



JOURNAL OF THE ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY

Volume 11 (1979)

ISSN 1351–3095

Place-names and past landscape

Margaret L. Faulk (pp. 24–46)

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£45 (full)*

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

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

PLACE-NAMES AND PAST LANDSCAPES

In recent years there has been an ever increasing use of place-names both by historians wishing to build up a general picture of the historic landscape and by archaeologists attempting to identify new sites and to assess the importance of known sites. Reconstruction of the historic landscape can be treated on two different planes. First there is the question of reconstructing the overall pattern of the landscape, as it existed at various times in the past, to reveal the structure of territorial units, administrative centres, industries, lines of communication and the settlement pattern of either dispersed or nucleated settlements. Thus for the Roman period one may attempt to establish the locations of the towns, forts, villas, native settlements and commercial centres and the lines of the roads linking these various components of the Roman landscape, whereas for the Middle Ages one may try to build up a picture of the ecclesiastical pattern of parishes, the secular pattern of manors, which in northern England were quite distinct from the parishes, and also especially in northern England the subdivision of parishes into chapelries and of large manors into townships with their further administrative subdivision into hamlets. In this sphere the main sources of information are documentary sources and place-names for Roman and later periods and distribution maps of sites and finds for the prehistoric period. Second there is the question of reconstructing the exact layout in a specific area, such as the close definition of the boundaries and the locations of the various components of an individual medieval vill with its fields, woodland, marshland, settlements and associated features. A greater variety of techniques is involved in this aspect of landscape studies, including not only the use of documentary sources and place-names but also that of field-names, aerial photography, soil analysis and fieldwork!

1. I am extremely grateful to my colleagues Mr. D.J.H. Michelmore and Mr. S.A. Moorhouse for their assistance in the preparation of this paper and for allowing me the use of illustrative examples from their own material, some of which will appear in Faulk and Moorhouse 1979. I am also grateful to Mr. C. Hart of the North Derbyshire Archaeological Unit for his advice on correlations of sites with place-name elements in Derbyshire.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

Faulk and Moorhouse 1979	<i>West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500</i> edited by M. L. Faulk and S.A. Moorhouse (Wakefield, 1979, forthcoming)
Gelling 1978	M. Gelling, <i>Signposts to the Past</i> (London, 1978).
Michelmore 1978	D.J.H. Michelmore. 'Tenuarial gazetteer', in Faulk and Moorhouse 1979.
Moorhouse 1979	S.A. Moorhouse, 'The rural landscape of medieval West Yorkshire in Faulk and Moorhouse 1979.
Page 1905	<i>The Victoria History of the County of Derby</i> , edited by W. Page (London, 1905).
Piggott 1954	S. Piggott, <i>The Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles</i> (Cambridge 1954).
PN Dh	K. Cameron, <i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire</i> , English Place-Name Society XXVII-XXXIX (Cambridge, 1959).
PN We	A. H. Smith, <i>The Place-Names of Westmorland</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , XLII-XLIII (Cambridge, 1967).
PN YE	A. H. Smith, <i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , XIV (Cambridge, 1937)
PN YW	A. H. Smith, <i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , XXX-XXXVII (Cambridge, 1961-3).
YAJ	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i> .

After first citation references to other works are by author's or editor's name and date of publication.

For the landscape historian, place-names and field-names are clues to be employed mainly in the initial stages of the work rather than being studied as an end in themselves. The names are but one of a number of means of identifying sites and constitute only a guide to what may be present. At all times the historian must follow up and cross-check the possible implications of the place-names using other methods, especially field inspection. One major problem is that many of the names which belong to small areas of land and so are of particular value for pinpointing possible sites, are by their very nature minor names or field-names which tended not to be recorded until an extremely late date, often not until the nineteenth century. This means that it is then impossible to be certain at what date the name was formed, although this is rather less important where the reference is to a recognisable archaeological feature and the name is merely being used as a means of locating the feature on the ground. More problematic however, is the fact that such late recording of names means that earlier forms are not available to assist in the interpretation of names which may have been subjected to sound changes and to folk etymology over the centuries, thus either distorting them out of recognition or else transforming them into what appears to be another form, which could be extremely misleading. Nor indeed is it possible to be certain that a significant, but late-recorded, place-name is not an antiquarian attribution. These problems must always be borne in mind by the landscape historian when using place-names and conclusions must never be based on late-recorded names alone without confirmatory evidence.

There are a number of place-name elements which may be of value to the landscape archaeologist²; some of which are relevant to studies of more than one period. In this paper I propose to discuss merely a selection of the more significant elements, all of which require much further research, and to illustrate the problems of using place-names to reconstruct general settlement patterns by examining just one period in one particular area - late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman Yorkshire.

Elements of Value to the Archaeologist

1. Names Referring to Burial Sites

The meanings of certain place-name elements, themselves primarily topographical in nature, were extended to apply also to burial sites. One major group of such elements comprises some of those referring to hills, but whose meanings in some areas of England were extended to encompass the mounds erected over burials and even occasionally to cover other types of prehistoric monument. The majority of the names belong to the simple circular mounds which resemble small hills. These round barrows frequently belong to the Bronze Age although in some areas, such as the East Riding of Yorkshire, the Anglo-Saxons who utilised the Bronze Age barrows for secondary burials eventually began to construct their own barrows.

2. Some of these elements are discussed briefly in C.W. Phillips, 'The English Place-Name Society', *Antiquity*, 48 (1974), pp. 7-15. Place-name elements of special significance for archaeologists are examined in detail in Gelling 1978, pp. 130-61.

The long barrows of the Neolithic period bore rather less resemblance to hills although they also were sometimes given primarily topographical names. In southern England the main element used was OE *beorg*,³ which was so frequently associated with prehistoric burial mounds that the Wessex dialect form 'barrow' became the technical term used for these features. In northern England OE *hlaw* and ON *haugr* were the commonest elements employed,⁴ although the proportion associated with tumuli seems to be regionally determined. In Derbyshire *hlaw* seems to have been used almost exclusively.⁵ It occurs as an element in the names of fifteen out of the thirty-six sites of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in the county,⁶ the great majority of which are secondary interments in the Bronze Age barrows. There are no examples in Derbyshire of *haugr* associated with Anglo-Saxon burials and only one case with prehistoric tumuli,⁷ whereas in Yorkshire to the north no Anglo-Saxon burial sites have names containing the element *hlaw* but there are four examples of pagan Anglo-Saxon material being found in tumuli bearing names in *haugr*.⁸ A similar division is apparent in the application of these two elements to other types of archaeological site. In Derbyshire for example, *hlaw* appears to have been used to refer to the impressive Bronze Age religious henge, consisting of an earthwork bank and recumbent stones arranged in a circle at Arbour Low.⁹ About 1,000 ft. to the west of the henge is a large Bronze Age barrow now known as Gib Hill, to which the term *hlaw* could have applied, but the fact that the name Arbour Low, first recorded in 1533 as *Harberlowe*, is made up of the elements *eorð-burg* and *hlaw*¹⁰ 'earthwork-*hlaw*' suggests that the last element does in fact refer to the henge and not the tumulus. The extension of *hlaw* and *haugr* to sites other than simple tumuli may in some cases be a rather more recent development resulting perhaps from the observation that these elements seemed to be associated with archaeological sites. For example, the Howe Hills at Goodmanham in the East Riding of Yorkshire, whose name appears to contain the element *haugr*.¹¹ consist of a series of obviously artificial banks and ditches. These are today believed locally to be the site of King Edwin's palace where Paulinus converted the Northumbrians to Christianity,¹² a view which may reflect nineteenth-century antiquarian beliefs,¹³ but they are in fact disused late medieval or post-medieval chalk-pits dug to provide building materials.

