

terms and in having a tripartite riveted handle, while the comb from urn Y17 at Caistor-by-Norwich compares closely with another from Hooebeintum.²¹ Decorative panels of multiple lines are common on the continental combs while ring-and-dot ornament is almost universal; the guilloche pattern on the Lackford comb-case is not paralleled in this series but is found on a number of contemporary round-backed combs from Friesland.²² Firm dating evidence was found with the Hooebeintum comb, which came from a grave containing a 5th-century cruciform brooch,²³ while the Issendorf cremation was judged to belong to the second half of the 4th century;²⁴ the type as a whole does not seem to have outlasted the 5th century.²⁵ Only very seldom is it possible to use bone combs as dating aids with any degree of precision, but those considered here not only form an homogeneous late 4th or 5th-century type but also have affinities within a very localized area on the continent. Too much intermixture of different ethnic groups is known to have taken place along the Frisian littoral to permit these combs to be used on their own as indicators of specifically Frisian elements in the immigrant population; there seems no reason, however, why the York combs should not take their place alongside the Anglo-Frisian urns mentioned above to indicate that there was a Germanic if not an actual Frisian presence in the sub-Roman city, and why those from East Anglia should not be used to point the way to the immediate origins of local 5th-century groups, whatever their ethnic affinities.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLACE-NAME *WEALDHĀM* (FIG. 77)

This study has been undertaken as a result of recent archaeological work carried out at Waltham Holy Cross which revealed evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation. It follows the work of Dr Margaret Gelling,²⁶ in which she showed that the name *wichām* was an appellative term applied to a place for a specific reason in the early Saxon period, i.e. because a Roman *vicus* had been there previously. On collecting information relating to the much smaller group of places now named 'Waltham' it was found that a common pattern emerged for each place and it seemed likely therefore that this name too was an appellative, though of purely Anglo-Saxon origin. Recent work by Dr Barrie Cox²⁷ has shown that names in the E. Midlands and E. Anglia with the suffix *-hām* can be related to Roman roads and for this and other reasons such names are likely to have been given in the early Saxon period. He points out that as they are near the roads they may have been settled before places with the suffixes *-ingas*, *-inga* and *-ingahām*, which occur generally in more isolated areas away from Roman roads. Whatever their relationship to places in *-inga* and *-ingas* it is generally agreed that places in *-ham* belong to the early Saxon period.²⁸ The distribution of places named *wealdhām* and their relation to Roman

²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii, 10.

²² Roes, *op. cit.* in note 1, pl. iv, 2-4.

²³ *Op. cit.* in note 20, 335.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* in note 18, 50.

²⁵ A distinct type of Scandinavian comb-case with a flat plate on one side and with two narrow bars at the upper and lower edges on the other side is clearly related. This type is known from 5th and 6th-century contexts: see B. Nerman, *Die Völkerwanderungszeit Gotlands* (Stockholm, 1935), 16, Textfig. 47, Taf. 52.

²⁶ M. Gelling, 'English Place-Names derived from the Compound *wichām*', *Med. Archaeol.*, xi (1967), 87-104. I wish to thank Dr Margaret Gelling, Dr Barrie Cox, Dr J. N. L. Myres and P. J. Huggins for reading the script and making suggestions for its improvement.

²⁷ B. Cox, 'The Significance of the Distribution of English Place-names in *-hām* in the Midlands and East Anglia', *Jnl. English Place-name Soc.*, v (1972-3), 15-73.

²⁸ The recent excavations at Mucking (a place-name in *-ingas*) have revealed a pagan cemetery with an early Anglo-Saxon settlement, so that at least in SE. England some *-ingas* names may belong to the earliest Saxon period: *Med. Archaeol.*, xvi (1972), 153.

roads agrees with Cox's general thesis, although most of them occur in SE. England. The prefix *weald* or *wald* which always became *walt* by the 11th century is seen here to have a special meaning in relation to the establishment of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in England and to use of the forests.

