The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in *-ingas, -inga-* in South-east England

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THE purpose of this essay is to put forward the proposition that the *-ingas, -inga-* place-name may not derive from the earliest phase of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, but may rather be evidence of a later phase, since the distribution-map suggests that the communities using that kind of place-name are separate in time, place and burial habit from those using the earliest and those using the latest pagan-burial sites.[1]

This essay, an experiment, does not represent that detailed typological analysis of the *-ingas, -inga-* place-names, and of the pagan-burials, against the topographical and geological context, over the whole of England, which will be necessary if the exact relationship of these place-names to the history of the English settlement is to be established. It seeks to explore the possibility of an alternative relationship to the one that has been hitherto supposed.[2] It takes up a subject described and discussed by J. N. L. Myres in *Antiquity* IX, and A. H. Smith in *PBA* XLII.[3]

[1] 'Pagan-burial' is used in this essay as a convenient term to describe the various modes of burial known to Anglo-Saxon archaeology which were in use from the 5th to the early 8th century, even though some of them must have been the burial-grounds of Christian communities.

[2] For advice given and accepted, but not always followed, I am very sincerely grateful to Professor A. H. Smith, Dr. J. N. L. Myres, Professor K. Cameron, Mrs. Audrey Meaney and Mrs. Sonia Hawkes.

[3] The following abbreviated titles are used throughout this paper:

Antiquity IX	J. N. L. Myres, 'Britain in the dark ages', *Antiquity*, IX (1935), 455–464.
BCS	W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1885–1893).
DEPN	E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th ed., Oxford, 1960).
Elements I	A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements, Part I*, EPNS, XXV (1956).
Elements II	A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements, Part II*, EPNS, XXVI (1956).
EPNS	*A Survey of English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society.
KPN	J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1931).
Meaney	A. L. Meaney, *Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964).
PBA XLII	A. H. Smith, 'Place-names and the Anglo-Saxon settlement' (Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, 1956), *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLII, 67–88.
PNBdHu	*The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, EPNS, III (1926).
PNEss	*The Place-Names of Essex*, EPNS, XII (1935).
PNHrt	*The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, EPNS, XV (1938).
PN-Ing	E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -Ing* (2nd ed., Lund, 1962). Reference to the 1st ed. (Lund, 1923) is specified where necessary.
PNK	J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934).
PNMx	*The Place-Names of Middlesex*, EPNS, XVIII (1942).
PNSr	*The Place-Names of Surrey*, EPNS, XI (1934).
PNSx	*The Place-Names of Sussex*, EPNS, VI and VII (1929, 1930).
PNWt	H. Kökeritz, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight* (Uppsala, 1940).
Studies[1]	E. Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal-Names* (Lund, 1931).
Studies[3]	E. Ekwall, *Etymological Notes on English Place-Names* (Lund, 1959).

Place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are the names of communities extended to the territory in which they lived or had some interest. In many cases the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name is formed upon a personal-name, that of the real or supposed founder, or inspirer, of the folk or its settlements: e.g. Hastings (Sussex) is named after 'the people of *Hæst*', and Hastingleigh (Kent) is 'the woodland of the people of *Hæst*', the base of both place-names being *Hæstingas*, 'Hæst's folk'. It is of some importance to establish the place in history of these leaders and of their followers, whether kin, associates or dependants, in whatever kind of relationship, who were the *-ingas* whose names were extended to their settlement and territories. These names are generally supposed to belong to the earliest stratum of English place-names and to date from the Anglo-Saxon immigrations. E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -Ing* (Lund, 1923), established this importance of place-names in *-ingas* in relation to the Anglo-Saxon settlement, which had been proposed by J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (London, 1849), and subsequently developed by a number of scholars. The 2nd edition of *PN-Ing* (Lund, 1962), 111, 116, maintains the position of the 1st edition as to these place-names.[4] *PN-Ing*, 113, supposes that 'at the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion and perhaps for some time afterwards it was usual to designate the people of a village or district by a collective name, often formed with the suffix *-ingas*, which frequently became the name of a village or district or entered into its name'. It continues: 'Since there is good reason to assign a great age to place-names in *-ingas*, it is a reasonable theory that these names on the whole date back from the time of the Anglo-Saxon migration to Britain and even that they arose as a consequence of that event. If this is right, names in *-ingas* throw some light on the nature of the early Anglo-Saxon colonization.' *PN-Ing*, 116, equates 'migration', 'colonization' and 'settlement'. It would be more convenient and precise to think of 'immigration' and 'colonization' as two processes in the 'settlement'. 'Immigration' would be that phase in which migrants came to Britain and established settlements. 'Colonization' would describe the extensions of settlement to areas beyond those taken by the immigrants. Ekwall's interpretation identifies the *-ingas* place-name with the 'immigration'-phase.

A more sophisticated analysis of the *-ing* suffix in English place-names is presented by A. H. Smith in *Elements*, 282–303, *s.v.* *-ing*, and in *PBA* XLII, 67–88. *PBA* XLII, 75, demonstrates that, of the complex series of place-names formed with the *-ing* suffix, only the *-ingas*, *-inga-* types are relevant to the earliest stages of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and that, of these, place-names in *-ingas* are to be divided into two types, one, in which the basis is a personal-name, which is ancient, the other, in which the basis is a topographical term or an older place-name, which could have been created at any time in the Old English period. *PBA* XLII, 77, observes that *-ingas* formations upon older place-names were still being coined as current colloquialisms for folk-names down to the 11th century, perhaps even the 12th, whereas (*id.*, 77) the use of *-ingas* with a personal-name, to describe a community in dynastic or social association with a person or his heritage, belongs to earlier Anglo-Saxon history. 'In Old English the formation

[4] Unless otherwise stated, *PN-Ing* refers to the 2nd edition of Ekwall's monograph.