It is not certain where the dividing line should be drawn between the use

3. See further Gelling 1978, pp. 132-4.

4. See also *ibid.*, pp. 134-8.

5. *PN Db*, pp. xxv, 705.

6. A. Mealey, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964), pp. 72-80.

7. *PN Db*, p. 705.

8. Mealey 1964, pp. 291-3.

9. J. Ward, 'Early man', in Page 1905, pp. 159-90, esp. pp. 181-8.

10. *PN Db*, p. 395.

11. *PN YE* does not list minor names or field-names so the Howe Hills do not appear there and it is impossible to ascertain the earliest date at which the name is recorded.

12. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, translated in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, edited by B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), II, 14.

13. See, for example, *The Post Office Directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire*, edited by E.R. Kelly (London, 1879), p. 401.

of *hlaw* and *haugr* for archaeological sites as so much of the West Riding of Yorkshire, which lies between Derbyshire and the known examples in Yorkshire, has been subjected to heavy industrial development, so that many of the barrows have been destroyed and it is therefore impossible to associate names containing these elements with known sites. Further research is required on the extent to which the various elements as used in specific regions can be taken as pointing to the existence of a site and in some areas such as the West Riding it may never be possible to do so.

Another problem in the West Riding and certain other areas of northern England is that prehistoric burials were often made under cairns of stone rather than tumuli, so the element which may be of particular significance is not *hlaw* or *haugr* but **burgæsn*. This is derived from OE *byrgan* 'to bury'; other derivatives of this verb, *byrgan* and *byrgels*, appear to have been restricted to referring to burial places,¹⁴ but in northern England **burgæsn* was also applied to cairns or heaps of stones and in Westmorland even to other types of archaeological site such as Roman camps and settlement sites.¹⁵ Boundaries in more upland areas often lacked natural boundary markers so that it was necessary to create artificial markers, usually in the form of standing stones or stone cairns, which are sometimes described in medieval documents using this term. For example, an early thirteenth-century grant of land in Kirkheaton in the West Riding of Yorkshire defines its boundaries in part as running as far as the *burgænes lapidum* 'stone cairn'.¹⁶ Examples of **burgæsn* in place-names must therefore be checked to see whether they are related to a boundary or occur on the edges of fields where they could simply represent heaps of stones cleared from the surface of the field to enable it to be ploughed. Other examples of **burgæsn* may, however, point to burials and even examples associated with a boundary should be investigated as burials of various periods often occur on boundaries. It is not certain whether the association of barrows and burial cairns with boundaries found in some parts of England is the result of an already existing site being utilised as a convenient boundary marker, or whether the burial had been placed on the boundary deliberately. Dr. Bonney has shown that in southern England pagan Anglo-Saxon burials seem to have been placed on pre-existing boundaries after which they in turn became boundary markers.¹⁷ Some traces of this practice continued into the Middle Ages and the names given to such burials sometimes survived for a considerable time if they became incorporated into the course as recognised boundary markers. For example the burial place of three thieves, who appear to have been interred sometime between 1295 and 1354 at the meeting point of the boundaries of Horsforth, Rawdon and Yeadon townships in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is referred to in documents and marked on estate maps as *Thieves grave* as late as the seventeenth century.¹⁸

14. Gelling 1978, pp.140-1.

15. *PN We*, I, p. xxx.

16. See further Moorhouse 1979.

17. D.J. Bonney, 'Pagan Saxon burials and boundaries in Wessex', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, LXI (1966), pp. 25-30; 'Early boundaries in Wessex', in *Archaeology and the Landscape*, edited by P.J. Fowler (London, 1972), pp.168-86.

18. Moorhouse 1979.

Place-names containing 'grave' must, however, be treated with caution, for names containing the element *græf* need not necessarily refer to a grave as such, but more often are related to its other meanings of 'digging, pit, trench'.¹⁹ *Græf* is especially common in names referring to various types of quarry, but where the name also contains a reference to a person there is a greater likelihood that it belongs to a burial site. Sometimes the name is that of the person actually buried there, as with *Thieves grave*, but the majority attribute the grave to people from the past or mythical figures and these are usually prehistoric sites. For example, one of the major Iron Age cemeteries of small square barrows in the East Riding of Yorkshire near Driffield, of which some 200 tumuli were still visible last century, is known as Danes Graves,²⁰ while a Neolithic chambered tomb on the Isle of Man is called King Orry's Grave.²¹ Other examples recognise the nature of the site but are non-committal about who is buried there; for example, a pair of Neolithic long barrows in Lincolnshire are known as Deadmen's Graves,²² while the Soldiers' Grave near Frocester in the Cotswolds consisted of a circular cairn, 56 ft. in diameter and probably originally 8 ft. high, covering a collective grave containing up to forty-four burials.²³ There were indications that the grave had been plundered prior to being investigated and it may have been at that time that the name was given.

The name most frequently applied to the elongated Neolithic long barrows was 'giant's grave', as it was thought that they were so large that only a giant could be buried there. To take but two examples, a Neolithic passage grave on Arran²⁴ and an Early Bronze Age chambered tomb in Lougash, Northern Ireland,²⁵ are both known as Giant's Grave. In Westmorland the term was also used to describe pillow mounds,²⁶ which resemble small long barrows but which are in fact artificially constructed rabbit warrens of the Middle Ages.

Another element which has only tended to be associated with burial sites in more recent times is 'urn'. Names containing 'urn' in their modern form are usually derived from OE *hyrne* 'angle, corner' and so are of no significance for archaeologists, but 'urn' does sometimes also occur in the names of fields where Bronze Age or Anglo-Saxon cremation urns have been found. Thus the field containing the Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Baston (Lincolnshire) was called Tinker's Urn²⁷ and similar names may help

19. A. H. Smith *English Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society, XV-XVI (Cambridge 1956) I, p. 207.
20. I. M. Stead, *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (York, 1965), pp. 105-10.
21. Piggott 1954, p. 161.
22. *Ibid*, p. 104.
23. *Ibid*, pp. 121, 147.
24. *Ibid*, p. 160.
25. *Ibid*, p. 168.
26. *PN We*, II, pp. 15, 25, 35, 195.
27. P. Mayes and M. J. Dean, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Baston, Lincolnshire*, Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, III (Gainsborough, 1976), p. 5.

locate sites in the future. For example, there are in the Yorkshire Museum six Anglo-Saxon cremation pots labelled as having come from Robin Hood's Bay, which were probably found in the nineteenth century.²⁸ Enquiries in the Robin Hood's Bay area have failed to produce any information about possible sites, but in the Tithes Award for Fylingdales parish, in which Robin Hood's Bay is located, there are two fields lying next to each other called Urn Close and Small Urn Close.²⁹ These are centred at NZ 939016, some 2 miles south-west of Robin Hood's Bay. They are not, unfortunately, at present available for fieldwalking, but they do seem to be possible candidates for the source of the Yorkshire Museum material and should therefore repay investigation in the future. The distance from Robin Hood's Bay need not preclude this, as sites in the nineteenth century were often referred to by the name of the nearest well known place,³⁰ which in this case would have been Robin Hood's Bay.