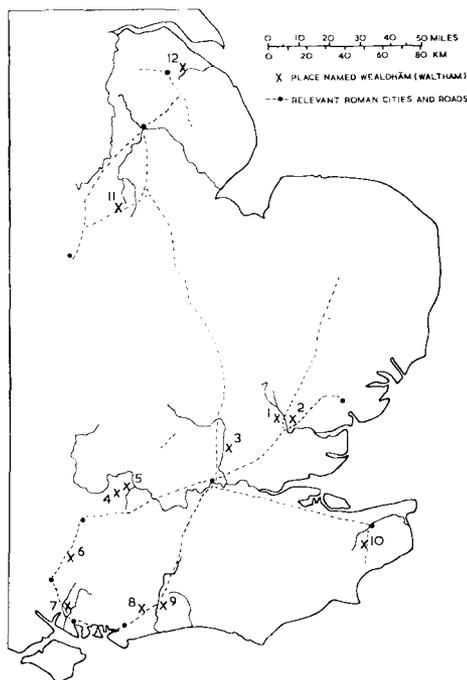


FIG. 77

MAP OF SE. ENGLAND SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF PLACES NAMED *WEALDHAM*
Numbers refer to text p. 200

The name 'Waltham' derives from *weald* or *wald* 'woodland, high forest land', and *-hām* 'homestead' or 'enclosure', sometimes 'village';²⁹ it is here suggested that the meaning of *-hām* in this case is 'estate' or 'administrative centre'. The possibility of the name having originally ended in *-hamm*, 'land in a river bend', 'river meadow', cannot be entirely excluded, as no reference to *wealdhām* has been found earlier than 904,³⁰ by which time the second 'm' was frequently omitted. Meadow was of great importance to any community dependent on oxen and horses and, as shown below, every *wealdhām* possessed, or had access to, good grazing land with a river; on geographical evidence therefore *-hamm* cannot be ruled out, but it is not favoured on etymological evidence.

Fifteen names which include the compound 'waltham' can be found in England; of these Waltham Cross (Herts.), Waltham in Takeley (Essex) and Walthamstow³¹ (Essex) derive their names from association with, or proximity to, Waltham Holy Cross

²⁹ E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* (Oxford, 1966), 491-2.

³⁰ W. de G. Birch (ed.), *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885-93), III, 411, no. 1157.

³¹ P. H. Reaney, *The Place-names of Essex* (Cambridge, 1969), 103-5.

in Essex and are medieval in origin. The remaining twelve names (the numbers refer to FIG. 77) are:

Essex:	(1) Great Waltham, (2) Little Waltham, (3) Waltham Holy Cross
Berks.:	(4) Waltham St Lawrence, (5) White Waltham
Hants:	(6) North Waltham, (7) Bishops Waltham
W. Sussex:	(8) Upwaltham, (9) Coldwaltham
Kent:	(10) Waltham
Leics.:	(11) Waltham on the Wolds
Lincs.:	(12) Waltham.

Of these twelve, two, North Waltham and Waltham in Kent, do not appear in Domesday Book. But a charter of Edward the Elder in 909³² confirmed 15 hides at Wealtham, given originally by Alfred with other land at Micheldever,³³ to the see of Winchester, and this is believed to refer to North Waltham.³⁴ The Domesday of the monks of Canterbury contains the entry 'Wealtham and Pytham' paying 28d. for a church,³⁵ and Petham lies close to Waltham in Kent. Thus it seems that both missing names were already in use in the 11th century. Six of the twelve names can be considered in pairs. Great and Little Waltham are adjacent parishes and certainly represent a division of an earlier estate.³⁶ The same seems true of Waltham St Lawrence and White Waltham which are also adjacent.³⁷ In Sussex two estates named 'Waltham' are mentioned in Domesday, corresponding approximately with Upwaltham and Coldwaltham;³⁸ these were certainly adjacent as Earl Roger had appropriated 2 hides from one and 1 hide from the other to make a park.

All twelve places named *wealdhām* or *waldhām* exist today as villages or towns, including the two omitted from Domesday Book, but only three had more than 2,000 inhabitants in 1950,³⁹ of which the largest was Waltham Holy Cross, with 7,164. Domesday Book⁴⁰ reveals a different picture of Walthams in the 11th century. Then each was a large estate of from 30 to 50 ploughs and amongst the largest in its county, although several were in process of being cut up into smaller manors, or had been swallowed by neighbours. Four Walthams gave their names to Hundreds or Sokes and the position of all the rest in the Hundred suggests that they could have been the centre of an earlier Hundred which had been lost by 1066. All too, at this time, are listed among the possessions of either the king, the church or the leading magnate of the county. Parks are frequently associated and several, notably Waltham Holy Cross⁴¹ and Bishops Waltham, were used by Norman and later kings for hunting and stabling. Little Waltham lies near Writtle where King John built a new hunting lodge,⁴² it is possible that earlier kings made use of the manor of Walkfare,⁴³ then part of Little Waltham, which was owned by the canons of Waltham Holy Cross. At the time of Domesday the canons of Holy Cross also had property at White Waltham, so that the three estates of Little Waltham, Waltham Holy Cross and White Waltham are sited at convenient distances from the forest of Essex, which is thought to have extended originally across Middlesex and most of S. Essex.⁴⁴ An association with royalty and hunting in the 11th century is

³² Op. cit. in note 30, II, 297-300.