is limited to the oldest historical traditions . . . But an occasional allusion like that of Felix to the *Guthlacingas*, from whom St. Guthlac was said to have been named, brings a faulty memory of its use down to the 8th century.' Now J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England. The Jutes* (Oxford, 1933), p. 27, quotes *quidam homines qui dicuntur Kenewoldinges* from an Inquisition t. Edward I at Kenardington, Kent. *Kenewoldinges* is obviously a colloquialism from the vernacular, representing the Latin legal gavelkind formula *heredes Kenewoldi*, 'the heirs of Kenewold'. Jolliffe observes that these are probably the heirs at law of that Kenwold (OE *Cyneweald*) who was tenant of this manor in 1212, the only instance of this personal-name in the lists of tenants.[5] So the use of *-ingas* with a personal-name is on record for the 13th century. This is a folk-name, and there is no evidence that true place-names were being made to this formula in the later periods of Anglo-Saxon history or subsequently. Yet this late instance of the formula for a folk-name might suggest that the unrecorded terminal date of the period in which analogous place-names were formed could be later than we think. It appears that the *-ingas* formation upon a personal-name could be used for a folk-name down to the 13th century,[6] but was only used for place-names down to a certain earlier period. It appears that the *-ingas* formation upon a topographical term or an older place-name continued in use for both folk- and place-names. These appearances suggest that only during a limited period were settlements being inaugurated by, or at least named after, communities under the aegis of a person and identified with his heritage, whereas communities identified by their habitat, rather than by their personal tradition, continued longer to give their name to their settlements.

From the current state of opinion in place-name studies, then, there appears to have been an epoch at which the 'personal-name-*ingas*' formula could be used as a place-name. Was this epoch coeval with that of the discovered Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial site? If the claims so far made by place-name scholars for the *-ingas* place-name are valid then the *-ingas* place-name, and particularly that derived from a personal-name, ought to be distributed on the map in a close relationship with the discovered pagan-burial of the immigration-phase, i.e. with the early cemetery.

The Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial is a phenomenon of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and early 8th centuries.[7] Some pagan-burials belong to the earliest immigrants, some to their descendants or successors of the Christian era, both in the original immigration-areas and in the remoter colonies established later in the course of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The pagan-burial is single or multiple, by interment or cremation, in urn, grave or barrow, representing the casual burial of the itinerant or the successive funerals of settled populations. A pagan-burial site would be used by an immigrant-settlement's community. If such a community disintegrated, its burials will not be in evidence for the time after the disintegration. If it persisted

[5] The attempt to identify the *Kenewoldinges* with the place-name Kenardington, made by Wallenberg, *KPN*, 156, is unnecessary and irrelevant. Also, Kenardington is not an *-inga-* place-name as DEPN has it, but one of the class described in *Elements*, *s.v. -ing-*[4].

[6] The instance is from a Kent record. The form may have persisted longer in Kent than elsewhere under the influence of the peculiar institution of gavelkind.

[7] See note 1.

down to Christian times, its burials will be in evidence down to the abandonment of the old burial methods and places. A colony established after the immigration but before the conversion of the settlers, or before the establishment of the church in its district, would continue pagan-burial practices modified by new attitudes as these two processes impinged upon it. The distribution-map of the discovered Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites ought to represent several kinds of historical sequence. There will be those places in which immigrant-communities buried their dead by pagan rite and in a pagan-burial site, and continued doing so, unless the settlement failed, until the rite and burial-site were changed into conformity with Christian observances. There will be those areas in which colonies established before the introduction of Christianity into their territory used the pagan rite and the pagan-burial site, where burials will begin later than in the immigration-settlement areas, and will continue, unless the settlement fails, down to the conversion to Christian practice. Where a settlement fails, the burials will cease at the time of failure, so a burial-site may only contain evidence of limited use. On the other hand the impact of Christianity upon burial habits might have been slower to take effect in some places than in others, according to whether the sentiment of the community was conservative or progressive, or whether the community was geographically accessible to, or remote from, the course of the Christian mission. Here the pagan-burial habit, and the pagan-burial site, may well continue in use some way down into a Christian age. The principal distinction to be made is between the pagan-burial sites of the immigrants and those of the colonizers. The former would come into use earlier than the latter. Both are liable to terminate before, or to continue in use until or beyond, the introduction of Christianity. The range of circumstances produces a range of phenomena extending from the early cemetery to the late barrow.

The Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in The Dark Ages. South Sheet* (Southampton, 1935), pp. 14–15, shows two distribution-maps, one of place-names in *-ingas* (plural) and *-ing* (singular),[8] excluding *-inga-* place-names, the other of Anglo-Saxon pagan cemeteries only, excluding barrows and other burials. These selective maps illustrate a note (*id.*, pp. 11–12) that while there is broad general agreement between the distribution of *-ingas* place-names and that of heathen cemeteries there are considerable differences in detail. The differences were discussed by J. N. L. Myres in *Antiquity* IX. Criticizing the selectiveness of the information plotted (*id.*, 460) he conceded the disparity of the two kinds of evidence, but offered a shrewd reconciliation of them by supposing that if the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names were contemporary with the pagan cemeteries, the disparity of distribution must be caused by the non-survival of the *-ingas* name (a folk destroyed, a place-name forgotten, a name changed) or by the non-discovery of a burial-site. This accommodating theory is attractive in that it fits the accepted view of the historical significance of the place-name type, it is proved by Myres to be relevant to the turbulent political history of certain long-settled

[8] For the significance of the various manifestations of the *-ing* suffix in English place-names, see *Elements*, 282–303. Here and in *PBA* XLII, 75, Smith points out that the *-ing* (singular) place-name (his *-ing*[2] type) is not certain evidence of antiquity.

