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An examination of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in the East Midlands

Joost Kuurman (pp. 11–44)

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

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

Tel: 0115 951 5919

Email: name-studies@nottingham.ac.uk

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>

AN EXAMINATION OF THE *-ingas*, *-inga-* PLACE-NAMES IN THE EAST MIDLANDS*

This study is a direct result of the article by J. McN. Dodgson in *Medieval Archeology* X (1966), in which he put forward the proposition that the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name may be evidence of a colonization phase, rather than of the immigration phase of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. He argued convincingly that there is no close relationship between the discovered Anglo-Saxon pagan burial sites and the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names and that the period in which the 'personal-name *-ingas*' formula was in vogue, was not coeval with that of the discoverable Anglo-Saxon burial site. While drawing his conclusions for South-east England, he called for a complementary analysis of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names and of the pagan burial sites over the whole of England. The present study examines the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names and pagan burial sites in the East Midlands, covering Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire. Its purpose is to put Mr Dodgson's conclusions as regards *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names and pagan burial sites here to the test and to modify the relationship between *-ingahām* place-names and *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names. The place-names as well as the burial sites are typologically analysed against their topographical and geological contexts.

The *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are the names of communities used to denote the area or place in which they lived. The first element of these names may be a personal name or a significant word.

The personal names found or supposed as the base of *-ingas* folk-cum-place-names are of two types. Monothematic personal names far outnumber dithematic personal names, which are, in fact, infrequent. Both types occur in simplex *-ingas* place-names, in *-ingahām* and in *-inga-* with other element place-names.¹ In the East Midlands no example of a pers.n.² *-ingas* has been found; there are only two instances of pers.n.² *-ingahām* and one of pers.n.² *-inga-el.*, while monothematic

* This study was completed in July 1971.

personal names occur frequently, as in the country at large. Examples are Hickling Nt (*Hicel*) for pers.n.¹ *-ingas*; Immingham L (*Imma*), and Walkeringham Nt (*Wealhere*), Leasingham L (*Lēofsige*)² for pers.n.¹ and pers.n.² *-ingahām*; Finningley Nt (*Finn*) and Fotheringhay Nth (*Forðhere*) for pers.n.¹ and pers.n.² *-inga-el*. The discrepancy in the frequency of occurrence of monothematic and dithematic personal names in *-ingas*, *inga-* place-names may be explained by the fact that often OE monothematic personal names were either short forms of compound names, or were derived from descriptive common nouns and adjectives, hence *Billa* from OE *bill* 'battle-axe, sword' and *Brēme* from OE *brēme* 'famous'. The latter group also includes descriptive nouns of a zoomorphic nature, such as *Bārla* from OE *bār* 'boar' as in Barlings L, **Fygla* from OE *fugol* 'bird' as in Fillingham L, and *Hrōc(a)* from OE *hrōc* 'rook' as in Rockingham Nth.

In the East Midlands there is one instance where the same personal name occurs in a pers.n.¹ *-ingahām*/*-inga-* formation. Winteringham and Winterton L, are paralleled in this area by Nottingham and Sneinton Nt, although no early forms in *-inga-* survive for Sneinton. In DB it is recorded as *Notintone* and later as *Snotintone* (12th c.).³ It would appear from the geographical juxta-position of Winteringham and Winterton—they are less than three miles apart—that the *-ingatūn* name was an outlying settlement of the same group, known as the *Wintringas*. A similar process may be conjectured for Sneinton. We may here have an instance of a group of people separating themselves from the main body and settling near to the mother-village, acknowledging their identity in the new settlement-name. It is worth remembering at this point that not a few of these early place-names must have originated out of the need for identification. It may well be that people round about a particular place were the first to coin the place-name in order to avoid confusion. So, the new settlement south of Winteringham

¹ The following formulae are used throughout this paper: pers.n.¹ and pers.n.² for a monothematic and dithematic personal name respectively. So, pers.n.¹ *-inga-el* stands for the genitival inflexion of a folk-name (*-ingas* suffixed to a monothematic personal name), prefixed to a place-name element other than *hām* (which is referred to as *-ingahām*).

² Sir A. Mawer, *Problems of Place-Name Study*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 106, suggests that the OE pers.n.¹ *Leofa* may be the base of Leasingham L. If so, one would have to suppose an *-s-* infix. Alternatively, one may assume pers.n.² *Lēofsige*.

³ PN Nt 174; Cf. Elements I 291–3 for a discussion of the various views on *-ingtūn* and *-ingatūn*.

was perhaps first referred to as *Wintringatūn* 'the outlying settlement of the *Wintringas*' by neighbouring people.⁴ Whether the people in Winterton or those round about first coined the *-tūn* name is in some ways immaterial; what is relevant and important (here), is the social unity of the *Wintringas* that must have existed at the time these names were first used, a fact sufficiently appreciated by the name-givers in their coinage of *Wintringatūn*.

The second type of *-ingas*, *-inga-* names is that derived from a toponymic rather than from a personal name, a formation denoting 'the dwellers at a place'. This class includes names like Meering Nt, and Thurning Nth, Nf, both consisting of a topographical identification prefixed to a group-forming suffix *-ingas*. Meering, from OE **Meringas* would mean 'the dwellers at the pool', the reference being to a pool formed naturally by the alternative course of R. Trent. Thurning, goes back to OE **þyrningas* 'dwellers at the place overgrown or surrounded by thorn bushes', from OE *þyrne* 'thorn bush'. A toponymic prefixed to *-inga-el.* occurs in the East Midlands in Farthinghoe Nth, Stenigot and Wellingore L, while a similar element is prefixed to *-ingahām* in Hagworthingham L, Hoveringham Nt, Uppingham R, and Mareham-on-the-Hill L. Another three *-inga-* and one *-ingahām* place-names are perhaps to be added, although their first element could equally well be an unrecorded personal name: Stallingborough L, Gringley-on-the-Hill Nt, Kislingbury Nth, and Hameringham L. Spalding L, is mapped as a pers.n.¹ *-ingas* formation, though it may, alternatively, be derived from OE **spald* 'ditch, trench', cognate with OHG *spalt*, topographically appropriate to the Fen district in which Spalding is situated. The occurrence of its first element in at least three other counties — Spalding Moor and Spaldington ERY, Spaldwick Hu and Spalford Nt⁵ may support the hypothesis that the group known as *Spaldas* split up and settled independently of each other in counties as far apart as the East Riding of Yorkshire and Huntingdonshire, yet identifying themselves as members of an established social unit and honouring their allegiance to it in their settlement-names. It is difficult to determine whether the folk-name *Spaldas* was already employed before the migration of the tribe from the

⁴ Cf. Elements II 190.

⁵ Cf. PN-Ing 63-4; and also PN Nt 127-8; PN BedsHu 247-8; PN ERY 241.

continent, though this would assist the explanation of its multiple occurrence in the Lowlands Zone. The possibility, however, of an unrecorded personal name cannot be ruled out.

It has been said above that *-ingas* names are archaic names, but this statement needs some explanation and modification. Place-name scholars have long recognized the great antiquity of the *-ingas* folk-names, but it should be remembered that *-ingas* names in which the association is geographical are not necessarily as old as those in which there is personal relationship. Coinages of the latter type are restricted to the period immediately following the migration and colonization by the Germanic peoples. The former group can be shown to include formations which must have come into use after the Danish settlements of the 9th century. *Fifburgingas* 'the men of the Five Boroughs', mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s.a. 1013, and referring to the confederacy of the Five Boroughs of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln and Stamford, is probably a tenth century coinage, and shows that *-ingas* folk-names with a toponymic as their first element were still being coined in the later OE period. Personal name theme *-ingas* names are archaic in the sense that they did not persist as a living type much beyond the middle of the seventh century when the colonization process had well superseded that of initial immigration settlement. The frequent lack of unrecorded OE personal names which may reasonably be supposed to be the first element of *-ingas* folk-names and the fact that a number of continental personal names which can be shown to be related to certain hypothetical OE personal names have survived on record, illustrate the hypothesis that a large number of OE personal names was lost before written records were made — Healing L probably contains an OE pers.n.¹ **Hægel*, cognate with OHG *Hagilo*, and the personal name found in Gedling Nt is related to OHG *Gōdila*.

Place-names in *-inga-* are generally supposed to be later in origin, but not much later, than pers.n.^{1/2} *-ingas* names.⁶ They are prefixed to a habitative termination like OE *-hām*, *-burh*, *-tūn*, *-worþ*, *-lēah*, *-feld*. It should be noted that the last three were originally nature-names, but came to be employed as habitative elements descriptive of the area where people had *settled* and are as such not habitative names. In the country at

⁶ IPNS 53-4.

large they outnumber the -ingas names. In the East Midlands there are 69 etymologically certain examples of -inga- formations, as against 16 ending in -ingas, or 83% of the -ingas, -inga- place-names in this area are genitival formations followed by a habitative element, and more than half of the -inga- names terminate in OE *hām*.⁷ In South-east England only 14.3% of the etymologically certain -inga- names terminate in -*hām*, and the -ingas names slightly outnumber the -inga- formations.⁸ The significance of these figures makes it imperative that the -*ingahām* place-names in the East Midlands should deserve some special attention in order to try and establish their relationship with -ingas and other -inga- names. They will, therefore, be examined in greater detail in the discussion of the counties. It may be safe to draw one general conclusion at this stage regarding -*ingahām* formations. It would appear that the Germanic people who settled in the area which was later to become the territory of the Middle Angles favoured the use of the habitation element *hām* suffixed to -inga- more than their fellow migrants in the South-east of England.

There is general agreement among place-name scholars that *hām* is one of the older Old English habitative elements in this country. In a recent article, Dr Margaret Gelling drew attention to the *archaic* nature of the compound *wīchām*.⁹ If her conclusions are accepted — and there seems at present no reason to doubt the validity of her argumentation that *wīchām* was used, if not by Germanic *laeti*, then by the earliest migrants — we may perhaps assume that the use of OE *hām* in -*ingahām* place-names has the same archaic nature as has been supposed for -ingas folk-cum-place-names.¹⁰ The evidence for this claim is partly geographical: twenty-two -*ingahām* names, or 62.5% of the total number of -*ingahām* names in the East Midlands, are situated near Roman roads, including three — *Lobingeham*, Immingham and Alvingham L — which are between the coast and a prehistoric trackway running in a general north-south direction along the dip slope of the Wolds. Twenty names are pers.n.¹ -*ingahām* formations; Leasingham L

⁷ Cf. Elements I 226–9 for a discussion of OE *hām*.