2. *Names Referring to a Supernatural Presence*

The names which have the highest probability of being associated with an archaeological site are those which refer to the presence of a supernatural element, the commonest being OE *deofol* 'devil'; ME *hob* 'hobgoblin'; OE *þiaca* and *þiucel* 'goblin'; OE *sceocca* and *scucca* 'demon, evil spirit'; ON *skratti* 'goblin'; and ON *þurs* and OE *þyrs* 'giant'. Wherever people encountered strange objects or phenomena which they could not explain in the light of their own experience, they ascribed them to the work of goblins, elves, giants, demons or pagan gods. Perhaps the best known such association is of the pagan god Woden, very often using his by-name Grim, with defensive earthworks.³¹ For example, Grimthorpe Manor in Millington parish in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which is first recorded as *Grimtorp* in 1086,³² was probably named from the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age hill-fort only 600 yds. to the north-east.³³ Grim was especially associated with the linear earthwork dykes found in many parts of England and on occasion the presence of such a name may enable the archaeologist to locate the earthwork. For example, in 1961 it was said of the name Grim's Ditch/Dyke that it survived as a linear earthwork in Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, but that other examples occurred only in medieval records.³⁴ References to Grim(e)s Dike or Ditch and to fields named from it such as *Grim(e)roid* 'Grim's clearing' occur in medieval documents for a number of

28. These were acquired by the Yorkshire Museum when the Pickering Museum was disbanded: the records of the Michelson Collection, of which they formed part, were not always accurate and so the exact date and location of discovery is uncertain.

29. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (York). TA/868/VL, fields numbers 1146, 1155.

30. M. L. Faull, 'The location and relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon cemeteries', *Antiquaries Journal*, LVI (1976), pp. 227-33, esp. p. 231, fn. 3.

31. M. Gelling, 'Place-names and Anglo-Saxon paganism', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, VIII (1961), pp. 7-25, esp. pp. 10-14; Gelling 1978, pp. 148-50.

32. *PN YE*, p. 178.

33. I. M. Stead, 'An Iron Age hill-fort at Grimthorpe, Yorkshire'. *Proceedings of the Pre-historic Society*, XXXIV (1968), pp. 148-90.

34. Gelling 1961, pp. 13-14.

townships to the east of Leeds.³⁵ These names follow the line of an earthwork which for much of its course had become so denuded that it had been identified as a Roman road,³⁶ although it is in fact an eastward-facing defensive dyke which appears to protect Leeds. A stream flowing some 3½ miles to the north of this is known as Grimes Dyke, the name presumably having been transferred from the dyke. The existence of this name well north of where the earthwork was expected to end led to further stretches being identified running parallel to the stream with the bank still standing to a height of 5 ft. and the ditch up to 10 ft. wide. Thus fieldwork based partly on the place-names has led to the line of the dyke being located running north from the river Aire for some 7 miles.

Many of these linear earthworks, including Grim's Ditch, are thought to be Dark Age in date, so that one would assume that the pagan Anglo-Saxons should have been aware that they were not really of supernatural origin.³⁷ It therefore seems likely that these names were given at a later date when the true circumstances of the construction of the dykes had been forgotten and when Grim had come to be identified with the Devil. This would accord with the inaccuracy of the names given to other earthworks whose construction was ascribed to particular people. For example, the earthwork running for some 11 miles above and to the west of Sheffield is known as the Roman Rig, while the great linear earthwork running for about 7 miles near Catterick in the North Riding of Yorkshire is called Scots Dyke, possibly because it was believed to have been directed against Scottish cattle raiders.³⁸ Many of these names are unfortunately not recorded until a very late date and it is possible that some may be antiquarian attributions. For example, the Roman Rig does not have this name until 1828, but there are references to it as *Camp Ditch* in the seventeenth century.³⁹ Similarly the Danes Dyke, which cuts off the promontary of Flamborough Head in the East Riding of Yorkshire is simply *Flayn (c)burgdyke* 'Flamborough Dyke' in all recordings from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries⁴⁰ and was presumably renamed after that.

Nor was Woden the only pagan figure to be associated with earthworks or prehistoric sites. The early Germanic hero Wade, father of Weland the Smith and ruler of the Hælsings, who figures both in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Widsith* and in Icelandic sagas, appears to have been an important folk hero

35. These references are all grouped together under Barwick in Elmet in *PN YW*, IV, p. 107, the only exception being Grime Royd Close, which is listed under Methley (*ibid.*, II, p. 130). Checking of the original documents, however, shows that the references are to a number of different points in some five different townships.
36. I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London, 1957), II, pp. 139-40; *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain*, 3rd ed. (Cheshington, 1958).
37. See further Gelling 1961, pp. 10-14.
38. For the lines of these dykes see the *Ordnance Survey Map of Dark Age Britain*, 2nd ed. (Cheshington, 1966).
39. *PN YW*, I, pp. 189, 217.
40. *PN YE*, p. 106.

in north Yorkshire. Together with his wife Bel and his son he was supposed to have built Wade's Causeway, the Roman road over the north Yorkshire moors whose paved surface is still visible in places. They were also considered responsible for the construction of Mulgrave Castle and Pickering Castle and the erection of many monoliths.⁴¹ A pair of monoliths, 4 ft. and 5 ft. high respectively and 100 ft. apart, were said to mark Wade's grave at Goldsborough on the north Yorkshire coast,⁴² as were a pair 12 ft. apart near East Barnby.⁴³ Only one stone of the latter pair survives today (at NZ 830130) and this is still known as Wade's Stone. Excavations at the foot of this stone are supposed to have produced an inhumation burial with an iron spearhead,⁴⁴ but as the finds seem to have disappeared it is impossible to discover whether this was an Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon burial. It may also have been Wade who was associated with Wat's Dyke on the Welsh border.

Another frequent association of supernatural elements is with Mesolithic sites, which usually produce some quantities of microliths, i.e. small flint artefacts such as arrowheads or scrapers. These were believed to be elves' weapons and the sites where they were found were therefore thought to belong to elves or goblins. Thus the only example of the element *pūca* in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Pugneys near Wakefield, is one of the most important lowland Mesolithic sites in the western part of Yorkshire.⁴⁵ The area, which is first referred to as *Pukenhale* in 1310,⁴⁶ lies on the gravel terrace in a bend in the river Calder and Mesolithic microliths abound on the surface. Similarly Scratta Woods, Nottinghamshire, whose name is first recorded in 1539 and seems to contain the element *skratt*,⁴⁷ is a settlement site where prehistoric flints have been found.⁴⁸

Cattle or sheep which fell ill were often described as being 'elfshot'⁴⁹ and the finding of microliths in the field where they had been pastured was taken as confirming the diagnosis that they had been wounded by the magical weapons of malicious demons. These goblins or elves were often linked with the Devil and in some parts of northern England so strong was belief in his power to harm the farmer both by afflicting his beasts with elfshot or by causing weeds to grow amongst his crops, that one field was set aside for the Devil to have as his own. The custom of the uncultivated field survived in Aberdeenshire until the eighteenth century, where it was generally known

41. G. Young, *A History of Whitby and Streoneshalch Abbey* (Whitby, 1817), pp. 666, 724-6.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 666, *fn.*

43. W. Camden, *Britannia Sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae*, 6th ed. (London, 1607), p. 565.

44. F. Elgee, *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (Gloucester, 1930), p. 106.

45. This site will be discussed in detail in J. J. Keighley, 'Mesolithic West Yorkshire', in Faull and Moorhouse 1979.

46. *PN YW*, II, p. 108.

47. A Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, English Place-Name Society, XVII (Cambridge, 1940), p. 108.

48. I am grateful to Mr. C. Hart for this information.

49. The earliest reference to elfshot is in the Anglo-Saxon charms; see *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. T. O. Cockayne (London, 1866), pp. 52-5.

as the Goodman's Acre.⁵⁰ The Devil was often referred to by a pseudonym or by-name, such as Robin Goodfellow or Goodman, in order to avoid offending him. In some cases the area left barren would simply have been the worst piece of land on the farm, but if microliths had been found in a particular field then that may have been taken as evidence that that was the field which the Devil regarded as his own. Fields with names containing supernatural elements or described as belonging to Goodman or Goodfellow may therefore contain prehistoric sites.