midland regions where *-ingas* place-names are scarce, and it would need no modification as further burial-sites or *-ingas* place-names were mapped. Wherever one were found the other would be supposed, and either would be equal evidence of immigrant settlement. The need for such an accommodation of the two evidences only arises upon the place-name scholar's insistence that the *-ingas* place-name is from the initial stages of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and from the archaeologist's assumption that pagan-burials may be discovered by accident at any time anywhere. But the discovery of pagan-burials, as mapped, takes place in well-defined regions, and the distribution plotted in 1965 follows the same general lines as that plotted in 1935. Also it is always possible for a place-name claim to be modified. A vital paragraph in Smith's British Academy paper (*PBA* XLII, 84) says: 'A broad general agreement of the distribution of such archaic place-names has been sought with that of heathen English burial grounds, but there are anomalies in the pattern.[9] In Essex burial grounds do not give us the same picture of an intensive and widespread settlement as do that county's archaic place-names, but that may be due to the casual circumstances which so often attend the discovery of archaeological sites. On the other hand, in the Trent Valley, along the Fosseway to the Warwickshire Avon, almost to Tewkesbury, heathen burials far outnumber the archaic place-names. The discrepancy may be accounted for by our inability to distinguish other types of archaic place-names which might have had greater frequency in these districts.' This raises a question about which kinds of English place-name are likely to be the oldest in use in England. There is need of an examination of the place-nomenclature of the districts in which the early pagan-burials occur, with careful attention to the topography and geology of settlement-sites in the immigration-areas, to find what common characteristics there may be that would indicate types of 'early' English place-name. It might turn out that quite ordinary nature-names, such as *burna*, 'a stream', *lēah*, 'a wood', *feld*, 'open land', are the first to be used by settlers in a new land, and that habitative terms such as *hām* and *tūn*, and place-names formed from the personal-names and folk-names of the inhabitants, only come into use when the pattern of settlement and society has evolved to a stage at which the need for identification is felt, and recognition by neighbours is established. The examination of the place in history of the *-ingas, -inga-* place-name makes a useful experiment in this kind of thinking.

It is possible to argue away the crux which the disparity between pagan-burials and *-ingas* place-names presents, if the requirement for them to be contemporary is dropped. The starting point of such an examination has been clearly indicated by Myres. In *Antiquity* IX, 459, he observes the possibility of these place-names representing a phase later than that of the early pagan-burials, noting in particular the distribution of each in Sussex. This offers a more significant interpretation of the evidence than that given in *PN-Ing.* The exercise requires the distribution-maps to be seen objectively, without prejudice as to the supposed age of the *-ingas* place-name, as a plot of locations where early or late pagan-

[9] The anomalies which exercise Myres, Smith and the editor of the dark-age map appeared trivial to Ekwall, *PN-Ing*, 2n., who does not give the grounds of his satisfaction with this state of affairs. J.McN.D.

burials turn up, and of locations at which a recorded place-name shows that an *-ingas* community has given name to its settlement.

Much depends upon the chance of the 'recorded place-name'. Myres (*loc. cit.*) draws a distinction between the course of early English history in Sussex, Kent and Essex, regions of comparative political calm, and that in Middle Anglia and the upper Thames region, areas of persistent border warfare. He argues, justly, that in regions of political and military upheaval communities and their settlements would be prone to disaster. If an *-ingas* community in such a region were dissolved by war or calamity and so lost its identity, the *-ingas*, *-inga-* name of its settlement would be lost. But its pagan-burial site would remain, and the distribution-maps we draw will record the presence of the burial-site and the absence of the *-ingas* place-name. This explanation of the disparate numbers and distribution of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names and the pagan-burial sites may be the right one for these areas of the midlands, but it may need some degree of adjustment if the chronological relationship of the pagan-burial sites and the *-ingas* names is other than that of contemporaneity. The normal pattern of evidence left by an uninterrupted process of settlement cannot be expected in such regions. But it might be expected in a less disturbed region, so the geographical relationship of the place-names and the burials in the extreme south-eastern counties (FIGS. 2–6) will be used as illustration of a situation which might have been expected in the country at large. Both kinds of evidence are plentiful in this region in a variety of geographical dispositions, and there is a chronology of historical events. The more north-westerly regions of England appear unlikely to produce evidence to upset such findings and hypotheses as are to be made from the evidence of the south-east. In the north-west midlands the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name appears in areas devoid of any record of pagan-burials; it appears more often, proportionally, as the name of a single settlement than as that of a province or region, and the *-ingaham*, *-inga*-element formulae appear more frequently than the *-ingas* one; and there may be also a higher incidence of dithematic personal-name protothemes. On the other hand, pagan-burials, both early and late, appear in areas devoid of *-ingas* place-names. Cheshire contains no known pagan-burials but has five parish-names in *-ingahām* formed upon dithematic personal-names. Derbyshire and Staffordshire, with an important range of burials,[10] have no *-ingas* and very few *-inga-* formations. In the midlands there are large numbers of early pagan-burial sites and a fair number of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place names. In East Anglia both are numerous. Upon these regions, which have not yet been subjected to much more scrutiny than appears in FIG. 1, it will be possible to make only a temporary and tentative comment (p. 17) in the light of what appears in the south-eastern counties.

The information now available for south-east England is plotted in FIG. 1. Here the burial-sites listed in *Meaney* are plotted undifferentiated as to type and date. It would be elegant to present these sites differentiated, but this essay does not depend upon the differentiation so much as upon the general and regional distribution of the pagan-burial phenomenon. Nevertheless, notes on the sites

[10] cf. Audrey Ozanne, 'The Peak dwellers', *Med. Archaeol.*, VI–VII (1962–3), 15–52.