⁸ J. McN. Dodgson 21–7.

⁹ “English Place-Names derived from the Compound *wīchām*”, *Medieval Archaeology* XI, 1967, 87–104.

¹⁰ See also Dr B. H. Cox, “The Significance of the Distribution of English Place-Names in *hām* in the Midlands and East Anglia”, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, Vol. 5, 1972–1973, pp. 15–73. In this article a similar historical sequence for -*ingahām* names is suggested.

contains either pers.n.¹ or pers.n.² and Hagworthingham L is an el. *-ingahām* formation. Another three *-ingahām* place-names may, perhaps, be added to this group: Messingham, Corringham and Willingham-by-Stow L, all in the area enclosed on the west side by R. Trent and by the Roman roads Margary 28 to the south and 2d (Ermine Street) to the east. They, too, are pers.n.¹ *-ingahām* names. As far as the East Midlands is concerned, there seem to be indications that *-ingahām* names may be older in origin than has hitherto been supposed by place-name students. This assumption does not imply, of course, that *hām* had the same terminal date as *-ingas* formations.¹¹

The distribution of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in relation to that of the early Anglo-Saxon pagan burial sites has been considered by place-name scholars during the last four decades. In 1936 J. N. L. Myers discussed the differences between the two distribution patterns and argued that anomalies in the pattern of distribution were to be ascribed to either the non-survival of an *-ingas* name or the non-discovery of a burial site.¹² Twenty years later Professor A. H. Smith¹³ conjectured that the discrepancy might be accounted for when place-name students were able to distinguish "... what common characteristics there may be that would indicate types of 'early' English place-names".¹⁴ An investigation of this kind may bring to light elements, perhaps giving rise to nature-names, that were used before the *-ingas* type became 'common', and it could well be these that correlate with early pagan burial sites. It was not until 1965 when J. McN. Dodgson published his article on the *-ingas*, *-inga-* names in the South-eastern parts of England, that a detailed study of the distribution-discrepancies was carried out. He distinguished an immigration phase in the settlement-process of the Anglo-Saxons followed by a colonization phase, and concluded that "... the *-ingas* place-name seems to be the result of a social development contemporary with a colonization process later than, but soon after, the immigration settlement that is recorded in the early pagan burials."¹⁵

¹¹ J. McN. Dodgson 3. He observes that the terminal date of *-ingas* folk-names may well be later than has been thought.

¹² "Britain in the Dark Ages", *Antiquity* IX, 1935, pp. 455-64; esp. p. 462.

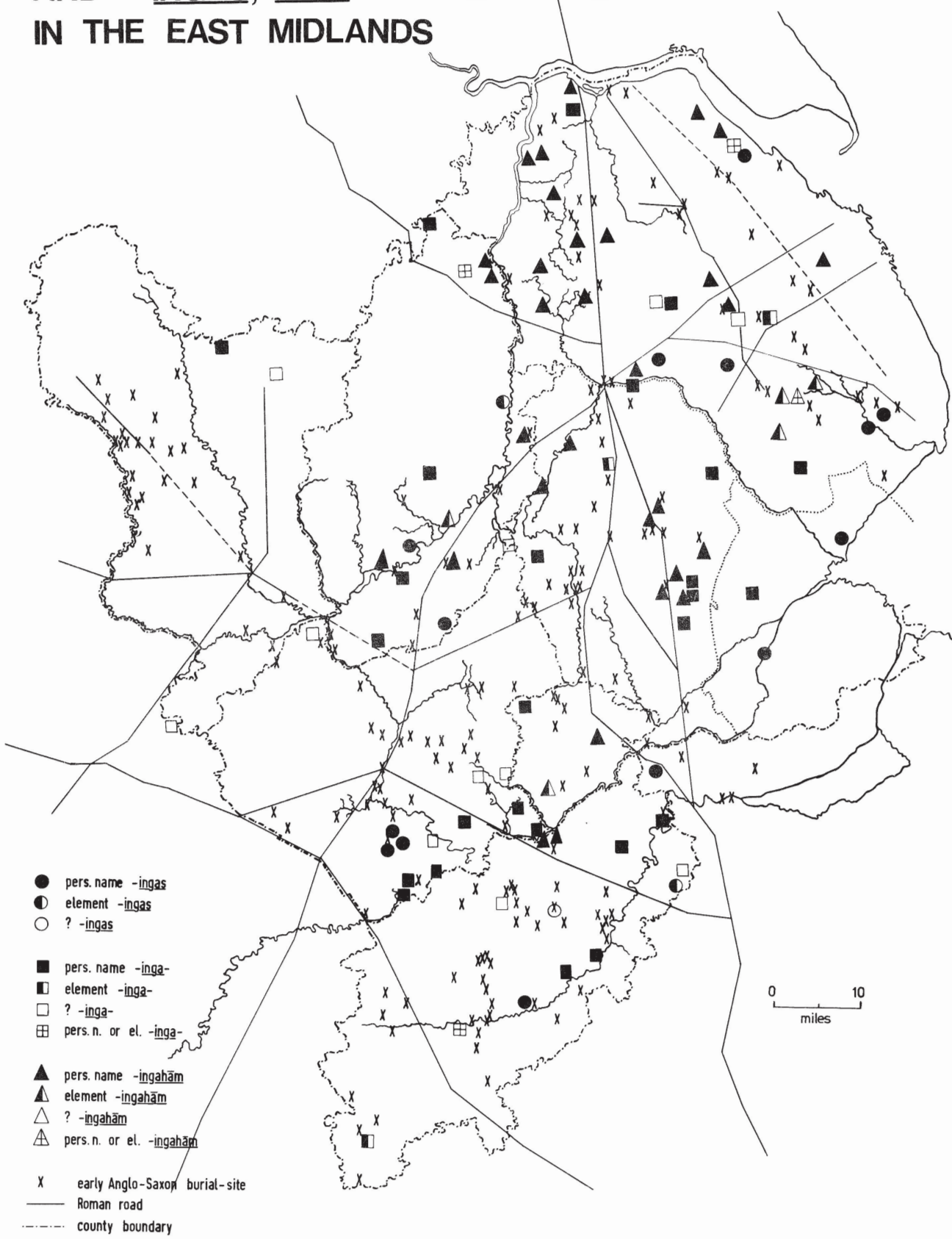
¹³ "Place-Names and the Anglo-Saxon Settlement", *Proceedings of the British Academy* XLII, 1956, pp. 67-88.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* 84.

¹⁵ J. McN. Dodgson 19.

EARLY ANGLO-SAXON BURIAL SITES AND -INGAS, -INGA- PLACE-NAMES IN THE EAST MIDLANDS

MAP 1



The Anglo-Saxon pagan burial is a collective term describing the various modes employed by the Germanic people in burying their dead and its time-range stretches from the late 4th century till about 700 A.D.¹⁶ The term 'burial(s)' is reserved for those sites which contain up to three individual interments whether cremation or inhumation, while 'cemetery' denotes more than three interments. It is generally true to say that cremation was more fashionable with the Angles and that inhumation was favoured by the Jutes and the Saxons. Sixteen cremation cemeteries are found in the East Midlands, including such large cemeteries as South Willingham L (BS 20) and Ancaster L (BS 71), against 36 inhumation cemeteries with large cemeteries at Market Overton R (BS 100, 101) and Stamford L (BS 183).¹⁷ A third group, the mixed cemeteries, where inhumation occurs by the side of cremation, is well evidenced in the East Midlands. It is represented by a total of 27 sites, the most notable being Lovedon Hill L (BS 68) and Sleaford L (BS 73). It ought to be pointed out that these numbers are by no means definite. Many sites are classified as 'doubtful' and may on further investigation turn out to be recognizable sites. The pagan burial sites, then, may be regarded as indications of early settlement and their distribution¹⁸ may provide an answer to the question as to where the Germanic people settled. Conclusions drawn from the distribution patterns of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, however, must be handled carefully. For a legitimate analysis of these sites one has to separate the pagan burial sites of the immigrants, which originate early in the time-sequence of the settlement process, from those of the colonizers. Dodgson's premise to drop the requirement for Anglo-Saxon burial sites and -ingas, -inga- place-names to be contemporary¹⁹ provides a useful lead. In his examination of South-east England he found that the -ingas, -inga- place-names are not generally to be associated with the discoverable pagan burial sites.²⁰ Coincidental burials may be due to either a continuation of burial habit by a pre -ingas community which adopted the

¹⁶ Cf. A. L. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, London, 1964, Introduction.

¹⁷ The numbers of the burial sites (prefixed by BS) are given in parentheses after the name of the site, and correspond with the numbering on Map 3, and that in Appendix II.

¹⁸ See Map 3.

¹⁹ J. McN. Dodgson 5. Myers was the first to emphasize this possibility in *Antiquity* IX, 1935, p. 459.

²⁰ J. McN. Dodgson 18-9.

status of an *-ingas* society in folk- and place-name (the early to late burial sites), or a re-colonization by an *-ingas* group of a place formally inhabited by a migration community (the early burial site), or, finally, a tendency to retain the old burial practice by an *-ingas* group settling in new territory (the late burial site and the undiscoverable burial site).

THE DIVISIONS OF LINCOLNSHIRE

The names of the Divisions of Lincolnshire, Lindsey, Kesteven and Holland, give away much of their natural and geological characteristics, which we find reflected in the place-name evidence of each of these areas. Lindsey is an "island"; surrounded by the North Sea on the east, it is separated from Yorkshire by the Humber estuary, from Nottinghamshire by the R. Trent in the west and its southern boundary is formed by the R. Witham till just north of Boston. Settlements of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* type as well as pagan burial sites are found in the western part of Lindsey, predominantly in the area enclosed by R. Trent and the Roman road Margary 28 and 2d (Ermine Street), and in the south-east corner on either side of the Roman road Margary 27 from Stainton down to Burgh-le-Marsh. No *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are found on the Wolds, but there are a few burial sites. The reverse is true for the eastern Wold slopes, where there is only one late 6th or early 7th century inhumation burial found at Cleethorpes (BS 15) against three *-ingahām*, one *-inga-el.* and one *-ingas* place-name.

