gardner 1985) and Wykeham Dale YON.

(C) Other arguments potentially supporting the current hypothesis

(C1) If (pre-)Old English was widely spoken in later Roman Britain by AD 450, this may explain the presence of at least 250 'early' loan-words from Latin in Old English, mainly relating to items of everyday life in the Roman Empire, including 46 loan-words found only in Old English and not in other Germanic languages (see section 1.3 above).

(C2) The evidence of *wīc* compound place-names should be viewed alongside other loan-words from Latin in English place-names, since loan-words from Latin form interwoven threads in a tapestry of evidence, not isolated strands. The resulting patterns are illustrated in the Appendices below (Figures 127–129).

(C3) The thesis may help to explain the 'national' system of OE topographical place-name vocabulary, posited by Gelling and Cole (2014: xv) throughout England, albeit with regional and local variation. Gelling and Cole could not explain how this system arose in the circumstances of post-Roman Britain, but if this thesis is correct in believing that (pre-)Old English was already widely spoken in later Roman Britain, a 'national' system of topographical place-name

formation might have resulted from subsequent migration within Britain by peasants speaking (pre-)Old English, to the north, north-west and south-west.

(C4) Around AD 595, Pope Gregory had believed that Kent was inhabited by *Angli*, and Augustine's mission to Kent in 597 therefore aimed to establish an *ecclesia Anglorum*. The re-establishment of the Roman church in southern Britain promoted the concept of an English national identity by 700, and this was enhanced by Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, completed in 731. The place-name evidence in the present thesis may suggest that Bede misunderstood the origins of his native language, which he termed the *lingua Anglorum*. Bede's main source of information regarding Britain c.500 was Gildas, whose *De Excidio Britanniae* bemoaned the arrival of *Saxones* but said nothing about their language. The Latin term *Saxones* was a generic and fluid ethnic label used in the Roman and post-Roman eras (Flierman 2017: 5–21); this could refer to speakers of Old English, Old Saxon and other Germanic languages.

Summary of section 5.3

For the reasons given above in section 5.3, considered holistically, the evidence might suggest that pre-Old English was widely spoken by peasants in the Lowland Zone of Roman Britain by AD 450, and that it was not imported by migrants after 450. Some scholars with more traditional views may still prefer the conventional narrative, that Old English was brought to Britain by 'Anglo-Saxon' settlers, but at the very least there is now an alternative explanation which requires serious consideration.

5.4 How this thesis might contribute to debate about the fifth century AD in Britain

Based on the detailed evidence of place-names and archaeology, this thesis has reached the conclusion that Old English may already have been widely spoken in the Lowland Zone of Britain by AD 450. The final section of the thesis will now consider the implications of this conclusion for an accurate understanding of the fifth century and of the transition from Roman Britain to early medieval England.

Dark (2000: 10–15) argued that all previous models of the 'end' of Roman Britain in the fifth century have some value, but that no previous paradigm is fully accurate. Various new paradigms have been proposed since 2000 (see section 1.6), but the present thesis supports Dark's contention that a nuanced view is needed of events in the fifth century.

As noted in section 1.6, from around 1965–1980 the dominant paradigm of the fifth century emphasized continuity, and several scholars considered that Roman Britain 'wound down' slowly after AD 400. Dark (2000) adopted a new 'continuity' model, viewing Roman Britain in the broader context of the Western Roman Empire; Britain was in the mainstream of European religious, cultural, political and economic developments, and more of its Roman heritage survived than in other 'Late Antique' western European societies. In the fifth and sixth centuries, extensive continuity in the west and east of Britain was produced mainly by contact with the British Church.

The idea that Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England overlapped somehow, and that Roman Britain lay at the roots of Anglo-Saxon England, was current from the 1930s or earlier; the question was 'how', and what aspects of Roman politics and culture survived long enough to allow the re-establishment of Mediterranean-style urban and Christian culture in England from around AD 600 onwards (Esmond Cleary 2014: 3). The place-name evidence in the present thesis suggests that pre-Old English, a West Germanic language, may already have been widely spoken by peasant farmers and estate workers across the

Lowland Zone of Britain by AD 450; in other words, pre-Old English may be the key aspect of culture which produced continuity from later Roman Britain to early medieval England.

The evidence in the present thesis might also suggest significant elements of discontinuity in the fifth century. Faulkner (2000) argued for an abrupt and total collapse of Romano-British civilisation, in which towns were virtually deserted, town life came to an end, and most Roman buildings eventually fell or were demolished, while landowners confronted by class warfare fled from the countryside, leaving the land in the possession of peasants; to Faulkner, this amounted to a social revolution. Gelling (1993) argued that English place-names were largely formed by peasant farmers who were 'Anglo-Saxons', but this thesis has concluded instead that Old English may have been widely spoken by peasants in the Lowland Zone of Roman Britain by AD 450. Place-names provide no direct evidence of class warfare, but the conclusions of this thesis might support Faulkner's version of events to some extent, since Faulkner's model may explain how land came into the hands of the peasantry.

Continuity and change in human society are often difficult to assess with accuracy, and previous debate regarding the 'end' of Roman Britain may have over-simplified complex issues into a polarised debate between proponents of 'continuity' and 'discontinuity'. Based on the place-name evidence in this thesis, a more nuanced view of the transition from Roman Britain to early medieval England may be necessary. This might distinguish more clearly between simultaneous urban and rural developments. If pre-Old English was already widely spoken in the countryside of the Lowland Zone of Britain by AD 450, a substantial collapse in the material culture of Roman Britain and in the structure of towns and villas, as advocated by Faulkner (2000), seems fully consistent with continuity of language in the countryside, where most of the population resided. In short, dramatic material change and substantial linguistic continuity are not mutually exclusive.