Other prehistoric sites were also on occasion ascribed to supernatural forces. For example, Hobs House in the parish of Ashford in the Water in Derbyshire, is not apparently recorded until the nineteenth century,⁵¹ and it may have been the finding of prehistoric artefacts and burials, probably of the Bronze Age, in the nineteenth century⁵² which caused the name to be given. Scratteheghe in Scarcliffe in Derbyshire, which may be related to the *Scrattchege* 'goblin enclosure' recorded in 1327⁵³, has evidence for occupation ranging from the Mesolithic through the Neolithic and Bronze Ages to the Roman period⁵⁴. Thirst House in Chelmorton, Derbyshire, which is first recorded as *Tursthous* 'giant's house' in 1417⁵⁵, is a cave which has produced both prehistoric and Roman material.⁵⁶ The objects found are not normal occupation debris but indicate that, as with the Yorkshire examples⁵⁷, the cave was a religious site and the items such as brooches and coins were ritual deposits.

The last major association of supernatural place-name elements is with burial sites, both cemeteries and tumuli. For example, the flat mixed cremation and inhumation Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Saltburn in the North Riding of Yorkshire, is located on a rise known as Hob Hill. The excavated objects from the cemetery included brooches, buckles, knives, spears and axes⁵⁸ and it was probably earlier finds of such material which had led to the site being ascribed to goblins. One of the square Bronze Age barrows surrounded by a prominent bank on Baslow Moor in Derbyshire is known as Hob Hurst's House⁵⁹, indicating that a goblin was believed to live there, as must also have been the case with the Neolithic chambered tomb in the Cotswolds known as the Devil's Den as the earth covering had been denuded to reveal the inner stone structure⁶⁰. Finally the barrow near Aldborough in the West Riding of

50. J. Scott Watson, 'Some traditional farming beliefs in the light of modern science', *The Agricultural History Review*, 1 (1953), pp. 4-8, esp. p. 4.
51. *PN Db*, p. 28.
52. I am grateful to Mr. Hart for this information.
53. *PN Db*, p. 296.
54. Information from Mr. Hart.
55. *PN Db*, p. 75.
56. T. Haverfield, 'Romano-British remains', in Page 1905, pp. 191-265, esp. pp. 233-5.
57. A. King, 'A review of archaeological work in the caves of north-west England', in *The Limestones and Caves of North-West England*, edited by A.C. Waltham and M.M. Sweeting (Newton Abbot, 1974), pp. 182-200.
58. W. Horsby, 'An Anglian cemetery at Hob Hill, near Saltburn', *YAJ*, XXII (1913), pp. 131-6.
59. T. Bateman, *Ten Years Digging in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills* (London, 1861), pp. 87-9.
60. Piggott 1954, p. 136.

Yorkshire where a number of decorated urns were found in 1785⁶¹ was known as Devil Cross, although the name has now become **Duel Cross**⁶².

Bronze Age burials in tumuli in southern England and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon secondary burials in barrows in northern England frequently contain rich grave-goods of gold, silver, amber and garnets. Because of this late Anglo-Saxon and Viking tradition ascribed treasure hoards to burial mounds and the later interference which is found on occasion during excavations of tumuli may very often be ascribable to this period. The best example is the inscription left in the great chambered tomb of Maes Howe in the Orkneys by the Vikings who broke through the corbelled vault in the 1150s. The inscription stated that a long time ago a great treasure had been hidden here and that before the Vikings broke into the howe this treasure had been carried off single-handed by Hákon in the course of three nights⁶³. Such treasures were sometimes thought to be protected by a guardian dragon, so that hills whose names contain the elements *draca* or *wyrn* may be archaeological sites, particularly burials which have produced rich material in the past⁶⁴.

3. *Names Referring to Fortifications*

Place-name elements indicating the existence of fortifications are of value both in locating and interpreting archaeological sites, the most important being OE *cæster/ceaster* and OE *burh*. *Ceaster*, being derived from Latin *castrum* 'camp', was often associated with Roman sites and was applied both to fortifications and to places which had been important Roman centres, even if not defended. *Burh* was applied to defended sites regardless of their date, although in northern England it was often used of fortified Roman sites⁶⁵. In many cases the fortification to which the name referred is still obvious: thus in the West Riding of Yorkshire the two major Iron Age hill-forts of Almondbury and Ingleborough have names in *burh* as has Brough on Humber, the East Riding Roman site of *Petuaria*, which was a fortified naval base. Yet even where the nature of the site is known the element chosen may throw light on how it was regarded in earlier times. For example Doncaster, the Roman fort site of *Danum*, in the southern part of Yorkshire, was a major fortified site in the late Anglo-Saxon period⁶⁶ and is listed in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* as one of the twenty-eight *civitates* which were *in tota Britannia*⁶⁷. The *Historia* uses the Celtic form of the name, *Cair Daun*, the English form first being recorded in 1002 as

61. E. Hargrove, *History of Knaresborough*, 5th ed. (York, 1798), pp. 290-1.

62. *PN YW*, V, p. 94.

63. Piggott 1954, p. 253.

64. See further Gelling 1978, pp. 141-2.

65. See further *ibid.*, pp. 143-6.

66. For excavations on the *burh* see P. C. Buckland, 'Doncaster', *YAJ*, 43 (1971), p. 194; *ibid.*, 45 (1973), p. 203.

67. *Nennius, Historia Brittonum*, ed. T. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi*, XIII (Berlin, 1898), ch. 66.

æt *Doneceastre*.⁶⁸ Doncaster was well removed from the primary Anglo-Saxon settlement areas being in a region probably not taken over until the seventh century, although the upper levels of the fourth-century fort have produced some Anglo-Saxon pottery and a zoomorphic belt buckle of a type often associated with federate troops,⁶⁹ so there may have been Germanic mercenaries serving here in the late Roman period. The fact that the element which was chosen by the English was *ceaster* rather than *burh*, even though the town was a true *burh* in late Anglo-Saxon times, suggests that the emphasis may have been less on its fortified aspect than on its Roman background, of which the English may have been more aware if there had been Germanic mercenaries serving there.

Another example is the evidence provided by place-names of how the Anglo-Saxons regarded the Roman signal stations, which had been constructed on headlands along the northern Yorkshire coast in the late fourth century. These all appear to have been sacked and abandoned early in the fifth century, although occupation may have continued in the area nearby.⁷⁰ The stations were not intended to deal with attackers but to relay news of impending danger to the base at Malton as well as to facilitate communications with the fleet at sea. The examples which have been excavated had a central wooden tower, standing some 90 ft. high, from which the messages were relayed, and they were provided with minor fortifications only, consisting of walls with corner bastions and a surrounding ditch. Sufficient traces of these defences apparently survived into the Anglo-Saxon period for them to be interpreted as forts and named accordingly as Flamborough, *Flaneburg*, 1086;⁷¹ Goldsborough, *Golborg*, 1096;⁷² and Scarborough, *Escardeburg*, 1155-63,⁷³ all contain the *burh* element. In relation to these names Bede's description of Whitby is interesting. It seems very likely that there was also a signal station on the headland at Whitby which, like a number of the others, has probably crumbled into the sea but before its existence was recorded. Bede states that the famous synod of 664 was held in *monasterio quod dicitur Strenaeshalc, quod interpretatur Sinus Fari* 'in the monastery which is called Strenaeshalc, which is by interpretation the bay of the lighthouse'.⁷⁴ The second element of this name is OE *hath* 'nook, corner of land', which could be translated into Latin as *sinus*. The first element could be an Old English personal name *Strēon*⁷⁵ or the noun *gestrēon* 'gain, profit, wealth' from which the personal name was formed.⁷⁶ Smith suggests that Bede knew that *strēon* was used to translate Medieval Latin *fara* 'strain, descent', genitive *fave* or *fame*, and mistook

68. PN YW, 1, p. 29.

69. P.C. Buckland, 'Doncaster', *YAJ*, XLIV (1972), p. 219.

70. M.L. Faulk, 'Roman and Anglian settlement patterns in Yorkshire', *Northern History*, LX (1974), pp. 1-25, esp. pp. 18-20.