Kesteven consists for the greater part of clay lands which were heavily wooded in Roman and Anglo-Saxon times. The Ordnance Survey maps for these periods show these areas as thickly wooded, a characteristic feature of this Division evidenced in its name. The DB form *Chetsteven* is a hybrid compound derived from Brit. Pr. Welsh **cēd*, **coid*, Welsh *coed*, meaning 'wood', while its second element is probably OE *stefna* 'meeting', here to be interpreted as 'administrative district'. The north-eastern boundary is formed by R. Witham and this district has hardly any burial sites or *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names. Its swampy nature is reflected in the many names ending in OE *ēg*, as in the *-inga-el.* place-name Billingham, indicating settlements on gravel patches. Another natural boundary is the Lincoln Gap in the north of Kesteven. Pagan burial sites and *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are in the main distributed along the Roman roads and the river valleys.

Holland, with early forms like Hoylandia (664 KCD 984), *Hoilant* and *Hoiland* (DB), meaning 'land on the spur'²¹ is practically devoid of -ingas, -inga- names. Scrane End is just north of R. Witham and near the coast. Quadring is some seven miles due north of Spalding, which is on R. Welland. No pagan burial sites have been found in this area, which indicates that Holland was very much an area of transit for the Germanic peoples coming in and following the Witham, Glen, Welland and Nene upstream till they had reached firmer ground in Northamptonshire, Kesteven and Lindsey. Its predominantly marshy and swampy land was unattractive to early settlers and the place-names Quadring and possibly Spalding provide linguistic evidence for this muddy fenland area.

There appears to be little agreement between the distribution patterns of -ingas, -inga- names and pagan burial sites in the Lindsey Division of Lincolnshire.²² One striking point of resemblance between the two calls for attention. Apart from the Wolds area where some pagan burial sites have been found but no -ingas, -inga- place-names, the two patterns seem to indicate a correlation between the Roman roads and the river valleys. Although they do not generally coincide in these areas, the -ingas, -inga- place-names appear to be related closer to the Roman lines of communication than to the rivers. The sites mapped as Grayingham(15), South Willingham(24), Benniworth(25), Mareham-on-the-Hill(33), Hameringham(34) and Great Steeping(40) are near pagan burial sites.²³ The inhumation cemetery at Horncastle (BS 35) is situated in the valley of R. Baine and is a fair distance, though less than two miles, away from Mareham. In the case of the Asgarby inhumation cemetery (BS 36), two tributaries of R. Baine form intervening natural obstacles between this site and Hameringham. At Candlesby there is an inhumation cemetery (BS 39) which may or may not have some connection with Great Steeping. A similar instance is the 7th century inhumation cemetery (BS 21) near Stenigot. The large and important cremation cemetery at South Willingham (BS 20) is within a two-mile radius of South Willingham and Benniworth. It may well be linked with the former, but association with Benniworth is rendered

²¹ Cf. DEPN and Ekwall's discussion in *Studia Neophilologica* II, 1928, p. 35.

²² See Map 1.

²³ For the location of these place-names and burial sites, see Map 2 and Map 3.

unlikely because of a tributary of R. Witham, which separates it from the burial site. The inhumation cemeteries at Kirton-in-Lindsey (BS 7) and Willoughton (BS 16) are situated north and south of Grayingham respectively. The Kirton-in-Lindsey site is separated from Grayingham by a tributary of R. Eau, itself a tributary of R. Trent, and the burial site at Willoughton is two miles away from it, thus making association doubtful.

There are three important Roman roads in Lindsey. Ermine Street, running due north from the Lincoln Gap, ends at Winteringham and continues on the north bank of the Humber. Margary 27 runs from Lincoln to Burgh-le-Marsh in the South-east, thus linking the northern shore of the Wash with the Wolds directly to the north and then swinging westwards to join Ermine Street at Lincoln. Four miles north of Lincoln, Margary 28 leaves Ermine Street and takes a north-easterly route towards Doncaster and from there to York. There are several minor roads completing the pattern of Roman roads in Lindsey. Margary 272 connects Lincoln with Grainthorpe crossing the Wolds and running south of Wold Newton where a cremation cemetery (BS 17) has been found. Margary 273 runs from Stixwold to Saltfleetby and crosses the Wolds at Cawkwell. It may well have continued to the south-west to join up with Margary 260 which leaves King Street at Bourne and runs through Sleaford. To the west of Ermine Street is High Street, Margary 270, running along the western edge of the steepening scarp slope of the Wolds from South Ferriby down to Horncastle. Branching off from High Street at Caistor is Margary 271. It extends as far as the fenland around North Kelsey. Presumably it continued from there to join up with Ermine Street at a point south-west of Hibaldstow. Almost parallel to High Street but on the coastal side of the Wolds is a prehistoric trackway which is likely to have been used in Roman times and after. It runs down from Barton-upon-Humber along the eastern escarpment of the Wolds as far south as Willoughby. This intricate pattern of Roman roads and prehistoric trackways made Lindsey accessible to the Germanic tribes penetrating deeper into the country, and it is quite remarkable to notice how neatly many of the *-ingahām* names follow the pattern of these roads. The main rivers with their numerous tributaries must have been used as well, but the distribution plot of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names seems to indicate that more

importance ought to be attached to the roadways than to the waterways.

In the West Riding there are a number of *-ingahām* place-names near Ermine Street, which follows the Lincolnshire Limestone ridge to the south.²⁴ In the north is Winteringham(1), situated over outcrops of various lithology, thus securing a well-watered settlement site rising above the Alluvium which slopes down to the Humber estuary. Its dependency Winterton(2) is on a gravel patch bordered by Lower Oolite Limestone, which also provides a good, dry site. Further south are Grayingham(15) and Waddingham(16), to the west and east of Ermine Street respectively. Waddingham is on a gravel spread and Grayingham is over a Marlstone Bed, valuable to an agricultural community. Continuing south down Ermine Street, Fillingham(20) is situated where Marlstone outcrops Upper Lias Clay, this breakline providing easy access to water. Willingham(19) is on Lower Lias Clay and Limestone just above the floodplain of R. Till. Corringham(14) and Messingham(9) are also over Lower Lias Clay and Limestone. Frodingham(8) is on the springline of Lower Lias Clay and Gravel. All these sites are attractive to colonists and ideally situated from an agricultural point of view.

The North and South Riding, too, have a fair number of *-ingahām* place-names near Roman roads. *Lobingeham*(3), *Immingham*(4) as well as *Stallingborough*(5) and *Healing*(6)²⁴ are all on Chalky Boulder Clay rising above the Blown Sand of the coastal strip. Again, the fertile soil here must have attracted the colonizing groups settling in these places. The chalky character of the Boulder Clay makes the soil lighter and less heavily wooded, so that it would be easier to cultivate than the heavy but very fertile Boulder Clay. *Immingham* lies in a coomb and is therefore best protected. It shares the advantage of being situated on the gentle slope of the Wolds, which is shown on the map to have 30- and 70-foot contours, with the other three places.

North Willingham(23) on Margary 272 and South Willingham(24) and Benniworth²⁴ close to and on King Street are all situated on Kimeridge Clay. *Cherry Willingham*(29) is over Kellaways Rock close to Cornbrash. This secures a well-drained site with reasonably easy access to water.

²⁴ See Map 2.

The importance of the Roman roads in relation to the *-ingahām* place-names in Lindsey seems indisputable. Many of them are near to the roads on undoubtedly attractive sites. It would seem that it is arguable that the colonists using the Roman roads when moving away from the primary immigration settlement areas, chose the attractive sites not too far inland from the roadway to establish their permanent settlement sites.

In Kesteven only the places mapped as Folkingham(60) and Threkingham(61) may have had some connection with the burial site near Threkingham (BS 88). In the case of Folkingham a stream forms a natural obstacle between the burial site and the place and, moreover, the site is so poorly attested that it must be left out of discussion. The burial sites at Sleaford and Quarrington (BS 73, 72) cannot be linked with Holdingham(47), which is north of R. Slea, thus rendering association doubtful.

Ermine Street, King Street and Mareham Lane (Margary 260), divide Kesteven roughly in two equal parts. Five *-ingahām* place-names are near Mareham Lane and there is one *-inga-el.* place-name off Ermine Street. The places plotted as Leasingham(48), Holdingham(47), Threkingham(61), Folkingham(60) and Sempringham(62)²⁴ are all within two miles of Mareham Lane. Leasingham and Holdingham are over Cornbrash where it is outcropped by the underlying Marlstone Rock Bed.²⁵ Threkingham is sited over Cornbrash in the valley of R. Glen and Folkingham is on the breakline of Great Oolite Limestone and Marlstone Rock Beds with overlying Cornbrash. Sempringham is over Great Oolite Limestone bordered by Oxford Clays with Kellaways Sands at the base, and Wellingore(43), on the west side of Ermine Street, is on the slope of Lincoln Edge, on the breakline of Upper Lias Clay and Lincolnshire Limestone, which gives it a good water supply. Somewhat further to the east of Sempringham are Horbling(64), which is also over Cornbrash on the edge of a wide gravel Fen Bed, and Billingborough(65), which is on the same stretch of gravel Fen Beds. They provide well-drained sites. To the north-east of Horbling is Helpringham(55), raised just above the sandy soil of the Fens, now known as Helpringham Fen, on a patch of Glacial gravel. South of Sempringham and also on

²⁵ L. W. H. Payling's *Geology and Place-Names in Kesteven* formed the basis for the discussion of the geological context of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in this area.

the east side of Mareham Lane is Rippingale(63), again over Cornbrash outcropping Oxford Clay. Bassingham(37) and Beckingham(42) are both by R. Witham and were therefore easily accessible sites for colonists following the river. Fosse Way is some three miles to the east of these places, but it seems doubtful that there is any association to be made. All these places and in particular those near Mareham Lane are on ideally suitable sites; the Great Oolite Limestone, especially where it occurs near an outcrop of Cornbrash, seems to be preferred, the former for its dry sites and Cornbrash for its valuable marl element which makes it a favourable soil for agriculture. The sites further away, but still less than two or three miles, from Mareham Lane are on either Cornbrash or a spread of gravel which also provides a dry site and gives easy access to water from wells.