³³ J. M. Kemble (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (London, 1839-48), 336.

³⁴ *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, IV, 221.

³⁵ Ch.Ch. Canterbury MSS E28 in *Victoria County History, Kent*, III, 255.

³⁶ Op. cit. in note 31, 270.

³⁷ Information from Gelling.

³⁸ *Victoria County History, Sussex*, IV, 174.

³⁹ J. Bartholomew, *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles* (9 ed., Edinburgh, 1950).

⁴⁰ *Victoria County History*, relevant volumes of each county.

⁴¹ British Library, Harl. MS 391, f. 64.

⁴² P. A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955-57* (Soc. Med. Archaeol., monograph series, no. 3, London, 1969).

⁴³ Op. cit. in note 31, 239-40.

⁴⁴ P. H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1966), 28, map 3.

evident, but there were at that time other royal forests in England where the name *wealdhām* does not occur.

The distribution of *wealdhām* (FIG. 77) shows that it only occurs in those areas known to have been invaded by the Anglo-Saxons at an early date. Six of the nine lie near Roman roads⁴⁵ and it is easy to postulate a near-by Roman road for the others; roads in forests are very easily obliterated, particularly if the king's foresters discourage through traffic. All the forests are now much reduced. Epping Forest, previously called Waltham Forest, is all that remains of the forest of Essex. North Waltham lies near what was once the forest of Micheldever. Bishops Waltham had connexions with Winchester, but the charter of Alfred³³ points to an early link with Portchester and it lies near the forest of Bere. The W. Sussex Walthams lie between the South Downs and the Weald, while Waltham in Kent lies between the North Downs and the Weald, with a Roman road connecting it with Canterbury. The Lincolnshire and Leicestershire Walthams are both in areas settled early by Anglo-Saxon invaders entering via the Wash and are near the Wolds of those countries; the name 'Wold' derives from *weald* so that the Wolds must have been regarded as forests, even though possibly less wooded than those in the S. The position of each *wealdhām* is well situated as a base from which to administer the forest. It is noticeable also that *wealdhāms* are only associated with forests which lay in the centre of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and are not found in forests such as Selwood or Nottingham, which formed boundaries with unconquered lands.

A relationship seems to exist between *wealdhāms* and meadowland (one of the prerequisites for a royal estate was a surplus of meadow). Domesday Book records 63 acres of meadow at Great and Little Waltham; 80 acres at Waltham Holy Cross; 100 acres at Waltham (Leics.); and 68 acres at Waltham (Lincs.). Though less clearly stated, meadowland was also available near the river in each of the others.

Archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation in the *wealdhāms* is scanty. At Waltham Holy Cross, which is now being redeveloped, evidence of a pre-conquest hall has recently been found by excavation⁴⁶ N. of the church and lay over an earlier ditch perhaps of mid Saxon date.

To sum up, its name and its distribution point to a *wealdhām* being a settlement of the early Saxon period probably from *c.* 450 when the first kingdoms were established, and before *c.* 550 when the Saxons conquered new land in which no *wealdhām* occurs. The name always seems to be applied to a royal estate situated close to a forest. Evidence of prehistoric and Roman remains has been found in several *wealdhāms*, so that there may already have been a settlement. The probability of *wealdhāms* having been originally royal estates is suggested by their being held by the church or by the king or his deputy in the 11th century. It seems significant that at this period only those *wealdhāms* convenient to London or Winchester, the seats of Norman and later kings, were being enlarged; the others remained as villages. The wide acreage of meadow in each *wealdhām* would make it suitable for providing surplus food for the king and his court. The suggestion that they were of royal ownership would account for the continuance of the settlement while many places named *wichām* were lost.

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INVESTIGATIONS IN THE OBSERVATORY TOWER, LINCOLN CASTLE (PL. XV; FIGS. 78-9)

Lincoln Castle has the unusual feature, paralleled only at Lewes (E. Sussex), of possessing two keeps; both, at Lincoln, are built on mounds in the S. curtain wall,

⁴⁵ Roman roads referred to here are those described by I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (2 vols, London, 1955-7), or shown on the Ordnance Survey, *Map of Roman Britain* (3 ed., Chessington, 1956).

⁴⁶ P. J. Huggins, *Med. Archaeol.*, xvi (1972), 153.