71. PN YE, pp. 105-6.

72. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society, V (Cambridge, 1928), p. 137.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.

74. Bede, III, 25.

75. Smith 1928, p. 126.

76. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), p. 450.

this for *fari*, genitive singular of *farus* 'lighthouse'. It is possible that Bede was simply explaining the name using folk etymology, but it is also possible that he was led to this interpretation by remains at Whitby similar to those at Flamborough, Goldsborough and Scarborough which led to their being given *burh* names, and which might have suggested the presence of a *farus*. *Farus*, although coming originally from the Greek *pharos* and usually interpreted as 'lighthouse', could also mean a fort or watchtower, as witness Bede's own use of it elsewhere.⁷⁷ Bede seems to have had good sources of information about the monastery at Whitby and so he may well have been informed of the presence of walls suggesting a fort or even a tower.

In some cases the element in a name can help to clarify the exact status of a known site or give a more exact location. For example, the nature of the Roman site at Newton Kyme in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was evidenced by the name, first recorded as *Long Brough* in 1684,⁷⁸ borne by the field in which the site lay, long before the existence of a fort was confirmed by aerial photography. Similarly it has long been felt that the spacing of Roman forts to control the Brigantes required a fort in the region of Adel, 4 miles north of Leeds, where a major Roman site was recognised and destroyed in the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ No evidence for a fort has, however, emerged during the limited excavations which have been carried out. The only place-name evidence was the Domesday Book place-name *Burghdurn*,⁸⁰ which as Burden was the name of a medieval hamlet, apparently located in the southern part of the vill of Weardley adjacent to the vill of Adel but too far away to apply to a site within Adel. It has, however, now been shown that Burden lay in fact in the northern part of Adel township,⁸⁰ and so the Roman site was located either within or on the edge of the area to which the *burh* name applied. This greatly increases the likelihood that there was a fortified Roman site at Adel, all traces of which have now disappeared and indicates that further work in the area may be worthwhile.

The most interesting of the *burh* names are those recorded by 1086 but where there is no known prehistoric or Roman site, so that the reference should be either to a fortified Anglo-Saxon manor house or to some other fortification constructed before the Norman Conquest. All such cases should be treated as potential sites by archaeologists. A few may hide previously unrecognised Iron Age or Roman forts, as with the site of the apparently obscure *burh* name of Burghwallis,⁸¹ where aerial photography has now revealed a Roman fort,⁸² but the number of examples seems too large for this to be the explanation with all cases and it is likely that some at least may be Anglo-Saxon *burhs* or else fortified manor houses. Virtually no such sites

77. Bede, I, 11

78. PN YIV, IV, p. 80.

79. On Adel see M. L. Faull, 'Roman West Yorkshire', in Faull and Moorhouse 1979.

80. Michelmore 1979, under 'Adel'.

81. PN YIV, II, pp. 35-6.

82. M. J. Dolby, 'Burghwallis', *Britannia*, III (1972), p. 311.

are known in northern England and these names may provide a clue to locating sites of this period. One problem is that names recorded at an early date are those of either vills or major settlements, making identification of the exact location of the fortification difficult. Very few of the examples in Yorkshire have earthworks of sufficient size to be recorded by the Ordnance Survey or the *Victoria County History*, but it is noteworthy how frequently there is a minor local name indicating the probable location of the defence. For example, virtually all the places in the Don valley whose names contain a pre-1086 *burh* element, have a 'castle hill' or similar name on their outskirts; Castle Hill (1840), Mexborough;⁸³ Castle Hill Wood (1847), Sprotborough;⁸⁴ Castle Hill (1841), Worsborough;⁸⁵ and Stainborough Castle (an earthwork referred to as 'the castle ruins called Staynbrough Lowe' in 1613), Stainborough.⁸⁶ A similar situation obtains with several other places in Yorkshire which have *burh* names recorded in 1086. Castle Dikes (first recorded as *Castle Hill* in the late seventeenth century), Burton Leonard;⁸⁷ Castle Hill (*Shanking Castle* in 1709), Horbury;⁸⁸ and Great Dike (modern), Goldsborough.⁸⁹ Most of these names, belonging as they do to features of minor importance, are not recorded until the nineteenth century when the first major mapping surveys were carried out, but field-names can sometimes be extremely long-lived. It might be argued that some of these are prominent hills which look as if they would be suitable sites for castles and that this suggested the name, but where the reference to a fortification is in a field-name, it is less likely to have been suggested by the topography.

As a control, it might be noted that where the nature of the fortification is known at a place with a *burh* name, its location often bears a similar name to those listed above and it also is often only first recorded at a relatively late date. For example, the Iron Age hill-fort at Almondbury is located on Castle Hill (first recorded in 1582),⁹⁰ and the site of the post-Conquest castle of Drax is called Draxburgh (1405).⁹¹ Where the defences at the spot are known to be medieval, as with Castle Hill, Conisbrough,⁹² and the Castle, Knaresborough;⁹³ but the *burh* place-name is recorded by 1086, the medieval castle probably replaced a pre-Conquest fortification.⁹⁴ Careful attention should therefore be paid in the future to places with names in *burh* recorded by 1086 and a programme of research is required on a group of such names and particularly on any fields or hills whose names indicate that they may have been the sites of fortifications.⁹⁵

83. *PN YW*, I, p. 78.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

87. *PN YW*, V, pp. 93-4.

88. *PN YW*, II, pp. 150-1.

89. *PN YW*, V, p. 16.

90. *PN YW*, II, p. 258.

91. *PN YW*, IV, p. 9.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

94. It should perhaps be noted that excavations at Castle Hill (1842), Burton in Lonsdale, which is recorded as *Borchane* in 1086 (*PN YW*, VI, pp. 248-9), did not reveal any traces of occupation before the twelfth century (S.A. Moorhouse, 'Excavations at Burton in Lonsdale; a reconsideration', *YAJ*, XLIII (1971), pp. 85-88), possibly indicating a shift in the location of the defences.

95. It is hoped to carry out a study of the early *burh* names of Yorkshire in the near future.

Another element frequently found associated with earthwork fortifications is OE *mægden* 'maiden', the best known example being the great Iron Age hill-fort of Maiden Castle in Dorset, and even Roman forts were sometimes so described, as is shown by Maiden Castle (c. 1540) Westmorland.⁹⁶ It seems rather unlikely that these places were really thought to be frequented by maidens because they were secluded or that they were built by maidens. It is conceivable that they seemed strong enough to be defended by girls alone but the most likely explanation is that their earthworks were regarded as being so impregnable that they had never been breached, like a maiden's virtue. This still leaves a difficulty however, of explaining the attribution to maidens of other prehistoric features, such as the standing stones indicated by the names Maiden Stones⁹⁷ and Maidenkirke,⁹⁸ in which the ON *kirkja* element refers not to a genuine church but to stone formations which were felt to have some sort of religious significance. Possibly the element first became associated with earthworks and was only later extended to other archaeological sites.