No burial grounds or Roman roads are found in Holland. There are three *-ingas* place-names, Scrane End (56), Spalding(70) and Quadring(66) situated in the middle of Silt and Clay Fen Beds, typical of this area. The slightly raised level of Quadring was presumably the reason for settling on this somewhat drier site, although it must have been muddy as indicated by the first element of the place-name (OE *cwēad*).²⁶ No especially good reasons can be given for the settlements at Scrane End or Spalding.

The general impression of the distribution of *-ingas*, *inga*-place-names and pagan burial sites in the Divisions of Lincolnshire as a whole is that the main rivers and the Roman roads provided the highways in the very early stages of Anglian settlement and that the Roman lines of communication in particular were used by the colonists as convenient routes to penetrate deeper and further into the country. In their movement away from the immigration settlement areas they established new permanent sites on attractive soils near the Roman roads and to a lesser extent near the rivers and their tributary streams, distinguishing their villages from earlier ones not only by name, but in the main also by the discontinuity of discovered, and possibly discoverable, pagan burial sites.

The *-ingahām* names are mostly on or close to the Roman

²⁶ For the interpretation of Quadring and the comparable Horbling, *v.* PN Ing 62-3 and 65.

lines of communication, situated on very suitable and attractive spots. Where they occur along rivers and streams they are on equally good sites, but even these places are not far away from a Roman road. In the case of Burringham(7) and Frodingham(8) it may perhaps be argued that the area in which they are situated could be easily colonized because of the enclosing Roman roads and R. Trent. It would appear that the groups who settled in these places favoured the OE element *hām* combined with their folk-name in coining a place-name, either for their own settlement or for one near by. The *-inga-el.* place-names are as a rule at a greater distance from the roadways and the rivers and *-ingas* place-names occur either as names of riverine settlements or are reasonably near Roman roads.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE

The distribution patterns of pagan burial sites and *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire²² require us to concentrate mainly on the Trent valley and its immediate surrounding area. As far as the heathen burial sites are concerned, one is struck by a large outlying cluster of inhumation tumuli between the rivers Dove and Derwent. No *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are found in this area at all. Totley(17) and possibly Brimington(18) in the north-east of Derbyshire are the only examples of *-inga-el.* formations in this county.²⁷ Nottinghamshire has three *-ingas*, five *-inga-el.*, one *?-inga-*, and six *-ingahām* place-names. Pagan burial sites are found south of R. Trent. The only exception is an inhumation burial found at Oxton, which might go to show that early settlers did not favour the area north of R. Trent, because of the nature of the soil.²⁸ The *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are found on both sides of the river. Those north of R. Trent are undoubtedly river-valley settlements, whereas those to the south are a good deal further away from the river.

Two *-ingahām* and one *-inga-el.* place-name are near pagan burial sites. The places plotted as Collingham(36), Bingham(52) and Bassingfield(51)²⁴ have a geographical relationship with

²⁷ According to PN Db xxiii-xxiv, no examples of *-ingas* or *-ingahām* are found in that county. One may perhaps accept Totley, and, to a lesser extent Brimington, as *-inga-* formations compounded with OE *lēah* and *tūn* respectively, and with a personal name as first element, v. PN Db 315 and 227-8.

²⁸ PN Nt xiv-xv.

pagan burial sites. The site at North Collingham (BS 51) has not yielded sufficient evidence for precise dating²⁹ and the possibility of associating this site with Collingham must therefore be discarded until fresh evidence comes to light. The inhumation burial at Parson's Hill (BS 66) is also insufficiently evidenced, and must therefore unfortunately be ignored. The mixed cemetery at Holme Pierrepont (BS 65) may or may not be associated with Bingham.

The two *-ingahām* and *-inga-el.* places in North Nottinghamshire are situated between the Roman road, Margary 28, and R. Trent. It would appear that Walkeringham(12) and Beckingham(13) belong to the large group of *-ingahām* names noticed in the West Riding of Lincolnshire. The area enclosed by Margary 28 in the south and Ermine Street to the west with R. Trent as its main river, includes ten *-ingahām* and three *-inga-el.* place-names, one of which, Winterton(2), clearly belongs to Winteringham(1). Waddingham(16) is the only outlying *-ingahām* name and may perhaps be associated with this group. From a geological point of view Walkeringham and Beckingham are attractive sites. Both are over fertile Keuper Marls, as is Gringley-on-the-Hill(11) which is also in a slight coomb, and therefore in a sheltered position. Further to the South are Meering(28), Hoveringham(46), Gedling(50), Nottingham(49), all on the North bank of R. Trent, and Bassingfield (51), south of the river. There is no doubt that they are settlements founded by colonists using the river as their main highway. Without exception they are on suitable and attractive spots, mostly on patches of gravel, giving well-drained sites and not immediately in danger of being flooded. Fertile farmlands near by must have been an additional incentive for settlement. Nottingham itself was strategically important and ideally situated on higher ground well away from the floodplain of the river, overlooking the confluence of R. Leen and R. Trent. South of Nottingham, the wide expanse of Triassic Clay, which is shown on the Ordnance Survey Map of *Roman Britain* as heavily wooded, must have deterred *-ingas* communities from settling. Costock(58) adjacent to the inferred continuation of Margary 182, which linked Derby with Sawley on R. Trent and which may have continued south of

²⁹ A. L. Meaney (*v.* footnote 16) classifies this site as "doubtful"; *v.* North Collingham s.n.

the river to join Fosse Way, is over a long but smallish expanse of Older River Gravel with clay, which provides a well-watered and dry site with a not too heavy soil, close to the river and near the Roman road. Hickling(59) is near the county boundary over Lower Lias Clay but on the springline of the Alluvium bordering the stream. The contours show that it is on the slope, so that it must have been reasonably drained. Kilvington(53) is over Lower Lias Clay and near an outcrop of Black Shales, which also gives a well-drained site. Bingham(52) and Collingham(36) are off Fosse Way, but neither provides evidence to determine whether settlement was made from the Roman road or from one of the tributaries of R. Trent, although association with Fosse Way appears likely from their geographical position.

It would seem indisputable that the predominant type of settlement as represented by *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in Nottinghamshire was "riverside settlement". Yet it is remarkable that there are two pers.n.¹ *-ingahām* place-names which may well be associated with a Roman road against one pers.n.¹ *-ingahām*, Nottingham, on the north bank. Its strategically significant position from Roman times onwards may have attracted an *-ingas* community to this site which must have been known to the Germanic people. Hoveringham(46) may be a later *-ingahām* formation on a topographical identification of the settlement site, analogous to the pers.n. *-ingahām* formula.

LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND

Leicestershire and Rutland show an even bolder picture of dissociation of pagan burial sites and *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names than the previous three counties. Both are completely lacking in the west of Leicestershire.²² This was an agriculturally unattractive area consisting of two heavily wooded districts—Charnwood Forest in the north-west and the Keuper Marls and heavy Boulder Clays in the south-west. Pagan burial sites do occur in the middle of this county, in the main on either side of the river valleys. There is an important group in the Wreake valley consisting of two inhumation cemeteries at Sysonby (BS 97) and Melton Mowbray (BS 98) and a mixed cemetery at Stapleford Park (BS 99). Around Leicester is another cluster of burials on either side of R. Soar. To the east

of Leicester and north of the Roman road, Margary 57a, we find the third concentration of pagan burial sites. They are all on the western edge of High Leicestershire and are mainly inhumation burials. The only outlying one of this group is the inhumation cemetery at Twyford (BS 113). In Rutland burial sites occur in the north on the Cottesmore Upland—an inhumation cemetery (BS 100) and a mixed cemetery (BS 101) at Market Overton; an inhumation burial at Cottesmore (BS 116) and some isolated finds at Burley (BS 115). In the lower lying south there are an inhumation cemetery at Glaston (BS 129), which must have been in use for a long time during the pagan period according to the early and late finds, and a mixed cemetery at North Luffenham (BS 130), where some military metalwork of Germanic *foederati* was found.³⁰ The distribution pattern of these burial sites undoubtedly indicates the centres of primary settlement of the Germanic people in these two counties.

The -ingas, -inga- place-names are in the main distributed in the south-east of Leicestershire, on the Lutterworth Upland and in the extreme south-east corner, bordered by the county boundary and the Roman road, Margary 57a, to the south. In Rutland two of the three -inga- place-names are in the west of the county on the plateau, and the third one, Empingham(69), is on R. Gwash on lower land.

The places mapped as Peatling Parva(76) and Peatling Magna(75)²⁴ are within two miles of the inhumation burial found at Peatling Magna (BS 133). This site, however, is so poorly attested that it is not now recognizable and association cannot therefore be presumed.