As noted in section 5.2, in total around 60–70 potential examples are now known of the OE appellative *wīc-hām*, which seemingly referred to an inhabited Roman settlement, and in at least 16 other compound place-names, and perhaps many more, the specific *wīc* probably refers to Roman settlement. This thesis interprets *wīc-hām* and some other *wīc* compound place-names as evidence of linguistic and settlement continuity from the later Roman era to early medieval England; indeed, at some modern villages or towns such as Wickham BRK, Wickham HMP and Wickford ESX, the place-name might suggest continuity of settlement and language from the later Roman era to the present day, from (pre-)Old English to Modern English. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether *wīc-hām* and other *wīc* compound place-names provide more evidence of continuity of settlement, or of discontinuity. If spoken by peasants in later Roman Britain, (pre-)Old English may have been heard at thousands of Roman farmsteads, hundreds of villas, and many small towns and villages or roadside settlements, and if any of these settlements could have been referred to as *wīc-hām*, the long-term survival rate of this appellative term was perhaps well below 1%.

The evidence of place-names and archaeology in the present thesis may suggest that Esmond Cleary (1989), Higham (1992, 2013), Hills (2003) and Härke (2011) are correct in believing in large-scale population continuity from later Roman Britain to early medieval England; however, the thesis also suggests linguistic continuity, and that (pre-)Old English was already spoken by peasants in later Roman Britain, who became the peasantry of early medieval England. The viewpoint of the above four scholars, that Old English was brought to Britain by 'Anglo-Saxon' migration and imposed by an elite minority of migrants, is therefore challenged by detailed evidence in the present thesis.

In the light of this thesis, scholars may need to re-evaluate whether English place-names should still be viewed as evidence of 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement. Despite changing perceptions in recent decades amongst archaeologists and historians, modern English place-name scholarship has

remained firmly founded on the traditional view of 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement which prevailed in the 1920s, as seen in work by Mills (1991), Coates (2007a, 2017), Padel (2013), Hough (2016), Carroll (2013, 2020) and Parsons (1996, 2011, 2024).

R. Briggs (2019: 48) comments that place-name scholars have been slow to discard traditional approaches to 'Anglo-Saxon' migration and colonisation in favour of new models devised by archaeologists and historians, despite the volume and significance of the relevant material. The traditional narrative has been long embraced, perhaps owing to the apparent lack of a viable alternative as a credible mechanism for the spread of Old English across the British lowlands (Higham 2007: 12). Scholars such as Coates (2007a, 2007b) may have supported Gelling's view (1993) that English place-names were largely formed by peasant farmers, believing that a major 'Anglo-Saxon' migration must have happened, in order for the English language to dominate place-nomenclature in England. The present thesis provides an alternative explanation for the presence of Old English in Britain and an alternative chronology, which scholars may now need to consider.

Concluding thoughts

The evidence of the appellative *wīc-hām*, and of *wīc* compound place-names with other generics, might suggest that pre-Old English was widely spoken in later Roman Britain. The evidence is not fully conclusive, but the case may become more compelling when viewed alongside a range of other evidence considered in Chapter 5. With the detailed evidence of English place-names in full view, along with internal linguistic evidence from Old English and other Germanic languages, combined with archaeological evidence, a new historical narrative may now be needed to explain the arrival of Old English in Britain, and this may be very different from previous versions of history.
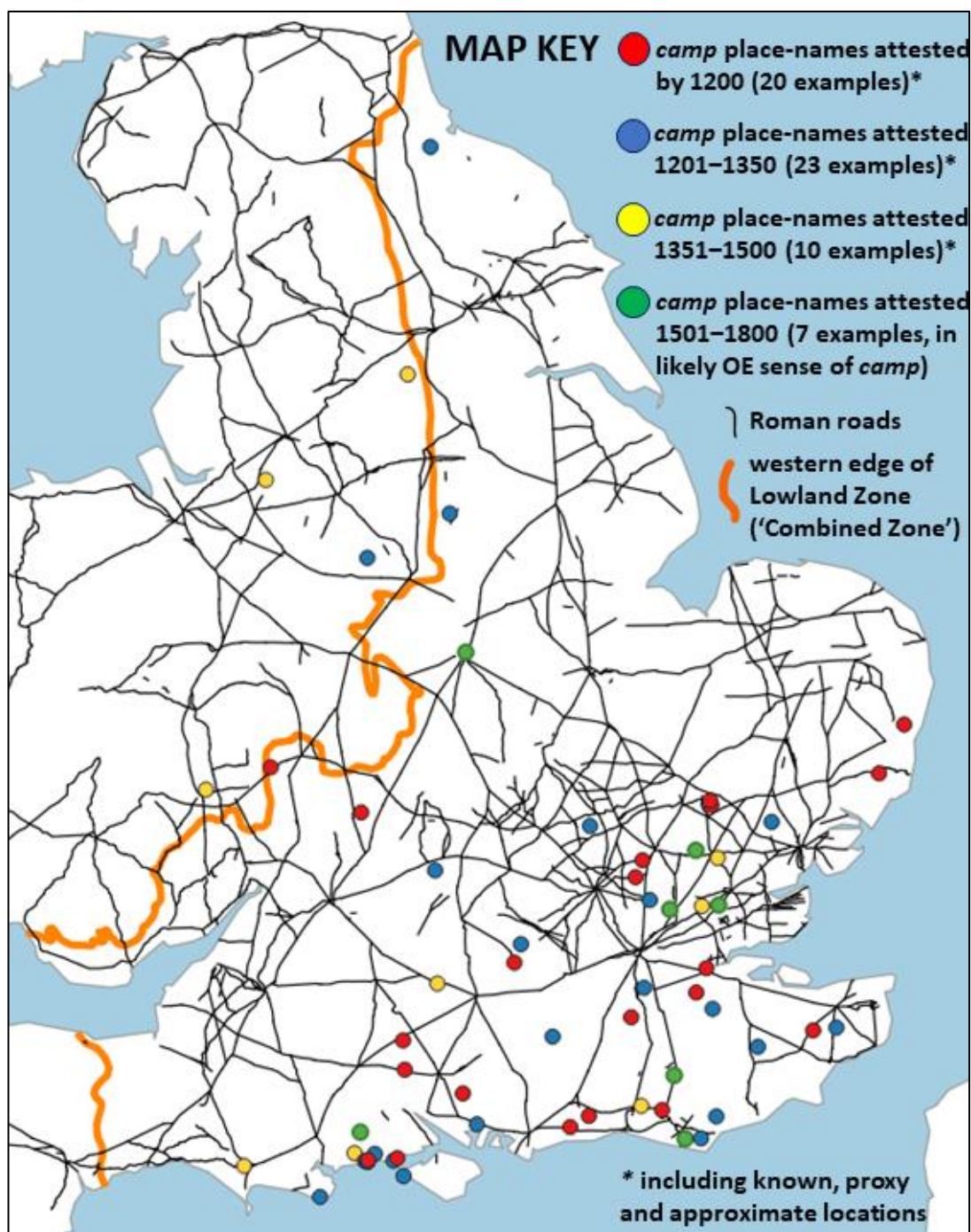
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1