4. Names Referring to Lines of Communication

A variety of place-name elements can be used to help reconstruct past communications systems which are of importance to the archaeologist both because they linked major centres and other components of the settlement pattern and because settlements often tended to develop along roads. Thus, for example, it may be possible to locate the site of a medieval mill by identifying the route leading from the settlement towards the watercourse, while there were frequently settlements at major river crossing points in both the Roman period and the Middle Ages which developed to serve the needs of travellers. Old French *caucie* and OE *stræt* were terms which could refer both to the route itself or to points along it while OE *brycg* 'bridge', ON *ferja* 'ferry', and OE *ford* 'ford', refer to the means by which routes were carried across natural obstacles such as rivers. *Stræt* was used to refer to any paved road, but as the building of paved roads was very uncommon in the Middle Ages, most early *stræt* names refer to Roman roads.⁹⁹ 'Street' in field-names recorded in more recent times can relate to any road which appears to have a made surface although even these late names can give a clue to the location of a Roman road. For example there are twenty-three such names along the course of the Great North Road (Margary 28b) in the West Riding of Yorkshire, most of them being field-names not recorded until the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Also along this stretch of road are three fields whose names include the description 'Roman road'. Many of these 'street' fields abut the line of the road, although not invariably and such a name could apparently be used for a field near but not on the road.

96. *PN We*, II, pp. 71-2, where the interpretation of the element is also discussed.

97. *PN YW*, III, p. 84.

98. *PN YW*, V, p. 74.

99. See Gelling 1978, p. 153.

100. Faulk 1979.

Caucie was used to describe any causeway or raised track and may sometimes be used to assist in the reconstruction of medieval routeways whose general line is known but whose exact course is uncertain over particular stretches. The distribution of late *caucie* names is much less closely related to the course of Roman roads than is that of *stræt* names, although *caucie* field-names do occasionally abut Roman road lines,¹⁰¹ which might of course sometimes have continued in use as medieval routes. The term was certainly applied as early as 1291 to the Roman road over Blackstone Edge (Margary 720a) in the south-western corner of the West Riding and it continued to be known as 'Causeway' as late as the nineteenth century.¹⁰² *Caucie* was also sometimes applied to linear earthworks, although only apparently where their remains had been eroded so that they resembled a raised trackway: the stretch of Grim's Ditch which resembles a Roman road (see above, p. 7) is described as 'Ridge/Causeway' on an early eighteenth-century map.¹⁰³

As with many other place-name elements *caucie* may have been used to describe different things in different parts of the country. In Cheshire, for example, the term was applied to cobbled areas adjacent or close to farms,¹⁰⁴ a usage which does not seem to occur in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Isolated *caucie* names in Cheshire may therefore serve as indicators not to routeways but to deserted settlements.

The elements *brycg*, *ferja* and *ford* are on the whole more valuable for plotting communication routes of the Middle Ages as it can be shown that minor place-names containing these elements usually refer to medieval routes.¹⁰⁵ Settlements, as opposed to fields or other minor features, which take their names from a crossing point, tend to lie on major roads and so are less useful as the lines of important roads are often known already from other evidence. These names can, however, occasionally contribute information of interest, especially those names recorded by 1086 which must refer to routes already in existence in the Anglo-Saxon period about which the documentary sources provide relatively little information. For example, the line of *ford* place-names along the Great North Road in the West Riding of Yorkshire can be combined with other evidence to show that this Roman road continued in use in the late Anglo-Saxon period,¹⁰⁶ something which might not otherwise have been suspected as part at least of the road seems to have been replaced by one to the east in the early Middle Ages.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the fact that the name of Pontefract (first recorded in the late eleventh century) refers to a bridge,¹⁰⁸ already broken, suggests that there was an important route running through Tanshelf and Pontefract prior to this date, as might indeed be

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Ibid.*

103. 'A map of the commons belonging to the lordship of Templenewsom bounded according to their perambulation' (c. 1730) (Leeds City Archives, TN/EA/20/3).

104. I am grateful to Mr. J. McN. Dodgson for this information.

105. Moorhouse 1979.

106. M. L. Faull, 'Late Anglo-Saxon West Yorkshire', in Faull and Moorhouse 1979.

107. Moorhouse 1979.

108. *PN YW*, II, pp. 75-6.

expected in view of the importance of the late Anglo-Saxon *villa regia* at Tanshelf on the outskirts of Pontefract. This road probably continued to cross the river Aire at Ferry Fryston whose *ferja* name is first recorded in 1086.¹⁰⁹ Another name of interest is that of Brigham in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon era almost the entire length of the river Hull was a swampy valley, too wet to be crossed on foot but too marshy for the operation of boats. This meant that the southern half of Holderness was isolated from the area to its west as all movement had to be through the northern part of the valley. The southernmost point at which it could be crossed was some 16 miles north of the Humber estuary and the importance of this gateway into Holderness is reflected in the place-name Brigham, first recorded as *Bringeha* in 1086.¹¹⁰ The importance of Brigham decreased in the Middle Ages as it became possible to cross the valley further south but the name survived to record the original crossing point.

5. *Names Referring to Settlements*

In the more upland areas of England the earthworks of deserted medieval settlements tend to have such low profiles that they are difficult to recognise on the ground and they do not cast sufficiently definite shadows to be identifiable on aerial photographs. Moreover the size of the area which would need to be searched on foot is so large that this is not a feasible proposition. It has now been shown that careful searching of all medieval documentation for a particular area and extraction of all details given of people bearing surnames derived from the settlement in which they lived, enables these settlements to be located within individual medieval vills and often to a particular area within a vill,¹¹¹ thus greatly narrowing down the potential area to be searched on the ground, provided that the exact boundaries of the medieval vill have first been established correctly.¹¹² The number of desertions in the upland areas has not been fully appreciated in the past: in the manors of Wakefield and Bradford alone over 2,000 sites have now been identified from the documents which were minor settlements in or before A.D. 1400 and which are now either deserted or represented by only a single farm.¹¹³ In the upland regions it would be misleading to refer to these as 'deserted medieval villages' as the pattern seems always to have been one not of villages but of dispersed settlements of small clusters of houses or even single farms, so that the solitary farm surviving today on a site known to have been occupied in the Middle Ages need not necessarily represent a

109. *PN YW*, II, pp. 85-6, identifies the Domesday Book *Ferie* with Ferrybridge and *Friston* (r) with Water and Ferry Fryston; however, *Ferie* is in fact Ferry Fryston and *Friston* (r) is Water Fryston (see Michelmores 1979, under 'Ferry Fryston').

110. *PN YE*, pp. 90-1, which states that the reference is to a crossing of Frodingham Beck. This beck joins the river Hull a mile to the south of Brigham, which is in fact not on the beck but on a hill half a mile to the west and midway between the beck and the northern reaches of the river Hull.

111. Moorhouse 1979.

112. The township boundaries show on the 1st edition 6 in. Ordnance Survey maps can be shown in Yorkshire to be almost identical to those of medieval vills (Michelmores 1979; Moorhouse 1979). The township areas used in *PN YW* are those of the civil parishes shown on the 6 in. maps issued between 1901 and 1921; as there had been substantial alterations to the boundaries in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, many places are listed in *PN YW* under a different township from that in which they were located in the Middle Ages.

113. Moorhouse 1979.

shrinkage of settlement but merely the maintenance of the *status quo* as it has existed for hundreds of years.

Farm names are therefore invaluable for identifying the sites of places known to have been occupied in the Middle Ages. For example, there are today, about 5 miles west of Bradford, two farms known as Aldersley and Pikeley which are about half a mile apart. Aldersley is first referred to in 1292, although it cannot be shown that it was occupied at that date. In 1353, however, Thomas *del Pikedlegh* accused John *de Aldeleghs* of driving away his cattle, showing that there were certainly people living at both these places then. Today earthworks of medieval house platforms are visible in the field adjacent to the farm at Aldersley, but none can be seen at Pikeley, suggesting that the medieval site there is covered by the present farm.¹¹⁴

In many cases even the single farm has disappeared without record but the medieval name sometimes survives as a field-name either on its own or with the addition of 'croft', 'close' or a similar element. For example, the settlement of *Claverlay* is referred to from the twelfth century on as an area within the vill of Upper Whitley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and having its own territorial boundaries and at least one dwelling. No such place exists today but the Tithe Award marks a field called Clover Leys in the general area where the documents locate the settlement.¹¹⁵ Similarly, two minor medieval settlements, Moorhouse and Woodhouse, are recorded within the vill of Woolley in the West Riding. The site of Moorhouse is today represented by two farms but Woodhouse is 'lost'. On the nineteenth-century Tithe Award, however, there is a group of three fields which are all called 'Woodhouse Close', and a map of 1749, which shows an actual settlement of Woodhouse at this spot, confirms that this is indeed the site in question.¹¹⁶ It is therefore possible in this case to chart the progression of the name, first as that of a settlement from the Middle Ages up to the eighteenth century, then as a field-name in the nineteenth century and finally its disappearance in the twentieth century. It should be noted indeed that although a name may appear now to be lost, this may not necessarily be the case in the upland areas of England where the field boundaries have not been removed in recent times and where local enquiry frequently shows that the name is still used locally although not appearing on any map.