No -ingahām place-names occur in Leicestershire, and only two are found in Rutland: Uppingham(73), an el.-ingahām name, and Empingham(69), an example of the pers.n.¹ -ingahām type. Again it is noteworthy that Empingham is a little distance to the west of Ermine Street, Margary 2c. It is well situated over an expanse of Lincolnshire Oolite Limestone, near an outcrop of Upper Lias Clays, sloping down towards the Alluvium of the valley of R. Gwash, thus providing a relatively dry site which would not be too heavily wooded. Whissendine is similarly situated in the north-west and may well be a settle-

³⁰ Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, "Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, Fourth to Fifth Century", *Medieval Archaeology* V, 1961, pp. 41-68.

ment founded by colonists from the Wreake valley area. Uppingham in the south-west is on a high ridge of Northampton Sand with outcroppings of Lower Lias Clays around it. The south-east corner of Leicestershire contains two pers.n.¹ *-inga-el.* place-names, Horninghold(80) and Bringhurst(81), and two possible *-ingatūn* place-names, Skeffington(71) and Loddington(72). Horninghold is on an expanse of Middle Lias Clays and Sands, fringed by a Marlstone Rock Bed, and Bringhurst is on a patch of Pebbly Gravels in the middle of an expanse of Upper Lias Clays overlooking the valley of R. Welland. Both sites are well-drained and had easy access to water. Skeffington, too, is on Pebbly Gravels and Loddington is over a Marlstone Rock Bed outcropping Middle Lias Clays and Sands. These four places are situated on agriculturally attractive soils with an easy water supply. On the Lutterworth Upland, bordered roughly by the Roman roads Fosse Way, Margary 5e, and Watling Street, Margary 1f, to the west, R. Sence to the north and east and the county boundary to the south, three pers.n.¹ *-ingas*,³¹ three pers.n.¹ *-inga-el.* and one possible *-inga-el.* place-names are found. The whole of this area was attractive to colonizing groups because of its many deposits of gravel; it was generally well-drained by streams and its soil was light and its woodlands easy to clear. The *-ingas*, *-inga*-settlements are, with a few exceptions like Horninghold, Bringhurst and Empingham, upland and inland from the older riverside settlements of the immigration phase, and well away from pagan burial sites.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Some correlation between early Anglo-Saxon burial sites and *-ingas*, *-inga*- place-names is found in Northamptonshire in the valley of R. Nene.²² Riverside settlements of this type are, with the exception of Kislingbury, on the north bank of R. Nene, and so are the burial sites, apart from the inhumation burials found at Irchester (BS 176) and King's Sutton (BS 177) and two burials at Milton Malsor (BS 169) and Hardingstone (BS 170), which belonged to the Northampton group. Four pagan burials have been found north of the source of R. Nene and between the

³¹ The lost pers.n. *-ingas* place-name *Lilinge* is wrongly mapped. It is to be plotted north of Watling Street between Ullesthorpe and Bitteswell, some 4 miles to the south-east of Peatling Parva.

county boundary and Watling Street. There are no *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in this area. Another heavy concentration of burial sites is found between Harrington(89) and Kettering(90), the only two names of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* type in this central part of Northamptonshire. Four burial sites are plotted outside the modern county boundary. They are the inhumation cemeteries at Helpston (BS 131) and Eye (BS 132), the mixed cemetery at Peterborough (BS 137) which must have been in use from about 500 A.D. till the late 6th century, and an inhumation burial also at Peterborough (BS 138). The pers.n.¹ *-ingas* place-name Wittering is in the same area and like the above four burial sites used to belong to Northamptonshire.

The place-names mapped as Fotheringhay(85), Cottingham(82), Rockingham(83) and Kettering(90)²⁴ are within two miles of a pagan burial site. The mixed cemetery at Nassington (BS 136) which must have been in use from early after the conquest till the end of the 6th century, may well be associated with Fotheringhay. The inhumation burial at Weekley (BS 135) which yielded an Anglo-Saxon spearhead, a dagger and two skeletons, may or may not be associated with Rockingham and possibly Cottingham. The burial site is inland from these *-ingahām* places. The mixed cemetery off Stamford Road in Kettering (BS 149) may well have been used by the *-ingas* community settling in the Kettering area. Early to late finds indicate that the cemetery was used for a long time after the conquest. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the possible association of pagan burial sites with place-names of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* type in Northamptonshire is negligible.

The geographical situation of Cottingham and Rockingham is significant: Cottingham is less than a quarter-of-a-mile north of the continuation of the Roman road Margary 57a, linking Leicester and Huntingdon. It is on the breakline of the long ridge of Upper Lias Clays running parallel to R. Nene, and Lincolnshire Oolite Limestone, thus securing a dry site with easy access to water through wells. Rockingham is less than two miles to the north, also over this ridge of Upper Lias Clays, the downslope to the river valley providing natural drainage of the land. To the south they are bordered by Rockingham Forest, a heavily wooded area unsuitable for settlements and agriculture. Association of these two places with the Roman road is tempting, but settlement from R. Nene cannot be ruled out. If they are the result of colonization from the pagan burial

area in central Leicestershire in the north, or from central Northamptonshire around Kettering, the Roman road would be the likelier line of communication. Just south of this wooded area is Benefield(84), situated over an outcrop of Great Oolite Limestone and on the breakline of a small patch of Cornbrash fringing the Limestone, this also affording a dry site which, because of the marl characteristics of the Cornbrash, was favoured by an agricultural community. These sites, again, are further inland from the area of *-ingahām* names.

Along R. Nene are Fotheringhay(85), Irthlingborough(96), Wellingborough(95), Billing(94) and Kislingbury(93), all undoubtedly riverine settlements, and situated on attractive sites. These sites are further away from the *-ingahām* area.

CONCLUSIONS

Association of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names with early Anglo-Saxon pagan burial sites in the East Midlands is rare. Only in a very few cases were coincidental pagan burials found. It is necessary to examine these sites again to try and establish with which type of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names association is the case and which kind of burial site is involved.

The sites to be examined here are (i) those which fall within the same parish as an *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name and might therefore belong to the same community, and (ii) those which are less than two miles away from such a place, and might therefore also be supposed to have been used by that community. Fourteen sites, relating to seventeen names, have to be considered.³² They are:

- Kirton-in-Lindsey II (7-IB) near Grayingham(15).
- South Willingham (20-CC) near South Willingham(24) and Benniworth(25).
- Stenigot (21-IB) near Stenigot(26).
- Candlesby (39-IB) near Great Steeping(40).
- North Collingham (51-?) near Collingham(36).
- Horncastle (35-IB) near Mareham-on-the-Hill(33).
- Asgarby (36-IC) near Hameringham(34).

³² The nature of the burial sites is indicated by means of the following abbreviations: IB—inhumation burial; IC—inhumation cemetery; CC—cremation cemetery; MC—mixed cemetery; ?—doubtful site. The numbers in parentheses preceding the above abbreviations, correspond with the numbering on Map 3 and that in Appendix II. The numbers after the place-names correspond with those on Map 2, and those in Appendix I.

Holme Pierrepont (65-MC) near Bassingfield(51).
Parson's Hill/Bingham (66-IB) near Bingham(52).
Threekingham (88-IC) near Folkingham(60) and Threekingham(61).
Peatling Magna (133-IB) near Peatling Magna (75) and Peatling Parva(76).
Weekley (135-IB) near Cottingham(82) and Rockingham(83).
Nassington (136-MC) near Fotheringhay(85).
Kettering I/Stamford Road (149-MC) near Kettering(90).

Out of this total of fourteen pagan burial sites, two have to be ignored, because they are so poorly attested that they are not now recognizable—Threekingham L and Peatling Magna Lei. Another three sites must also be ignored. Although they are fairly certainly early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, there is at present apparently insufficient evidence for precise dating—Parson's Hill/Bingham Nt, North Collingham Nt and Horn-castle L.

The remaining nine burial sites may conveniently be divided into the following groups:

- I Four sites definitely belonging to the early pagan period, but which cannot be dated precisely—South Willingham L, Asgarby L, Holme Pierrepont Nt and Weekley Nth.
- II One site which belongs to the 5th and early 6th century—Kirton-in-Lindsey II L.
- III Three sites which originated in the course of the 5th century and which were probably used throughout the pagan period—Candlesby L, Nassington Nth and Kettering I/Stamford Road Nth.
- IV One site belonging to the Christian series of the late 7th to early 8th century—Stenigot L.

Out of a total of 97 *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names, only one coincides with a pagan burial site of the 5th century (Group II). Seven names appear to have been associated with burial sites which either originated in the 5th century and continued in use throughout the pagan period, or are known to have been used for some time during the pagan period (Groups I and III). There is only one *-inga-* place-name which coincides with a burial site intermediate between the pagan countryside cemetery and the Christian churchyard (Group IV).

The coincidence of an *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name with a cremation cemetery is negligible. Only one site—South Willingham L—is a large purely cremation cemetery. Four sites are inhumation burials—Kirton-in-Lindsey II L, Stenigot L, Candlesby L and Weekley Nth. Three sites are mixed cemeteries—Holme Pierrepont Nt, Nassington Nth and Kettering I Nth.

The inhumation cemetery at Asgarby L is only a smallish site and its association with Hammeringham is doubtful. Although the cemetery is just under two miles away from this *-ingahām* name, it is separated from it by two tributaries of R. Baine. Because of these intervening natural obstacles this site is less easily accessible and may therefore be ignored.

Only ten place-names in the East Midlands, eight *-inga-* names, including four *-ingahām* names, or 10.3% of the total of 97 names are to be associated with pagan burial sites. Four, or 4.1%, are linked with *cemeteries*, either a cremation cemetery—South Willingham L—or a mixed cemetery—Kettering I Nth, Nassington Nth and Holme Pierrepont Nt.