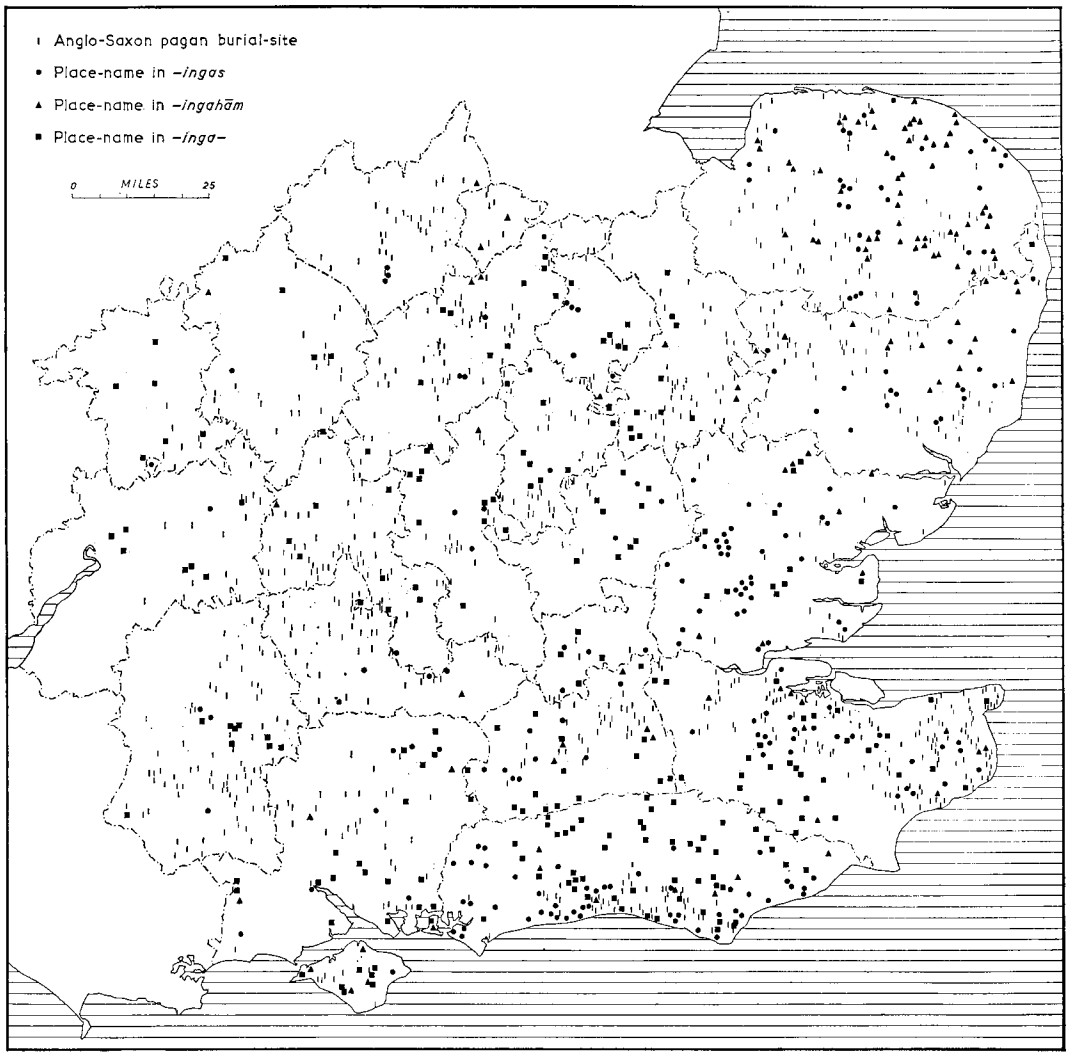

FIG. 1

MAP OF SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND

showing English place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*, and Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites (pp. 6 ff.)

near to *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are given by Mrs. Meaney in Appendix II. The place-names are differentiated as to *-ingas*, *-ingahām* and *-inga-*element formations. In the last category a further refinement into different final elements, *-inga-tūn*, *-inga-lēah*, *-inga-denn*, etc. would be interesting, but unnecessary at this stage of the investigation and also cartographically troublesome. Doubtful etymologies are not distinguished from the certain ones within each category, so the same symbol represents *-ingas* and *-?ingas*. FIG. 1, therefore, presents all the place-names known from available surveys of the south-eastern third of

England, that either are, or may be, *-ingas, -inga-* place-names. The principal distinction is between the *-ingas* type and the derivative *-inga-* type. The *-inga-* type has been separated into *-ingaham* and *-inga*-element because the *-ham* place-names have been accorded special status in previous studies on account of the greater antiquity supposed for *ham* than for other settlement terms. FIG. 1 is a simplification of the place-name material made for the purpose of emphasizing, possibly weighting, the distribution of the place-names as against that of the pagan-burials, so as to bring out the greatest possible number of names in contact with the burial-sites. Mrs. Meaney's appendix illustrates the rarity of coincidence persisting despite this management of the data. A more analytical view of the *-ingas, -inga-* place-name for Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex, is given in FIGS. 2–6; the names in these counties are listed in Appendix I. In these maps and lists the names are distinguished into *-ingas, -ingahām* and *-inga*-element as suffixed to personal-names (monothematic or dithematic, hereafter pers.n.[1], pers.n.[2]), or to place-name elements (el.). In discussion the types will be referred to by formula, e.g. 'pers.n.[1]*-ingas*', representing *-ingas* suffixed to a monothematic OE personal-name, or 'pers.n.[2]*-inga*-el.', representing the genitive inflexion of such a folk-name (here, *-ingas* suffixed to a dithematic OE personal-name) prefixed to a place-name element. The new plot in FIG. 1 is incomplete. Norfolk, Suffolk, Leicestershire, Rutland, Berkshire, Hampshire and Kent are not yet covered by the publications of *EPNS*. For Kent there is a body of material in *KPN* and *PNK* that is reliable if handled deftly. For Hampshire there are my notes of an unpublished typescript by J. E. B. Gover which I was allowed to read some years ago. For Wight there is *PNWt*. But for Norfolk, Suffolk, Leicestershire and Rutland, and Berkshire, the map bears only those *-ingas, -ingahām* place-names available in *PN-Ing* and *DEPN*.