On occasion names can survive in this manner for hundreds of years after the disappearance of the settlement to which they belonged. For example, Domesday Book records a vill known as *Niuuehal(l)e*,¹¹⁷ which, according to the order in which it appears in the summary to the Yorkshire section of Domesday Book, should be located somewhere in the vicinity of Harewood.¹¹⁸

114. *Ibid.* for full discussion of these two sites.

115. *Ibid.*

116. *Ibid.*

117. R.H. Skiff, *Domesday Book for Yorkshire* (London, 1896), pp. 26, 211.

118. Michelmore 1979.

This is in fact confirmed by the last known reference to it in 1328 when it was described as *Newal by Harwold*,¹¹⁹ and at some date the vill was absorbed into Harewood vill. The name is today totally lost but it seems to have survived until the late seventeenth century as it is recorded on an estate map of 1698 as *Newhall Field*, just to the north of the modern village of Harewood.¹²⁰ The original settlement of Harewood was located close to Harewood Hall and next to the church, but there was a shift in settlement with the establishment of the borough on the site of the present village in the early thirteenth century,¹²¹ and it may have been at that date that *Newal* ceased to exist as an independent vill. The site of the settlement indicated by the field-name is today open pasture land with no traces of the platforms of the hall or halls implied by the place-name, although it would seem that pre-Conquest sites do not always leave the same sort of earthworks as medieval sites, possibly because stone footings may not have been used for the buildings.

The name of a deserted settlement very often remained attached not to just one field but to a cluster of fields; it seems possible that similar groups of fields called merely 'croft' without a descriptive first element may also point to the location of lost sites, as *croft* on its own was the normal term for the small field attached to a house. Other fields which should repay investigation are those whose names contain a habitative element, such as *þorp*, as these may also point to settlement sites. It has not yet proved possible to identify any such examples but future work may do so.

Another method of locating deserted settlements or abandoned buildings within existing settlements, is from the survival not of their own name but of names referring to features normally associated with the settlement, such names often surviving long after the feature concerned had vanished. For example, although the 1st ed. 6 in. Ordnance Survey map, sheet 194, marks the site of the 'old hall' at Goodmanham in the East Riding of Yorkshire immediately to the north-east of the church, the Ordnance Survey records note that there was in fact no proof that there had been a hall there and that the designation was based on local belief. No hall appears on Jeffrey's map of 1771-2, but the terriers which go back to 1637 refer to the *hall garth* and the *hall flatte baulke* which they locate in this area.¹²² It therefore seems likely that there was in fact a medieval hall here, which must have disappeared by 1637 at the latest. According to the records of the Victoria County History the court of the manor was formerly held 'in a certain yard or garth but now at the Inn',¹²³ the garth probably being the site of the hall where the court would originally have met. On the site there is a very large flat platform of trapezoid shape with short sides of 139 ft. and 93 ft. and a length along the centre of 248 ft; it is reached from the church by a raised trackway and it is terraced into the hillslope below the church, the platform standing about 15 ft. high above the

119. *PV YW*, IV, p. 180.

120. Leeds City Archives, Har/maps/33.

121. J. E. Erwood, 'The economy of Harewood in the late thirteenth century' (in preparation).

122. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (York), TER/1/Goodmanham.

123. Letter from Robert S. Leighton dated 13 August, 1909, held in the office of the Victoria County History at Beverley, North Humberside.

land by the stream to its north. The size of the platform indicates that it was occupied by a large building such as a hall would have been.

On occasion other features of the medieval landscape unassociated with settlement sites can also be identified from place-names. For example, in the late twelfth century a grant was made to the monks of the church of St. Nicholas at Drax of land to make a barn, lying in length and breadth between the land of Lady Clarissa de Riddlesden, butting on the land called *Silkeridings* and the land of Richard son of Howyse de Morton and butting on the road called *Milnegate*. *Silkriding* is recorded on the 1st ed. 6 in. OS map, sheet 186, the area so named being bounded by a road which leads to the stream and seems likely to be the *Milnegate*. Fieldwork here has enabled the site of the medieval mill to be identified by the stream and the probable site of the twelfth-century barn also survives as a platform terraced into the hillside in the corner of the field which butts on to *Silkriding*.¹²⁴ Where names of features occur in field-names, such as 'lathe field' from ON *hlǫða* 'barn', or 'mill field', but no such feature is known in the area since the Industrial Revolution, then fieldwork may reveal an earlier site.

6. *Names Referring to Post-Medieval Processes*

In areas such as the West Riding of Yorkshire, which have been heavily industrialised, the great majority of the field-names will be found to refer to various aspects of the Industrial Revolution, such as mining or quarrying. These names are of interest both for the post-medieval historian and the planner considering archaeological implications before granting planning approval. Land where any archaeological remains have been totally destroyed by mining or quarrying has often been so completely restored for agricultural purposes that this can no longer be seen and records both of mining and of restoration are often woefully inadequate. Very often evidence for past disturbance of the ground survives only in field-names or minor place-names containing elements such as *delf* 'quarry, pit'; *pytt* 'pit'; *quarrelle* 'quarry'; or *sinder* 'cinder, slag'. *Pytt* is often compounded with *hyll*, referring to quarrying spoil heaps, and its nature is also sometimes specified, as in 'coal pit'.

In addition to mining certain other elements can be used by the industrial historian to reconstruct areas where particular industries were practised and the picture thus built up will sometimes be more accurate and comprehensive than would be possible using documentary records. For example, *tentour*, referring to the frames on which cloth was tented, occurs as an element in many West Riding field-names. Very occasionally these fields still contain the massive stone posts on which the frames were supported, but more often the frames were made entirely of wood and so have vanished, the field-name

124. Moorhouse 1979.

constituting the only evidence for their former presence. It is of course impossible to assign an exact date to when a field so named was used for tenting cloth and the tenter fields in a particular township were doubtless not all used simultaneously. However, it is noticeable that the Tithe Award lists of field-names for certain townships in the West Riding contain extremely large numbers of tenter names, whereas none whatsoever occur in others; the relative proportions of these names could therefore be used to give an indication of where the tenting of cloth was especially practised and those areas where it was not a feature of the economy.