Figure 121: Distribution map of OE *camp* in place-names attested by 1800 (see section 1.4). Sources: EPNS volumes 1–94; Maxwell Lyte 1894; Wallenberg 1931; Ekwall 1936a; Gover 1961; Coates 1983, 1989; Hanna 1989, 2007; Parsons and Styles 2000; Essex Place-names Project (www.esah1852.org.uk). The map is important in showing OE *camp* in some northern and western areas of England, a wider distribution than depicted by Gelling (1978).
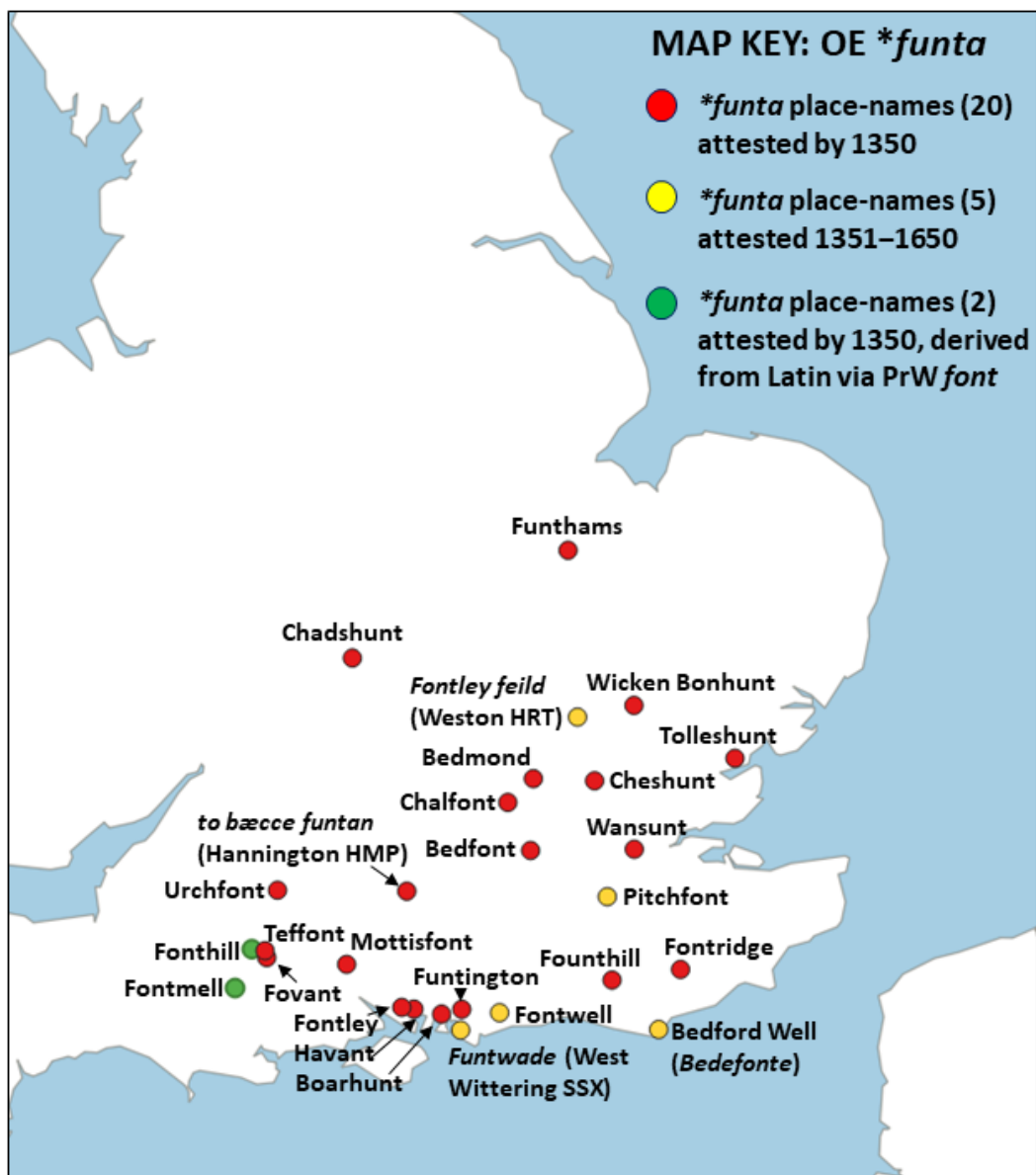
Figure 122: Distribution map of *funta* in place-names attested by 1650.
Sources: Coates 1983; Cole 2013; Hawkins 2015. Additional material: *Fontley feild* 1597 (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1938: 291) (TL278286); Fontwell 1630 (VCH Sussex 5.1, pp. 224–44) (SU957068).
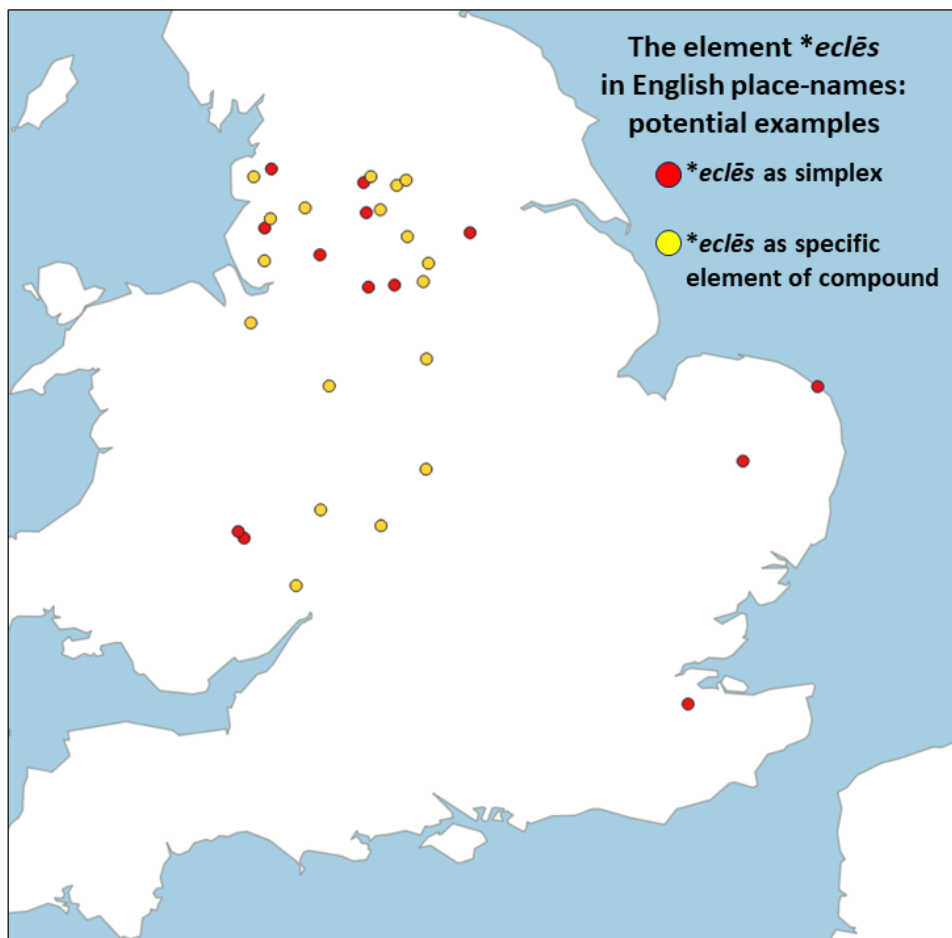
Figure 123: Potential examples of *eclēs* in English place-names.
Sources: Cameron 1975; Blair 2005; Hough 2009; James 2009. Additional
examples included: Eccles Close (Owston/Burghwallis YOW) 1842 TA/TM
(SE573104); Eccles Green (Norton Canon HRE), c.1880 OS (SO378485) (HER
9006, Bannister 1916); Eccles Alley (Almeley HRE), c.1880 OS (SO346520).
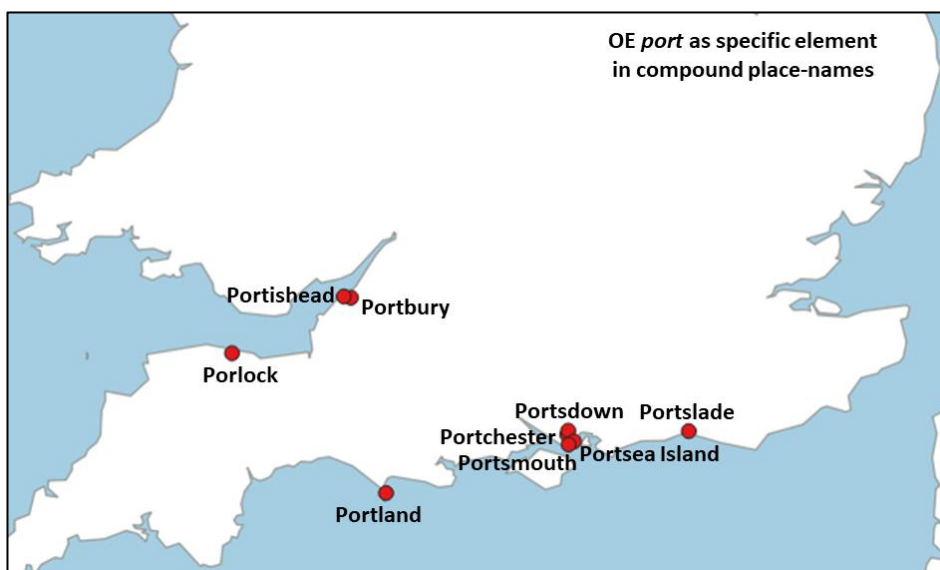
Figure 124: Place-names derived from OE *port* 'harbour' or place-name *Port*.
Source: Cole 2013: 223–24.