In FIG. 1 the distribution of the wider range of place-names (desired by Myres, *Antiquity* IX, 460) changes the picture drawn in the notes upon the dark-age map. In those counties for which the additional material is available it will be observed that the type pers.n.*-inga*-el. is more pervasive than the types pers.n. *-ingas*, pers.n.*-ingaham*.[11] It is found in districts which lack these two forms. It is frequent in the Weald in Kent, Sussex and Surrey. It extends across the south midlands from the Wash to Oxfordshire, north of the Icknield Way. In the Weald there are no pagan-burials recorded, and this part of the country can hardly have attracted so many immigrant settlements as the 'pers.n.*-inga*-el.' place-names, at the *PN-Ing* evaluation, would indicate. In the midland tract pagan-burial sites are numerous. The inclusion of the *-inga-* type on the distribution-map gives the midlands a more *-ingas* populated appearance than the dark-age map indicated, and provides a body of place-names towards the Fens with which to compare the archaeological material (cf. *Antiquity* IX, 462). In the west of Norfolk and Suffolk where the *-ingas, -ingahām* place-names are comparatively sparse against the burial-sites, the balance might be similarly improved when all the

[11] Great care has been taken to admit in this discussion only those place-names which are, or might be, *-ingas, -inga-* names, and to exclude those which are *-ing* (singular) names (cf. Appendix I and *Elements*, *s.vv.* *-ing*[1], *-ing*[2], *-ing-*[4]). *DEPN* persistently confuses *-inga-* and *-ing-*[4] in the *-ingtūn* type of place-name, cf. *Elements*, *s.v.* *-ing-*[4].

-inga- names are known (*op. cit.*, 463). In the south-west midlands the new plot of the distribution of *-inga-* place-names alters the degree of imbalance between the frequency of burial-site and place-name, although these names are still sparse in comparison with their numbers in more south-easterly counties. In Essex and Hertfordshire the *-inga-* place-name reinforces the distribution-pattern of the *-ingas-* type but it does not alter the old anomalous relationship. The *-inga-* type is here no more coincident with the pagan-burial sites than are the *-ingas*, *-ingahām* types.

In Kent (FIG. 2) several of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are near pagan-burial sites. They are Postling (*Meaney*, 132), Lidsing (*id.*, 126), *Hebbinge* (in Boughton Aluph parish where odd burials have come to light, *id.*, 110), Bobbing (Chalkwell, *id.*, 113), Sittingbourne (Milton-next-Sittingbourne, *id.*, 128–9), Ozengell (*id.*, 131), Great Mongeham (perhaps, *id.*, 130), Gillingham (an odd burial, *id.*, 121, and Chatham Lines, *id.*, 114–5), Farningham (*id.*, 118), Stowting (*id.*, 137), Wingham (*id.*, 140).[12] At Ozengell the place-name is mapped at a site uphill and inland from the burial-sites. At Farningham the burial-site is uphill and inland from the riverside village bearing the place-name. At the other places there is no feature for or against linking the burial with the settlement-site of the village now bearing the place-name. In ancient times these villages and so their place-names may have stood elsewhere in their parishes. In these cases we find what appear to be instances of that casual coincidence of survival and discovery between the *-ingas* folk-cum-place-name and the pagan-burial site which is regrettably absent in the majority of instances. Mostly, in Kent, the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names, even those marked as doubtful etymologies, are removed, some far, some not so far, from the burial-site districts. The pers.n.+*-inga-*el. types in the Weald are obviously devoid of recorded archaeology and this pattern is repeated for the wealden parts of Sussex and Surrey (FIGS. 3–4). The *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names of east Kent appear to be near the burial-sites, but examination of the 1-in. Ordnance Survey maps is sufficient to prove that they lie upland and inland of the principal burial-sites and of those settlements which might be supposed to have supplied the burials, i.e. the series of *-bourne* villages along Nail Bourne and the old coastline settlements of the Finglesham, Mongeham district (cf. S. Chadwick, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent', *Med. Archaeol.*, II (1958), 4–5 and map). Again, the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names of central north Kent, between Great Stour and Medway, occupy the higher dip-slope of the North Downs between the burial zones of coast and estuary to the north and of the scarp-slope to the south. Yet again, along Medway, the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are upland and inland from the riverside settlements and burial-sites. Seen against the drift geology of the region, these distributions show

[12] I am grateful to Mrs. Sonia Hawkes for help with this list, and for the opportunity to examine her map of the pagan-burial sites of Kent. This strengthened my persuasion that some *-ingas* place-names may be later than we think, and that the shift in date proposed in this essay must be regarded as variable from place to place. She draws attention to the burials at Charing, omitted from my maps since not in *Meaney*. She observes that the only cases of close association between *-ingas* names and archaeology are at Charing and Stowting (the former is not and the latter may not be an original *-ingas* type, cf. Appendix I). She says that *Hebbinge*, Lidsing, Postling, are not more than 'possibly' associated with pagan-burials. She notes that Rooting, Bobbing, Halling, Detling and Chevening, are not far from pagan-burials in other parishes.

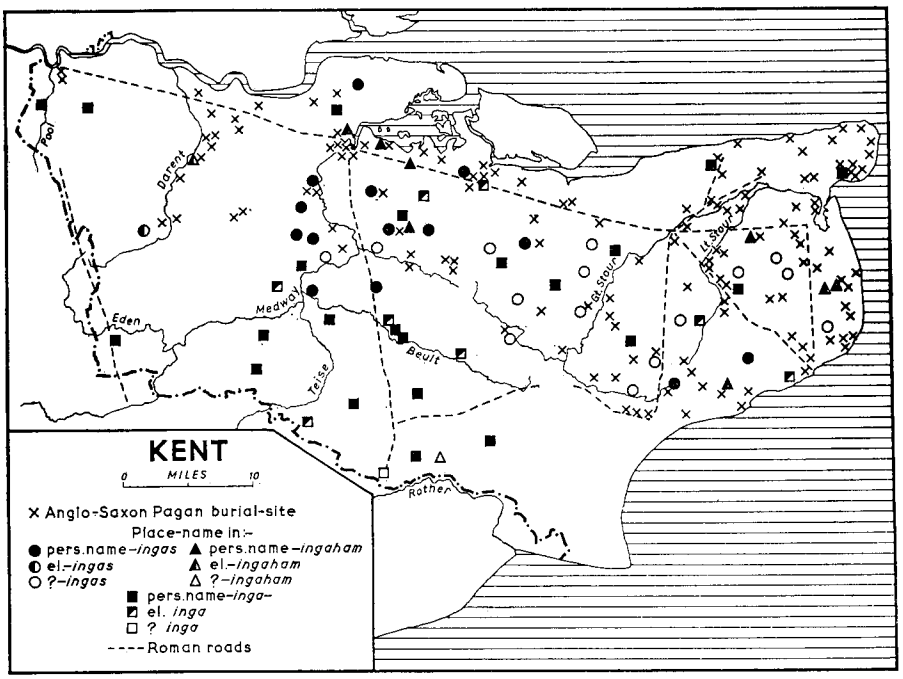

FIG. 2
MAP OF KENT (pp. 9, 11)
showing English place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*, and Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites

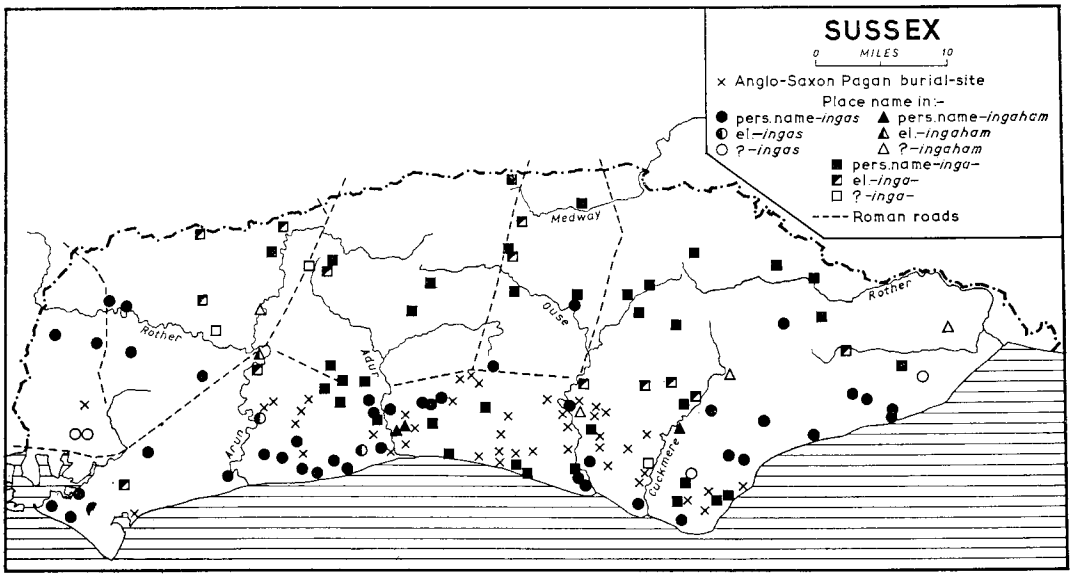

FIG. 3
MAP OF SUSSEX (p. 11 f.)
showing English place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*, and Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites

some of the *-ingas* place-names standing on the less attractive clay and chalk soils, as though the settlements so named were made when all the best sands and gravels had been appropriated.

In Sussex (FIG. 3), some of the *-ingas, -inga-* place-names are near pagan-burial sites. The sites mapped as Beeding, Ferring, Malling and Ovingdean (*Meaney*, 247, 250 *s.n.* High Down, 252, 253 respectively) are in direct relationship, geographically, with a burial-site, there being no intervening natural feature or obstacle between the two. Those named Poynings, Peppering, Patching, Beddingham, Lancing and Rottingdean (*Meaney*, 254 *s.n.* Saddlescombe, 253, 247 *s.n.*

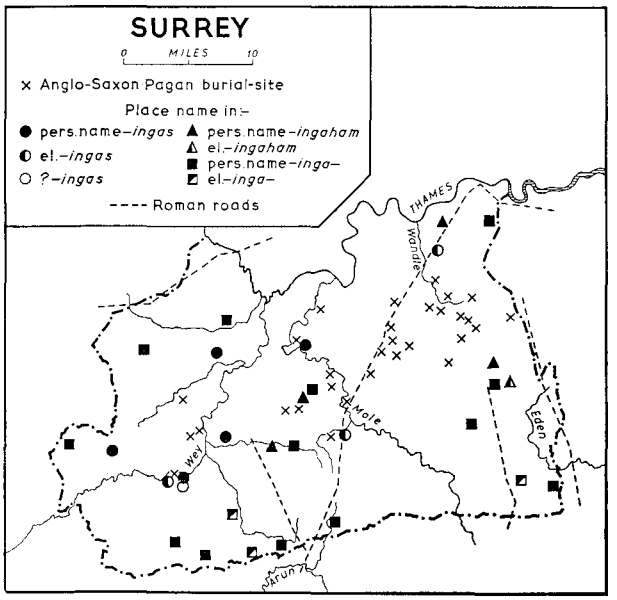

FIG. 4
MAP OF SURREY (p. 12)
showing English place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*, and Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites

Blackpatch, 247, 251, 253 respectively) have burial-sites which are a little less easily accessible. Again, the settlement may have moved about in its parish since ancient times. However, most of the place-names of this type are not associated with burial-sites. In Sussex the distinction between the distribution-plots is more bold than that seen in Kent. The pagan-burials lie in the South Downs between Arun and Beachy Head. The *-ingas* place-names lie along the edges of the high ground west of Arun, and in the lowlands north-west of Selsey. They extend along the coastal plain and the foothills of the Downs from Arun to Adur, along the north foot of the Downs from Adur towards Ouse, along the Ouse valley, along the coast from Ouse to Beachy Head. Again, they are frequent in the high ground from Pevensey Levels to Hastings, between the Weald and the sea. The *-ingas*

place-names do not encroach upon the Weald nor upon the main pagan-burial areas in the highlands between Adur and Cuckmere. The *-inga-* place-names occur in the Weald and also encroach upon the edges of the pagan-burial areas. In the east and west of the county, the rarity or absence of recorded pagan-burial sites as against the numbers of *-ingas* place-names is impressive, especially in the Hastings territory. The Rape of Hastings contains within it eight *-ingas* place-names (Brightling, Wartling, *Gillinge*, Cooden Down, Wilting, Hastings, Gensing, Guestling) and seven *-inga-* place-names. In an originally larger extent it may have contained even more, for Hastingford in Hadlow Down parish appears to be an old boundary-name of the *Hæstingas*.