*The Use of Place-Names in Reconstructing General Settlement Patterns:
Late Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman Yorkshire*

For Yorkshire the first major body of recorded place-names is that contained in Domesday Book of 1086, unlike southern England for which there are charters giving place-names which can often be precisely located. Unfortunately there has been a tendency for scholars accustomed to working with the southern material to treat the northern names as being of a similar nature, leading to certain problems and misconceptions arising in the use of this material for reconstructing settlement patterns. A basic misconception which is commonly held is that the early recorded place-names in northern England refer to settlements and that they can therefore be used to reconstruct the settlement pattern in the eleventh century. What Domesday Book is in fact dealing with are the areas or territories of vill: the names recorded there are vill names and the entries refer to the entire vill not to a particular settlement within it. To take but one example, Domesday Book lists a priest, three mills and a fishery at Tanshelf (with which Pontefract is grouped).¹²⁵ The priest probably served at the parish centre, which is certainly located at Pontefract, but it seems extremely unlikely that the three mills all stood together in the settlement of Tanshelf rather than being distributed at various different points in the vill. Moreover Tanshelf is a completely land-locked vill with no water suitable for a fishery. But in 1090, only four years after this, it is recorded that the honour of Pontefract had a demesne fishery at Knottingley,¹²⁶ on the river Aire 4 miles east of Tanshelf, and it seems virtually certain that it is this fishery which is attributed to the vill of Tanshelf in Domesday Book. The entry for Tanshelf in Domesday Book cannot therefore be read as describing a settlement called Tanshelf at which were grouped a church, three mills and a fishery, but rather as describing a vill which owned all these appurtenances.

In northern England the basic administrative unit was the township which in some cases was further subdivided into hamlets.¹²⁷ These townships, which correspond to the medieval vill (see footnote 112 above), are the equivalent of the southern parish in administrative but not ecclesiastical terms: the northern parish was an entirely separate entity often covering very large areas and made up of a number of townships, as with the parish of Halifax, one of the largest, which contained twenty-two townships. Unlike the southern manor

125. Skelton 1896, p. 106.

126. W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters: III* (Edinburgh, 1916), number 1492.

127. See Michelmore 1979 for a full discussion.

which usually comprised a single parish of roughly the same size as a northern township, medieval manors in northern England were often formed from a number of townships. For example, the important manor of Wakefield, which was in origin an Anglo-Saxon royal manor, contained forty-eight and a half townships, grouped into graveships, and the rather smaller manor of Bradford was made up of twelve and a half townships. The township contained within it all the elements necessary to function as an administrative unit,¹²⁸ and at all times it remained inviolate and its boundaries unchanged with changes in ownership of the manor. Most large manors, for example the manor of Wakefield or the honour of Pontefract, also remained constant in their composition throughout the Middle Ages, but the composition of some manors occasionally changed as a result of inheritance by heiresses and their subsequent marriage. Before the Norman Conquest, however, manors other than royal or ecclesiastical estates were not static entities and townships were grouped and regrouped as estates were divided between sons according to the rules of partible inheritance which seems to have been the normal system in parts at least of Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire.¹²⁹

It can be demonstrated that in western Yorkshire the division of the countryside into townships had occurred by the tenth century at the latest and probably much earlier.¹³⁰ Most of these townships appear to take their names from one settlement within them. It cannot, however, be presumed that the settlement of the same name as the vill was the only one in existence within a particular township as Domesday Book only lists the vills by name not the settlements which lay within the vills. A distribution map of names recorded in 1086 is therefore a distribution map of townships plotted according to the settlements of the same name and no more. It is not a map of settlements in existence in 1086 and cannot be used as such.

This is also the case with most of the very few pre-Domesday Book sources which are available for Yorkshire, notably the A.D. 973 memorandum of Archbishop Oswald to the king listing the vills, referred to as *tunas*, which he had lost from his Otley estate,¹³¹ and the list of c. 1030 of the vills which made up the three great estates of Otley, Ripon and Sherburn in Elmet, of the archbishop of York.¹³² The same situation obtains with most of the early Norman documentary material as the majority of the extant twelfth-century charters are concerned with conveying land and so are usually phrased in terms such as 'x acres/carucates in the vill and territory of y'. The area being conveyed probably had its own name but it is subsumed in that of the vill and so is hidden from us. The emphasis in all these documents is very much on the township unit and it is only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that individual places within the vills can begin to be pinpointed.

128. Only a few elements, such as the mill, tended to be manorial rather than township functions.

129. Michelmores 1979.

130. Work on dating the township system is currently in progress.

131. A.J. Robertson *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), number LIV.

132. W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters; I* (Edinburgh, 1914), number 7.

It is indeed questionable whether it is in any way possible to plot any 'early' (i.e. eleventh-century) settlements using dots rather than shading in entire vills. Even the recording of the vill name in an early source such as Domesday Book does not necessarily prove that the known later settlement of the same name was already in existence then. Many of the settlements probably were, but there is no firm evidence that the settlement name always preceded the vill name and it may be the case that sometimes the main settlement within a vill took its name from the vill rather than vice versa. The only certain example of this is Greetland, a township in existence throughout the Middle Ages but where the settlement of that name only developed in the nineteenth century. Some vill names, notably those containing the elements *land* and *feld* and possibly also *wudu*, certainly appear to describe the vill as a whole rather than an aspect of a particular place within it. Moreover, from the time when records do become available in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there are a number of townships which either never had a known centre or where the township name is attached merely to a single farm of no greater size or importance than any of the others in the township. This is particularly noticeable in the more upland parts of the West Riding where the settlement pattern appears always to have been one of dispersed settlement not of nucleated settlements. This is certainly the case when the records become sufficiently detailed to identify individual settlements and seems very likely to have been the situation at an earlier date also; Domesday Book's entries being by vill and not by settlement of course describe a vill with a nucleated centre in exactly the same way as a vill made up of dispersed farms, each with a different name. Thus there are no records of any medieval settlement bearing the *land* names of Greetland, North Croeland or Stainland, nor the *feld* name, Stansfield, while another *feld* name, Langfield belongs to two farms only. Similarly Chevin appears as a separate vill in the archbishop's memorandum of 973 but by 1086 it had become part of the vill of Otley and no settlement called Chevin is known - throughout the Middle Ages the name was always applied merely to the great ridge above Otley which would have formed the major feature of the vill of Chevin. There are a number of other examples of townships with no known centres; for example, Fixby, Lotherton, North Bierley and Parlinton, which are all recorded as vills by 1086. There are also several cases of vills whose names belong to non-nucleated 'settlements' which are strung out over a considerable distance, such as Liversedge and Notton, and of townships where although there is a nucleated centre it does not have the same name as the township. Thus, for example, the main settlement in Wadsworth township is known as Old Town, the major settlement in two vills with names in *wudu*, Lockwood and Longwood, are both also called Old Town, and the main settlement in Liversedge township is not the non-nucleated agglomeration of that name but a centre called Hightown.

This raises certain problems, especially the questions of to what extent were vill names formed before the settlement names and when were the names themselves formed. If a vill name subsequently became attached to a settlement within it, the name might well describe the nature of the vill as a whole

or some prominent feature in it (for example the ridge in the Chevin) and be quite inappropriate for the settlement with which it came to be associated. It is perhaps more likely that this is the case with topographical vill names although it may also be so even where the names appear to contain habitative elements as *ham* and *hwa* were both used in Old English to refer to an estate or vill. Only a complete study of the tenorial pattern of late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman Yorkshire and an analysis of the elements which make up all the vill names can hope to do anything towards resolving this problem,¹³³ but if it was in fact a common phenomenon for the vill names to precede the settlement names, then the interpretation of early settlement patterns by close study of the specific settlement sites to which the names now belong rather than of the general areas of land making up the vills, may have to be rethought.

This paper is in no manner an exhaustive description of the methods by which landscape archaeologists and historians can employ place-names to reconstruct earlier patterns nor of the many problems involved. It is merely intended to point the way forward and to suggest some of the avenues of research which might be followed in the future. Some of the suggestions which have been made may well prove incorrect with further work, while others may have to be modified, but sufficient work has now been done in various parts of the country to show that used with caution and in conjunction with other sources of information, especially the medieval documentary evidence, and backed up with detailed fieldwork, place-names and field-names can make a significant contribution to attempts to build up a picture of man's impact on the landscape through the centuries.

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133. A joint paper on this subject is currently being prepared by M. L. Faull and D. J. H. Michelsmore.