The element *ōra* in English place-names

KEY
- 🔴 *ōra* in charter boundaries
- 🟡 *ōra* in other place-names (surviving names and lost names)

Roman roads

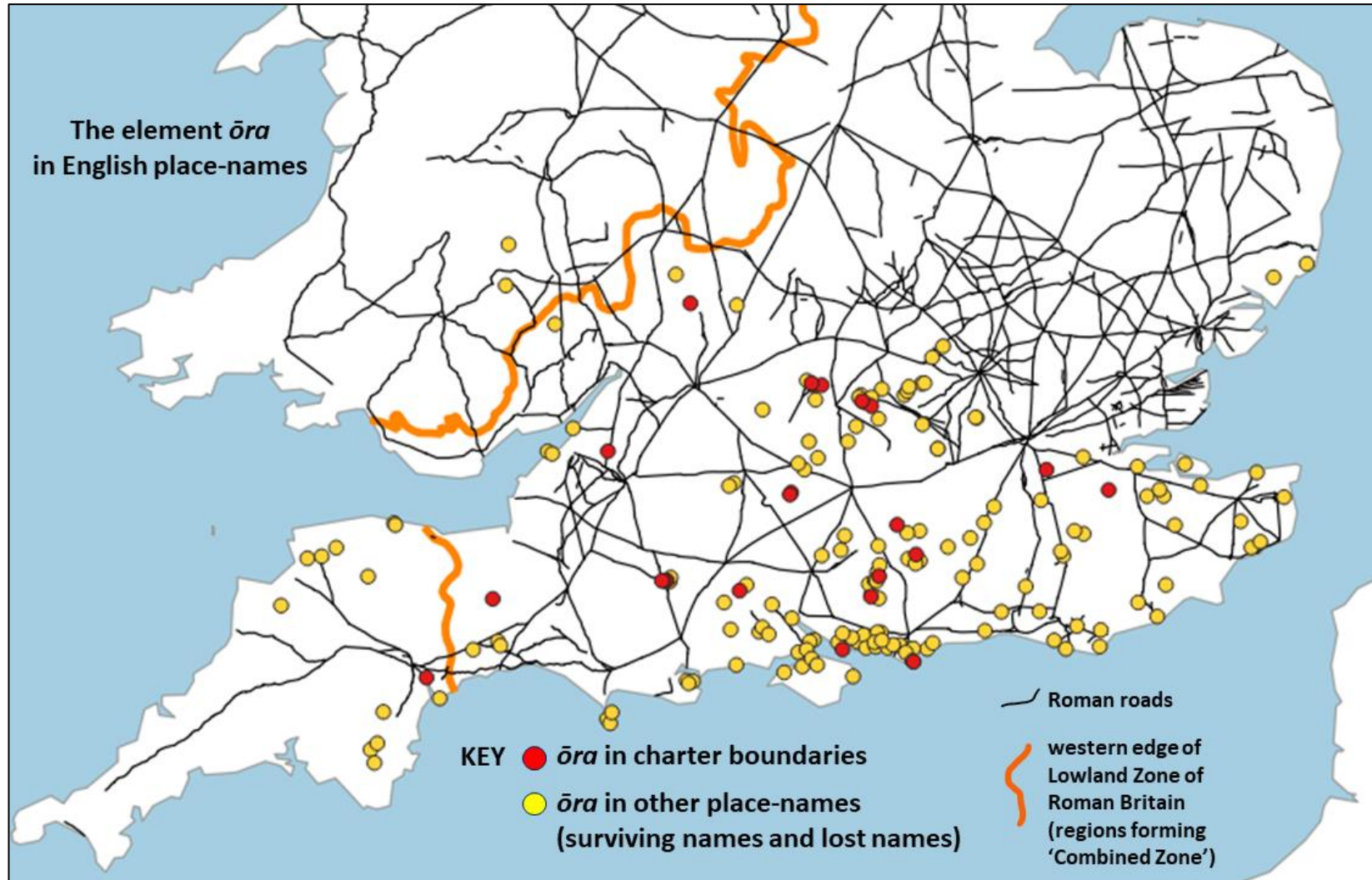western edge of Lowland Zone of Roman Britain (regions forming 'Combined Zone')

Figure 125: Distribution map of OE *ōra* in place-names. Source: Cole 2013: 258–65.

Table 21: Miscellaneous posited Latin words and loan-words in English place-names

Latin words	Possible examples	References
Augusta? (referring to Legio II Augusta?) *angustiae* 'narrows'	Aust GLO Ingst GLO	Coates and Breeze 2000: 54–57
feralia 'wild places'	Firle SSX	Coates and Breeze 2000: 44–53
spinīs 'at the thorn-bushes' or **Spi(o)nīīs* 'at the spionia-vines'	Speen BRK	Coates and Breeze 2000: 40–43
traiectus 'ferry'	*Tric* (DB name of Skegness LIN)	Cole 2013: 36–37
Latin words and OE loan-words		
buxus > OE *box*, *byxe* 'box-tree'	Box GLO, Box WLT, Boxford BRK, Boxford SFK, Boxgrove SSX, Boxley KNT, Boxwell GLO	Coates 1999c
camera 'vault, chamber' > OE **cambre*?	Camberwell SRY	Watts 2004: 111
cors, cortis > OE **corte* 'courtyard'	Dovercourt ESX	Ekwall 1924: 20; Gelling 1978: 80
crocus > OE *croh* 'crocus'	Croydon SRY	Gelling 1978: 80
faber > OE **fæfer* 'smith'	Faversham KNT	Gelling 1978: 80
pīnus 'Scots fir' or *pīneus* 'pine' (adj.) > OE *pīn* 'pine, fir'	Pyon Hill, Canon Pyon, King's Pyon HRE	Padel 2021
pulvus, pulveris 'dust' [*pulvereus* 'dusty'] > OE **pulfre*	(Castle) Pulverbatch, Church Pulverbatch SHR	Watts 2004: 485
vinitorium > OE **winter* 'vineyard'	Midwinter in Dunsford DEV; Radwinter ESX; Winthill in Banwell SOM	Smith 1956, 2: 269; Baker 2006: 177; OS

Note: the above list is not definitive. Numerous other OE loan-words from Latin occur in English place-names, including *byden* 'vessel'; *calc, cealc* 'chalk'; *cēse* (WSax **cīese*) 'cheese'; *mynster* 'monastery'; *pere* 'pear'; *pic* 'pitch'.

Additional miscellaneous suggestions by the present author:

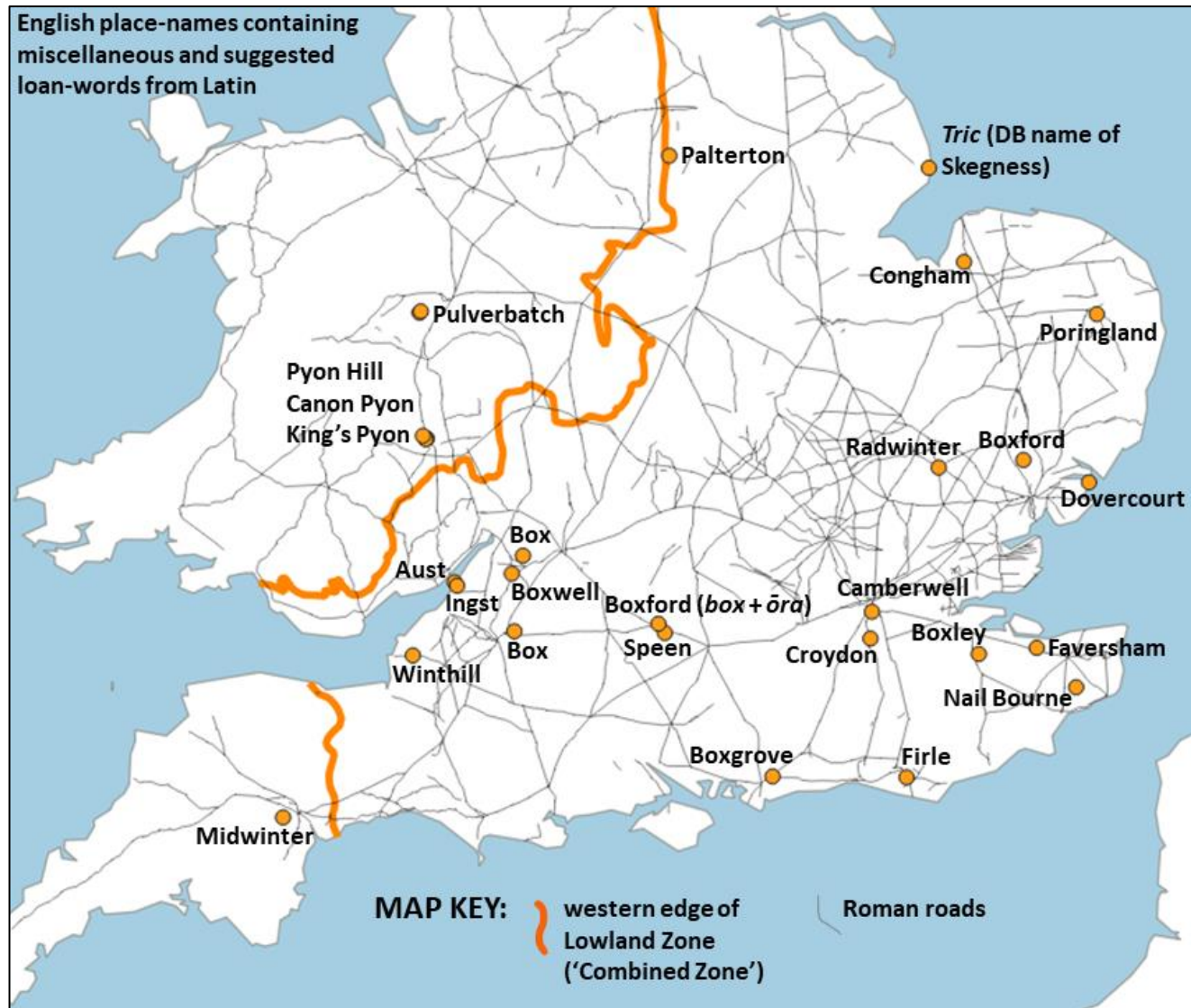|		
conchae 'shell-fish, oysters'	Congham NFK	cf. Watts 2004: 155
porrum 'leek' > OE *por*, *porr* 'leek'	Poringland NFK 'leek-land' or 'land of the leek-growers'	cf. Gelling and Cole 2000: 279–82; Watts 2004: 478
palus (locative *palude*) 'marsh' ('moorland'?)	Palterton DRB	cf. Coates and Breeze 2000: 74–76; Watts 2004: 460
nihil 'nothing'	Nail Bourne KNT (occasional stream from Lyminge to Littlebourne, normally containing nothing, and not a regular seasonal 'winterbourne' stream)	cf. Cullen 1997: 581; Gelling and Cole 2000: 302

English place-names containing
miscellaneous and suggested
loan-words from Latin

Tric (DB name of
Skegness)

Palterton

Congham

Pulverbatch

Poringland

Pyon Hill
Canon Pyon
King's Pyon

Radwinter   Boxford

Dovercourt

Box

Aust

Boxwell

Camberwell

Ingst

Boxford (*box + ōra*)

Boxley

Box

Speen

Croydon

Faversham

Winthill

Nail Bourne

Boxgrove

Firle

Midwinter

MAP KEY: western edge of
Lowland Zone
('Combined Zone')