In Surrey the distribution-map (FIG. 4) reveals the nearly exclusive nature of the two kinds of evidence. The pagan-burials lie along the dip-slope of the North Downs at the head of Wandle, Beverley Brook and Hogsmill River, above Stane Street, also along Mole between the Dorking Gap and Thames, also along the head-streams of the lower course of Wey. They are most frequently discovered south-east of Stane Street. The *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are sporadic, but their heaviest distribution is in the wealden area south of the pagan-burial regions, and along the lower reaches of the major streams towards Thames, north of the burial regions. On the upper Wey, Eashing is associated with a burial-site but it may be Romano-British (*Meaney*, 239). On the middle Mole, Dorking has an Anglo-Saxon burial-site (*id.*, 239) and there may be one for Eaton (Cobham, *id.*, 238). Between Wandle and Mole on the uplands, Effingham has burial-site associations (*id.*, 239). Nevertheless, the majority of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are at a distance from the pagan-burials. In this county there is no evidence of that degree of encroachment upon the pagan-burial districts that is apparent in the Sussex map. It is perhaps significant that the Sussex *-ingas* place-names sometimes occur on the more attractive soils at the north foot of the South Downs. Either these were unoccupied in some places when the *-ingas* settlements were being made, or older settlements there have been renamed to the *-ingas* formula.

In Kent, Sussex, and Surrey the pagan-burial districts are clearly marked, well defined and intensively featured. North of Thames in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex the place-name distribution is to be seen against a more sparsely marked background. In Middlesex (FIG. 5) the relevant place-names are few and so are the known pagan-burial sites. Both kinds of evidence lie in the same part of the county, since the region offered only a limited tract to primitive agriculture. It is, therefore, remarkable that the few *-ingas* settlements and the few burial-sites should not be more closely located. In this limited geographical area in west Middlesex which the distribution-maps concern (ignoring that odd place-name Wapping, which is certainly not *-ingas* and not certainly *-ing*[2]), there ought to be some coincidence if the *-ingas* place-names and the pagan-burials were simultaneous. An analogy of a limited geographical area can be seen in the Isle of Wight, where the *-ingas*, *-inga-* distribution is not related to the pagan cemetery (cf. *Antiquity* IX, 463, *PNWt*, xxiv–v ff.). In this end of Middlesex, the settlements that made the pagan-burials do not seem to be those that were named after an *-ingas* folk.

In Hertfordshire (FIG. 5) the relevant place-names are not associated with burial-sites. The pattern of the pagan-burial distribution suggests settlement from the north, from the crest of the midland escarpment along the rivers and Roman roads down the dip-slope. The *-ingas, -inga-* place-names are distributed on the head streams of Lea, as if to commemorate colonies settled from the south, from Essex.

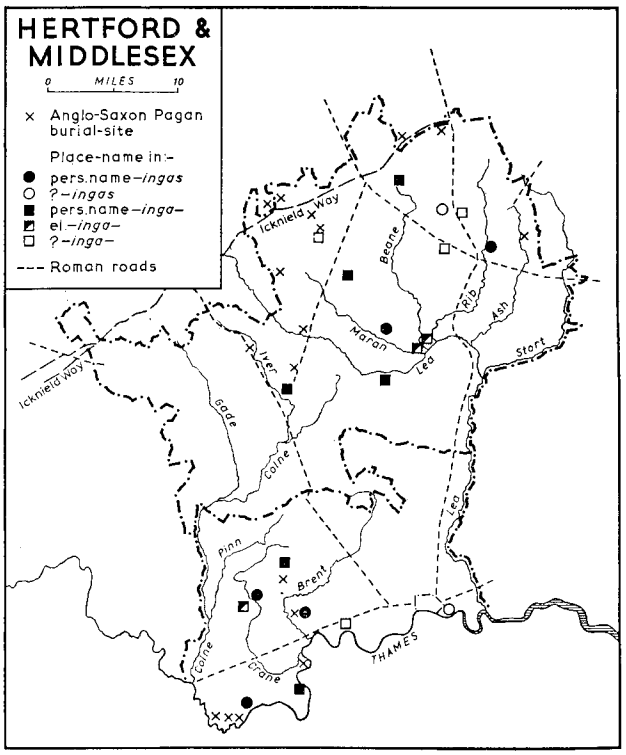

FIG. 5
MAP OF HERTFORDSHIRE AND MIDDLESEX (p. 12 f.)
showing English place-names in *-ingas, -inga-*, and Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites

In Essex (FIG. 6), Feering has a pagan cemetery (*Meaney*, 86), Patching in Broomfield parish might be associated with the Broomfield burial (*id.*, 85) as an instance of an *-ingas* place-name with an occasional late burial, cf. p. 19, and there may be a pagan cemetery in Nazeing parish (*id.*, 87). The distribution of burial-sites in the county is sparse. They are in coastal and estuarine sites, and on Lea at Nazeing, and near the Cambridgeshire and Suffolk borders in the north-west, and along the London-Colchester Roman road. The *-ingas, -inga-* distribution is most marked in central Essex, and it is related to the Roman roads too (cf. Myres's observations in R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1937), pp. 372–6). The pagan-

burial sites found in Essex are generally on or to the south and east of the London-Colchester road. The *-ingas, -inga-* place-name is not restricted by this limit, and appears frequently to north and west of it. As in the other counties, it looks as though this type of place-name is not to be associated with the pagan-burial makers.