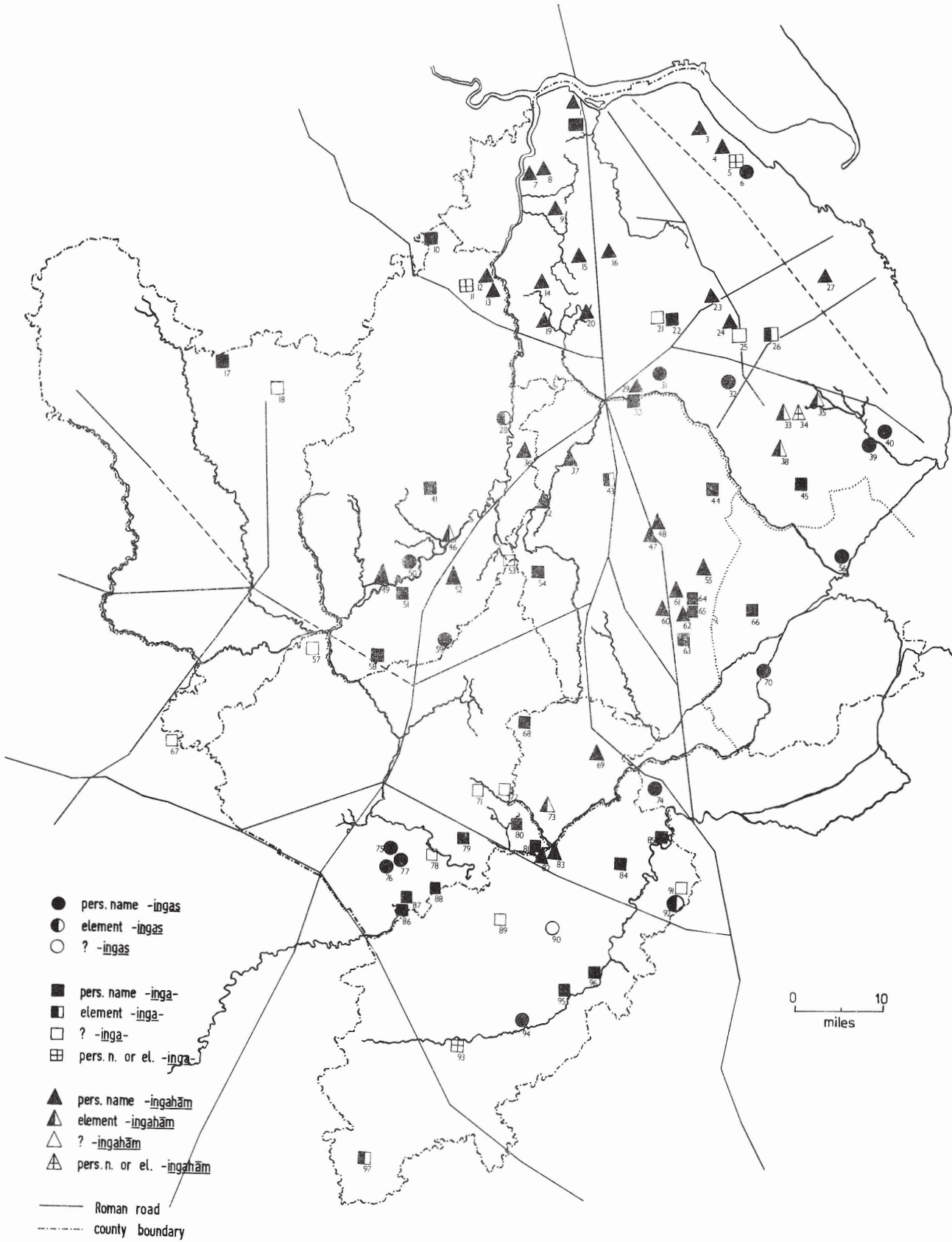
Two of these mixed cemeteries must have been in use for a long time during the pagan period. The cemetery off Stamford Road in Kettering was apparently in use from an early date till late in the pagan period, judging from the early urns and late cruciform brooch found in 1929.³³ The Nassington cemetery, half-a-mile south-east of the present village, is sited on a gravel slope on the west bank of R. Nene. Three cremations and fifty graves containing inhumations were found. It would appear from the grave-goods deposited in the graves that this cemetery came into use soon after the invasions and continued to be used till after the middle of the 6th century.³⁴ The terminal date of these cemeteries, as assumed from the finds, may indicate that the *-ingas* community discontinued this form of burial and adopted a new custom of interment which is undiscoverable to archaeology—most likely on a site which became a Christian churchyard grave-yard. The fact that the cemeteries were in use at an early date may indicate either that the folk with which the burial site is to be associated did not adopt a name of the *-ingas* type till later, remaining *in situ*, or that the *-ingas* community took over an already existing settlement and used

³³ *Antiquaries Journal* X, 1930, pp. 254-5.

³⁴ *Op. cit.* XXIV, 1944, pp. 100-28.

-INGAS, -INGA- PLACE-NAMES IN THE EAST MIDLANDS

MAP 2



its burial site for some time. In either case the settlement may well have been renamed according to the *-ingas* formula.

There can be no doubt that the *-ingas*, *-inga-* formula as such is archaic and had become obsolete by the time literary records began (*supra*, p. 14). It is not permissible to say that this formula was not used at a later stage in the Anglo-Saxon period, but it is safe to state that the frequency of new coinages of this type was very low indeed after the introduction of Christianity. The seeming conundrum of the anomalies in the distribution patterns of early pagan burial sites and *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names, may be solved by regarding the two patterns as complementary to each other, representing two succeeding phases in the process of settlement. The early pagan burial sites indicate the centres of primary settlement, the extent of the immigration settlement, whereas the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names show the further exploration of the secondary settlement areas, not only representing the folk-consciousness of the communities so named, but also reflecting in their topographical situation the extent of the subsequent colonization. The movement away from the areas of primary settlement must have taken place shortly after the immigration period and must have been completed, or nearly completed, before the Conversion. This would allow for the archaism of the common nouns and personal name themes employed in this type of place-name and also for the lapse of time necessary for these settlements to acquire the important status they had in early Anglo-Saxon times. The names of some of the Wapentakes, Bingham Nt, Bolingbroke L—SRL and Corringham L—WRL, back-formations, named after the place where the meetings were held, are just another indication of their importance.

It was Sir Frank Stenton, who assumed that *-inga-* compounds with the habitative terminal *hām* were later in ultimate origin than the *-ingas* folk-cum-place-name.⁷ If the distribution of *-ingahām* place-names in relation to that of the *-ingas* and *-inga-el.* place-names in the East Midlands, is seen objectively²⁴ their frequent occurrence along and on Roman lines of communication and prehistoric trackways and to a lesser extent along the rivers and streams may be taken as an indication that they could well be older in origin than has hitherto been supposed by place-name scholars. It would

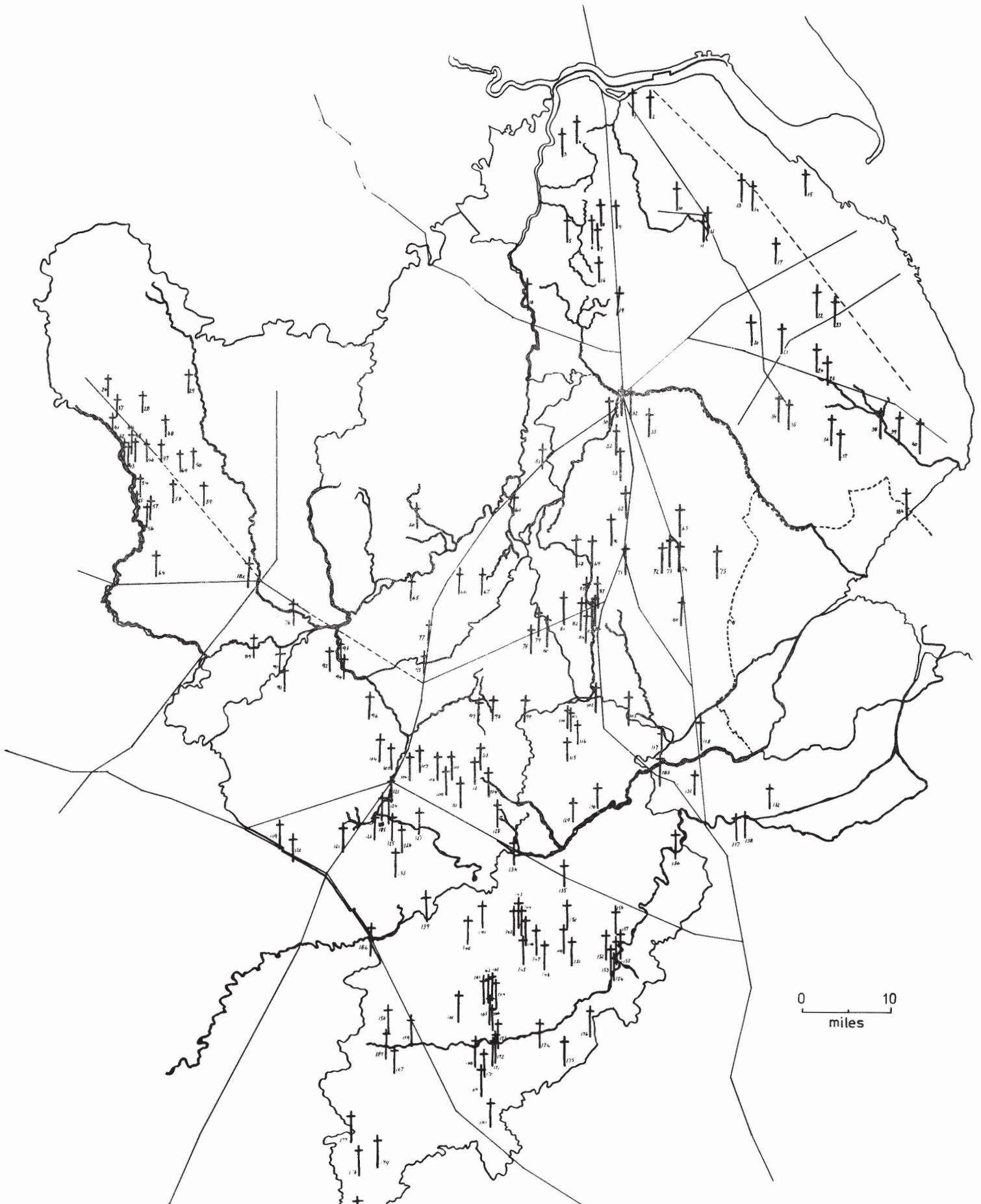
seem too much of a coincidence that a large number of *-ingas* and *-inga-el.* place-names are situated more inland and upstream from the *-ingahām* places. The very early origin of the use of OE *hām* to denote a habitative site has been sufficiently stressed and its occurrence in the compound *wīchām* has been shown to be as early as the period of actual migration, if not earlier, (*supra* p. 15). It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption to suppose that OE *hām* could be used as the habitative terminal on an *-inga-* compound at a very early date. The Nottinghamshire place-name Littleborough, recorded in Domesday Book as *Litelburg*, which is found in Bede as *Tiouulfingacæstir*,³⁵ was a settlement in Roman times. This name would lead one to suppose that the *-ingas* community here took over an existing settlement site and compounded their folk-name with Old English *cæster* to coin the new place-name. Although evidence of this kind is naturally scarce,³⁶ we must note the possibility that *-ingas* communities could, and perhaps did take over earlier settlements and that the genitival form *-inga-* with a terminal element was apparently used at a very early date. The early origin of *hām* denoting a settlement site, its frequent occurrence as the final element in compounds in *-inga-* which are in the main distributed along Roman roads, and the fact that place-names in *-inga-el.* and *-ingas* are generally more inland and upstream than those in *-ingahām*, would suggest that the *-ingahām* place-names may be the older in ultimate origin. There is no evidence that *-ingahām* place-names are re-namings of existing sites, but the possibility must be noted here, especially in view of their distribution along the Roman roads. A detailed examination of these sites in terms of the Geological Drift Map suggests that the majority of *-ingahām* place-names occur on very attractive sites nearest to the Roman roads and prehistoric trackways. Their proximity to these lines of communication and their location on the main rivers and streams would indicate that the *-ingas* folk were colonists, moving away from the areas of primary settlement as evidenced by the early pagan burial sites, and that they tended, during the initial stage of the colonization process, to name their

³⁵ PN Nt 35–6.