Roman roads

Figure 126: Miscellaneous and suggested loan-words from Latin in English place-names.
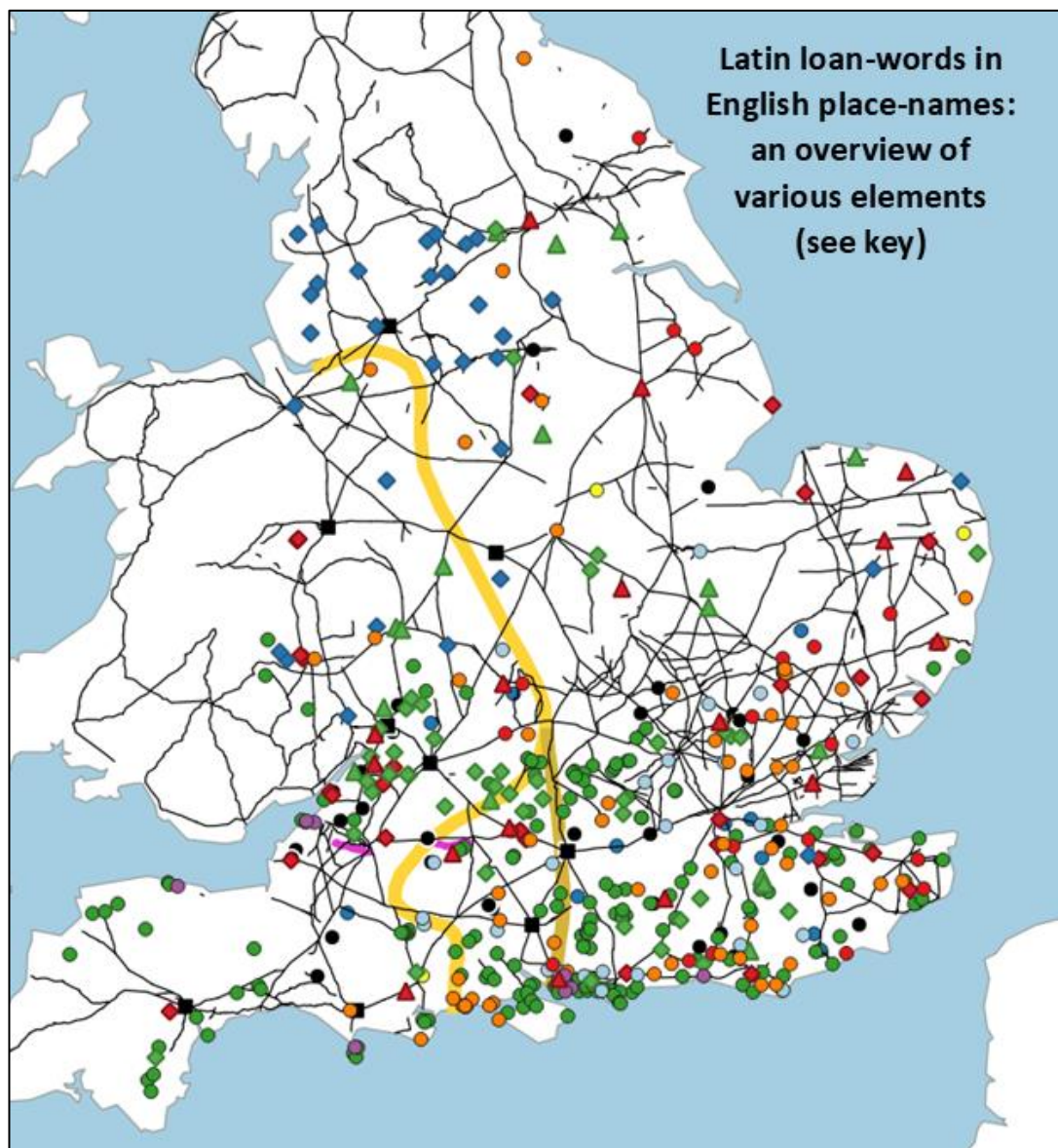
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

Figure 127: Latin loan-words in English place-names: an overview (see map key below).

MAP KEY

🔴 *wīc-hām* place-names attested by 1200

🟡 possible *wīc-hām* names attested by 1200

🔵 possible *wīc-hām* names first attested 1201–1350

⚫ possible *wīc-hām* names first attested after 1350

〰️ Wansdyke (West and East)

Eastern borders of *Britannia Prima*

〰️ according to White (2007)

〰️ according to Cunliffe (2012)

🔺 *wīc* + other generic (Types A and B): likely reference to Roman settlement

🔺 *wīc* + other generic (Types A and B): possible reference to Roman or medieval settlement

🔶 *wīc* + other generic first attested after 1350 (not sorted by likely date of settlement referred to)

🟠 OE *camp* (simplex, specific or generic)

🟣 OE *port* 'harbour' (specific element) or place-name *Port*

Insular loan-words from Latin into Old English are listed below:

⬛ Specific element derived from Roman place-name + generic *ceaster*

🟢 *ōra* (simplex, specific or generic)

🔵 **funta* (specific or generic)

🔷 **eclēs* (simplex or specific)