³⁶ Perhaps Asser's latinization of the supposed British name *Tigguocobauc* for Nottingham is another example of the renaming of an already existing settlement-site by Germanic people. The editors of PN Nt (14), however, point out that the form may well be spurious, but the late Professor Melville Richards privately informed Professor K. Cameron that he believed the form to be genuine.

EARLY ANGLO-SAXON BURIAL SITES IN THE EAST MIDLANDS

MAP 3



settlements according to the *-ingas* formula with the termination *hām*.³⁷

My interpretation of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names in this area involves a hypothesis that the colonists used OE *hām* in combination with their folk-name to denote the colonization settlements they made in the neighbourhood of convenient lines of communication and penetration, especially along Roman roads, and which as such would be early in this colonization period, and that other terminal elements and folk-names (proper) were used to name more inland, and, therefore, presumably later, settlements.³⁸

³⁷ It is to be understood that the use of the terminal *hām* in place-names is not restricted to the period of Anglo-Saxon immigration and colonization. The emphasis is merely on the fact that *-ingahām* place-names may indicate the first of the colonization-settlements; this involves additional evidence for the *terminus a quo*, but no suggestion as to a *terminus ad quem*.

³⁸ I offer my gratitude and warmest thanks to Professor K. Cameron, who first aroused my interest in English place-names, and also helped me at all stages of my research. I am, however, to be held responsible for any mistakes or inaccuracies.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout this paper:

BCS	W. de G. Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , London, 1885–1893.
DB	Domesday Book.
DEPN	E. Ekwall, <i>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> , 4th ed., Oxford, 1960.
Elements I	A. H. Smith, <i>English Place-Name Elements, Part I</i> , (EPNS XXV) Cambridge, 1956.
Elements II	A. H. Smith, <i>English Place-Name Elements, Part II</i> , (EPNS XXVI) Cambridge, 1956.
EPNS	<i>A Survey of English Place-Names</i> , English Place-Name Society.
IPNS	A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, <i>Introduction to the Survey and Chief Elements</i> , (EPNS I) Cambridge, 1924.
J. McN. Dodgson	“The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Names in <i>-ingas</i> , <i>-inga-</i> in South-east England”, <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> X, 1966, pp. 1-29.
Margary	I. D. Margary, <i>Roman Roads in Britain</i> , 2 vols., London, 1957.
PN Ing	E. Ekwall, <i>English Place-Names in -Ing</i> , 2nd. ed., Lund, 1962.
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire</i> , (EPNS XXVII-XXIX) Cambridge, 1959.
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire</i> , (EPNS III) Cambridge, 1926.
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York</i> , (EPNS XIV) Cambridge, 1937.
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire</i> , (EPNS XVII) Cambridge, 1940.

The county abbreviations used follow normal EPNS practice, with additions: L—L The Lindsey Division of Lincolnshire, L—NRL North Riding of Lindsey, L—SRL South Riding of Lindsey, L—WRL West Riding of Lindsey, L—H The Holland Division of Lincolnshire, L—K The Kesteven Division of Lincolnshire.

APPENDIX I

-ingas-, -inga- PLACE-NAMES

This Appendix contains a list of the -ingas-, -inga- place-names in the East Midlands in numerical order. The numbers correspond with those on Map 2. Lost place-names are in italics.

			-ingas	-inga-	-ingaham
	National Grid Reference		pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?
1	Winteringham	L-L SE9322			×
2	Winterton	L-L SE9318		×	
3	<i>Lobingeham</i>	L-L TA1418			×
4	Immingham	L-L TA1814			×
5	Stallingborough	L-L TA2011		×	
6	Healing	L-L TA2111	×		
7	Burringham	L-L SE8409			×
8	Frodingham	L-L SE8611			×
9	Messingham	L-L SE8904			×
10	Finningley	Nt SK6799		×	
11	Gringley-on-the-Hill	Nt SK7491		×	
12	Walkeringham	Nt SK7693			×
13	Beckingham	Nt SK7890			×
14	Corringham	L-L SK8791			×
15	Grayingham	L-L SK9496			×
16	Waddingham	L-L SK9896			×
17	Totley	Db SK3079		×	
18	Brimington	Db SK4173			×
19	Willingham-by-Stow	L-L SK8784			×
20	Fillingham	L-L SK9586			×
21	Faldingworth	L-L TF0785			×
22	Lissingley	L-L TF0984		×	
23	North Willingham	L-L TF1688			×
24	South Willingham	L-L TF1983			×
25	Benniworth	L-L TF2182			×
26	Stenigot	L-L TF2582		×	
27	Alvingham	L-L TF3691			×
28	Meering	Nt SK8166			×
29	Cherry Willingham	L-L TF0373			×
30	Washingborough	L-K TF0271		×	
31	Barlings	L-L TF0875	×		
32	Minting	L-L TF1973	×		
33	Mareham-on-the-Hill	L-L TF2968			×
34	Hameringham	L-L TF3167			×

			-ingas	-inga-	-ingaham
		National Grid Reference	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?
35	Hagworthingham	L-L	TF3469		
36	Collingham	Nt	SK8468		×
37	Bassingham	L-K	SK9160		×
38	Mareham-le-Fen	L-L	TF2861		×
39	Little Steeping	L-L	TF4362	×	
40	Great Steeping	L-L	TF4664	×	
41	Edingley	Nt	SK6756	×	
42	Beckingham	L-K	SK8854		×
43	Wellingore	L-K	SK9857		×
44	Billinghay	L-K	TF1755	×	
45	Carrington	L-L	TF3158	×	
46	Hoveringham	Nt	SK7047		×
47	Holdingham	L-K	TF0647		×
48	Leasingham	L-K	TF0649		×
49	Nottingham	Nt	SK5740		×
50	Gedling	Nt	SK6343	×	
51	Bassingfield	Nt	SK6237	×	
52	Bingham	Nt	SK7140		×
53	Kilvington	Nt	SK8043		×
54	Allington	L-K	SK8640	×	
55	Helpringham	L-K	TF1441		×
56	Scrane End	L-H	TF3942	×	
57	Hemington	Lei	SK4828		×
58	Costock	Nt	SK5826	×	
59	Hickling	Nt	SK6929	×	
60	Folkingham	L-K	TF0734		×
61	Threekingham	L-K	TF0936		×
62	Sempringham	L-K	TF1133		×
63	Rippingale	L-K	TF1028	×	
64	Horbling	L-K	TF1236	×	
65	Billingborough	L-K	TF1234	×	
66	Quadring	L-H	TF2233	×	
67	Edingale	Db	SK2118		×
68	Whissendine	R	SK8214	×	
69	Empingham	R	SK9508		×
70	Spalding	L-H	TF2523		×
71	Skeffington	Lei	SK7403		×
72	Loddington	Lei	SK7903		×
73	Uppingham	R	SP8799		×
74	Wittering	Nth	TF0602	×	
75	Peatling Magna	Lei	SP5993	×	
76	Peatling Parva	Lei	SP5691	×	
77	Lilinge	Lei	SP5286	×	

				-ingas	-inga-	-ingaham
National Grid Reference				pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?	pers.n. ¹ pers.n. ² element pers.n. or el. ?
78	Saddington	Lei	SP6692			×
79	Tur Langton	Lei	SP7295		×	
80	Horninghold	Lei	SP8197		×	
81	Bringhurst	Lei	SP8492		×	
82	Cottingham	Nth	SP8490			×
83	Rockingham	Nth	SP8792			×
84	Benefield	Nth	SP9889			×
85	Fotheringhay	Nth	TL0693		×	
86	South Kilworth	Lei	SP6082		×	
87	North Kilworth	Lei	SP6284		×	
88	Theddingworth	Lei	SP6786		×	
89	Harrington	Nth	SP7780			×
90	Kettering	Nth	JP8778	×		
91	Hemington	Nth	TL0986			×
92	Thurning	Nth	TL0882	×		
93	Kislingbury	Nth	SP6959		×	
94	Billing	Nth	SP8163	×		
95	Wellingborough	Nth	SP8868		×	
96	Irthlingborough	Nth	SP9571		×	
97	Farthinghoe	Nth	SP5239		×	

Carrington No. 45 should be deleted, since it has been shown to be a modern name.

APPENDIX II

EARLY ANGLO-SAXON PAGAN BURIAL SITES

This Appendix contains a list of the early Anglo-Saxon pagan burial sites in the East Midlands (based chiefly on Meaney) in numerical order. The numbers correspond with those on Map 3.

Most of the references are taken from A. L. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, London, 1964.

		National Grid Reference	Cremation		Inhumation		
			mixed cemetery burial(s)	cemetery burial(s)	mixed cemetery burial(s)	cemetery burial(s)	
1	South Ferriby	L-L	SE9922				
2	Barton-on-Humber	L-L	TA0321			×	
3	Flixborough	L-L	TA8813	×			
4	Burton-upon-Stather	L-L	SE9016	×			
5	Scotter	L-L	SE8800				×
6	Kirton-in-Lindsey I	L-L	SK9300			×	
7	Kirton-in-Lindsey II	L-L	SK9498			×	
8	Manton Warren	L-L	SE9404			×	
9	Hibaldstowe	L-L	SE9603				
10	Searby	L-L	TA0706				×
11	Nettleton	L-L	TA1100				×
12	Fonaby, Caistor	L-L	TA1103	×			
13	Riley	L-L	TA1807			×	
14	Laceby	L-L	TA2006				×
15	Cleethorpes	L-L	TA2908			×	
16	Willoughton	L-L	SK9392			×	
17	Wold Newton	L-L	TF2493			×	
18	Gainsborough	L-L	SK8189			×	
19	Caenby	L-L	SK9788			×	
20	South Willingham	L-L	TF2083			×	
21	Stenigot	L-L	TF2582			×	
22	South Elkington	L-L	TF3188			×	
23	Louth	L-L	TF3386				
24	Farforth	L-L	TF3178				
25	Tetford Hill	L-L	TF3376				×
26	Cow Low, Green Fairfield	Db	SK1073			×	
27	Chelmorton	Db	SK1169			×	
28	Brushfield, Lapwing Hill	Db	SK1671			×	
29	Calver Low	Db	SK2374			×	
30	Lincoln Westwick Gardens	L-K	SK9569				
31	Lincoln Cathedral	L	SK9771			×	
32	Greetwell	L-L	SK9971				
33	Branston	L-K	TF0268				

			Crema- tion	Inhu- mation		
			mixed cemetery	burial(s) cemetery		
			burial(s)	cemetery		
			National Grid Reference			
34	Thimbleby	L-L	TF2470		×	
35	Horncastle	L-L	TF2669		×	
36	Asgarby	L-L	TF3366			×
37	Hall Hill, West Keal	L-L	TF3564		×	
38	Partney	L-L	TF4268			×
39	Candlesby	L-L	TF4567		×	
40	Burgh-le-Marsh	L-L	TF4965		×	
41	Hurdlow	Db	SK1166		×	
42	Pilsbury	Db	SK1263		×	
43	Vincent Knoll	Db	SK1363		×	
44	Benty Grange	Db	SK1464		×	
45	Carder Low	Db	SK1262		×	
46	Garratt's Piece	Db	SK1762		×	
47	Middleton	Db	SK1861		×	
48	Grind Low	Db	SK2067		×	
49	White Low, Elton	Db	SK2259		×	
50	Winster	Db	SK2460			
51	North Collingham	Nt	SK8461			
52	Waddington	L-K	SK9764			×
53	Coleby	L-L	SK9761			×
54	Cold Eaton	Db	SK1456	×		
55	Stand Low, Newton Grange	Db	SK1553		×	
56	Bowers Low (Rose Low)					
	Tissington	Db	SK1652		×	
57	Tissington, Sharp Low	Db	SK1652		×	
58	Galley Low, Ballidon	Db	SK2156		×	
59	Middleton Moor, Wirksworth	Db	SK2156			
60	Oxton	Nt	SK6351		×	
61	Netherfield	Nt	SK7953		×	
62	Welbourn	L-K	SK9854		×	
63	Ruskington	L-K	TF0751			×
64	Wyaston	Db	SK1942		×	
65	Holme Pierrepont	Nt	SK6239	×		
66	Parson's Hill, Bingham	Nt	SK7040		×	
67	Aslockton	Nt	SK7440		×	
68	Lovedon Hill, Hough-on- the-Hill	L-K	SK9045	×		
69	Carlton Scroop	L-K	SK9345		×	
70	Caythorpe	L-K	SK9649	×		
71	Ancaster	L-K	SK9843		×	
72	Quarrington	L-K	TF0444	×		
73	Sleaford	L-K	TF0645	×		
74	Sleaford II	L-K	TF0844		×	

			Crema- tion	Inhu- mation	
			mixed cemetery	burial(s) cemetery	
			burial(s)	cemetery	
			National Grid Reference		
75	Heckington	L-K	TF1443		×
76	Borrowash	Db	SK4134		
77	Cotgrave	Nt	SK6531		×
78	Knipton	Lei	SK8231		×
79	Woolthorpe by Belvoir	L-K	SK8433	×	
80	Denton	L-K	SK8532		×
81	Barrowby	L-K	SK8736		
82	Grantham III, London Road	L-K	SK9135		×
83	Grantham, Spittlegate	L-K	SK9139		×
84	Grantham, Saltersford	L-K	SK9233		×
85	Grantham I, New Somerby	L-K	SK9235		×
86	Grantham II, Belton Lane	L-K	SK9237	×	
87	Belton	L-K	SK9339		×
88	Threkingham	L-K	TF0836		×
89	Swarkeston	Db	SK3629	×	
90	King's Newton, Melbourne	Db	SK3926		×
91	Breedon-on-the-Hill	Lei	SK4023		
92	Kegworth	Lei	SK4826		×
93	Kingston-on-Soar	Nt	SK5027		×
94	Sutton Bonnington	Nt	SK5124		×
95	Crosshill, Willoughby on the Wolds	Nt	SK6425		×
96	Loughborough	Lei	SK5319	×	
97	Sysonby	Lei	SK7318		×
98	Melton Mowbray	Lei	SK7519		×
99	Stapleford Park, Saxby	Lei	SK8119	×	
100	Market-Overton I	R	SK8816		×
101	Market-Overton II	R	SK8816	×	
102	Witham Common	L-K	SK9320		×
103	Castle Bytham	L-K	SK9918		×
104	Rothley Temple	Lei	SK5612		×
105	Birstall	Lei	SK5910		×
106	Thurmaston	Lei	SK6108	×	
107	Barkby Field	Lei	SK6309		×
108	Beckby	Lei	SK6608		×
109	Ingarsby	Lei	SK6805		×
110	Baggrave, Hungarton	Lei	SK6908		×
111	Billesdon Coplow	Lei	SK7004		×
112	Lowesby Hall	Lei	SK7207		×
113	Twyford	Lei	SK7310		×
114	Tilton-on-the-Hill	Lei	SK7405		
115	Burley	R	SK8912		
116	Cottesmore	R	SK9013		×

			Crema- tion	Inhu- mation	
			mixed cemetery	burial(s) cemetery	
			burial(s)	cemetery	
			National Grid Reference		
117	Essendine	R	TF0411		
118	Baston	L-K	TF1113		×
119	Stoke Golding	Lei	SP3997		×
120	Hinckley	Lei	SP4294		
121	Croft	Lei	SP5096		
122	Glen Parra	Lei	SP5698		×
123	Leicester, East Gate	Lei	SK5804	×	
124	Westcotes, Leicester	Lei	SK5703		×
125	Kirkdale Close, Wigston Magna	Lei	SP5898		×
126	Wigston Magna	Lei	SP6097		×
127	Oadby	Lei	SP6299		×
128	Tugby, Keythorpe Hall	Lei	SK7600		×
129	Glaston	R	SK8900		×
130	North Luffenham	R	SK9304	×	
131	Helpston	Nth	TF1006		×
132	Eye	Nth	TF2303		×
133	Peatling Magna	Lei	SP5992		×
134	Medbourne Field	Lei	SP7993		×
135	Weekley	Nth	SP8890		×
136	Nassington	Nth	TL0795	×	
137	Peterborough I Woodstone	Nth	TL1897	×	
138	Peterborough II	Nth	TL1998		×
139	Husband Bosworth	Lei	SP6483		×
140	Clipston	Nth	SF7181		×
141	Great Oxendon	Nth	SP7383		×
142	Desborough III	Nth	SP7982		×
143	Desborough II	Nth	SP8084	×	
144	Desborough I	Nth	SP8083		×
145	Loddington	Nth	SP8178		×
146	Rothwell	Nth	SP8181	×	
147	Thorpe Malsor	Nth	SP8378		×
148	Cransby	Nth	SP8377	×	
149	Kettering I Stamford Road	Nth	SP8779	×	
150	Newton-in-the-Willows	Nth	SP8883		×
151	Barton Seagrave	Nth	SP8877	×	
152	Twywell	Nth	SP9376		×
153	Great Addington I	Nth	SP9574		×
154	Great Addington II	Nth	SP9675		×
155	Woodford	Nth	SP9676		×
156	Sudborough	Nth	SP9682		×
157	Islip (Twywell)	Nth	SP9879		×
158	Welton	Nth	SP5766		×

			Crema- tion	Inhu- mation
			mixed cemetery burial(s)	cemetery burial(s)
National Grid Reference				
159	Norton	Nth	SP6163	×
160	Holdenby	Nth	SP6967	×
161	Brixworth I	Nth	SP7472	×
162	Brixworth II	Nth	SP7471	×
163	Brixworth III	Nth	SP7471	
164	Brixworth IV	Nth	SP7570	×
165	Pitsford	Nth	SP7468	×
166	Boughton	Nth	SP7565	×
167	Badby, Newnham	Nth	SP5959	×
168	Duston	Nth	SP7260	×
169	Milton Malsor	Nth	SP7355	×
170	Hardingstone	Nth	SP7358	×
171	Northampton I, Abington	Nth	SP7761	×
172	Northampton II, Low Meadow	Nth	SP7560	×
173	Northampton III, St. Andrew's Hospital	Nth	SP7760	×
174	Ecton	Nth	SP8363	
175	Grendon	Nth	SP8760	×
176	Irchester	Nth	SP9266	×
177	King's Sutton	Nth	SP5137	×
178	Thenford	Nth	SP5243	×
179	Marston St. Lawrence	Nth	SP5443	×
180	Aynho	Nth	SP5232	×
181	Stoke Bruerne	Nth	SP7449	×
182	Duffield Castle	Db	SK3444	×
183	Stamford	L-K	TF0407	×
184	Friskney	L-L	TF4653	×
185	Rowley Fields, Leicester	Lei	SK5701	×
186	Caves Inn	Lei	SP5379	×
187	Borough Hill, Daventry	Nth	SP5862	×

JOOST KUURMAN