🔴 miscellaneous loan-words from Latin in English place-names

Notes: This map is not definitive. 1) The map omits place-names deriving from the following loan-words from Latin in Old English: L (*vīa*) *strāta* 'paved road' > OE *strǣt* (WSax), *strēt* (Angl, Kt); L *molīna* 'mill' > OE *myln, mylen* (Angl, WSax), *meln* (Kt); L *fossa* 'ditch'> OE *foss*; L *vallum* 'rampart' > OE *wall* (Angl), *weall* (WSax, Kt); L *porta* 'gate' > OE *port* 'town', 'gate'. 2) Potential examples of OE *camp* in field-names first attested after 1800 are not shown. 3) Other place-names containing loan-words may exist in archives not yet published. EPNS volumes have not yet been published for some counties, including Somerset, Kent, Hampshire and Herefordshire.
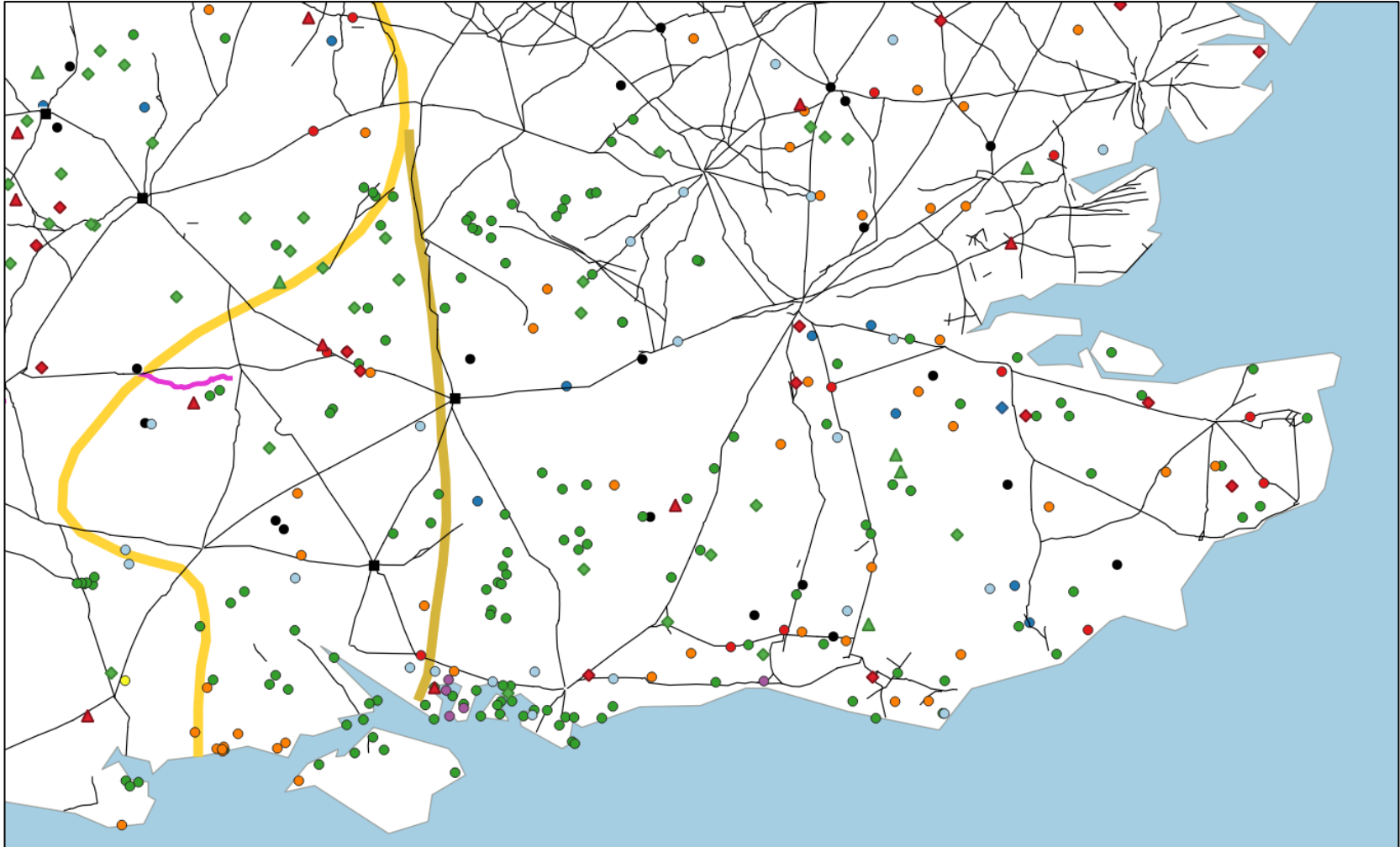
Figure 128: Loan-words from Latin in the place-names of south-east England (see key above).
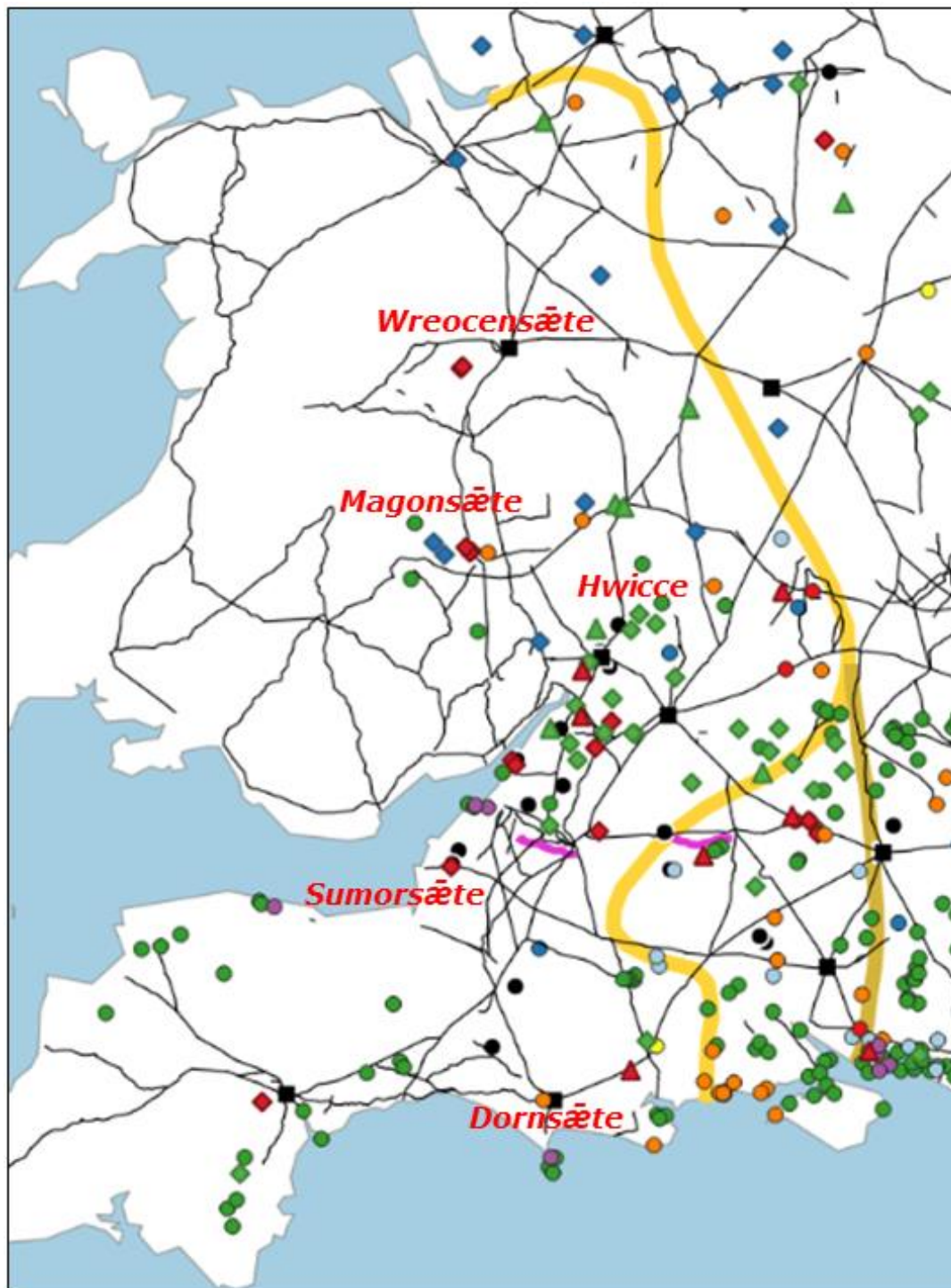
Figure 129: Loan-words from Latin in the place-names of *Britannia Prima* (see key above), showing later community-names.

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