A remarkable feature of the *-ingas* phenomenon in Essex is the appearance of two groups of place-names which form constellations, the *Ginges* group and the Rodings group (listed, p. 26). These are complex *-ingas* settlements occupying

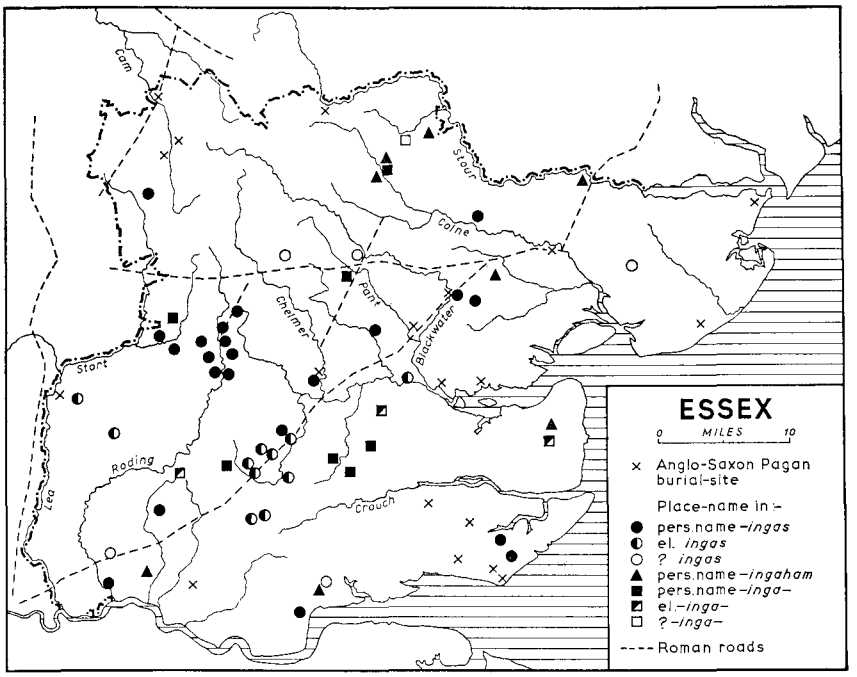

FIG. 6
MAP OF ESSEX (pp. 13 ff.)
showing English place-names in *-ingas, -inga-*, and Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites

large areas but with no trace of pagan-burials. This is the Hastings phenomenon again. It is a significant one. The fifteen *-ingas* folks in the Hastings territory could have been so many branches of the original *Hæstingas* named from eminent *Hæstingas* who inspired them. Or, they could have been originally independent *-ingas* folks brought under the jurisdiction of the *Hæstingas* by confederation or subordination. When compared with the uniformity of name found in the Essex groups, the variety of *-ingas* place-names in the Hastings territory suggests a confederation of folks, in which the constituents retained their identity but the politically dominant one extended its name to its own focal settlement and over the whole territory and membership of the confederacy. The *Hrōðingas* of the Rodings series in Essex are 'Hrōða's folk' in all their villages, which supposes

either a single society extended over a number of settlements, or a confederacy in which the identity of the constituents was lost in that of the dominant group. Such groups of *-ingas* place-names are evidence of complex social organizations. Which of the processes lies behind the *Ginges* is not clear, for their villages are all of the same name, and the name is not necessarily derived from a personal-name. It can be taken two ways (see p. 26), but the significance is approximately the same either way, for the name is either 'the people of the district' (i.e. '*the* people of *the* district') or 'the people of *the* man of the district'. If the personal-name basis be supposed, then the Ginges may be supposed to have been subordinates to a leadership, whereas the other basis, from OE **gē* (G. *gau*), 'a district, a province', supposes a territorial confederacy. The three groups examined all apparently contain the potential to become considerable political entities. The Essex group were frustrated by history and geography, though one of them had at least a name full of estimation and self-awareness. Such as these would be *Hyrstingas* of the Tribal Hidage and Hurstingstone Hundred, Hunts., cf. *PNBdHu*, 203, which was obviously a considerable social and territorial entity which might have become a 'Hastings'. It emerges from these observations that an *-ingas* place-name might represent a folk with every appearance of self-conscious identity, a legal and recognized social and territorial unit, capable of complex social organization developed beyond the single-settlement pattern. Sometimes the pattern of complexity might appear in a series of outlying dependencies, as in the Sussex series Poling with Pallingham, Pallingfo'd, Limbo Farm (Sussex), Pallinghurst (Surrey). The folk-cum-place-name in *-ingas* is evidence of a conscious historical tradition within a folk, a claim to and a recognition of continuity and permanence, and of heritage, in a particular land-settlement. The *-ingas* place-name might well be seen as evidence of the earliest English society to take root in, and to identify itself with, or give its name to its part of England.

The Essex groups of *-ingas* place-names, *Ginges* and Rodings, have the feature in common with the majority of the single *-ingas* place-names, and especially of the pers.n.[1]*-ingas* type, that they are not in districts where pagan-burials are discovered. The circumstance is very obvious in the territory of the Sussex group, Hastings. In this territory, the home of an historically considerable nation, with numbers of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names, there have been no discoveries of pagan-burials. Yet the region is neither more or less immune from the accident of discovery than any other. Here there is a strong impulse to suppose that the folk-cum-place-name records something quite distinctive about a settlement process, relating to some different context from that of the discovered burials. Unless the pers.n.*-ingas* type of place-name be supposed to belong, in some instances, to settlements made at a time after Christian procedures, and the use of the 'churchyard' burial-site, had been adopted, it has to be supposed that the pre-conversion burial procedure followed by the communities making these place-names was different from those known to archaeology. The *Hāstingas*, who can hardly be supposed to have come into existence at so late a time, appear to have been a people whose disposal of the dead differed from that used by those who made the known pagan-burials in some particular which enables their

funerals to escape detection. In south-east England, this sort of place-name and the social organization it represents is largely associated with settlements in districts removed from both the immigrant-phase burials and from those communities which continued the 'discoverable' pagan-burial habit until after the introduction of Christian methods. This removal suggests that the pers.n.[1]*-ingas* formula in place-names was in vogue at a time when settlement was being extended from the immigration-areas, i.e. after the immigration-phase was complete. The *-ingas* society, that is, emerges in a later, colonizing, phase, during which the *-ingas* name could be given to the new colony's settlement. If the burial-places of the *-ingas* folks became Christian grave-yards at the conversion, as suggested by Myres (*Antiquity* IX, 461), the discontinuity in the distribution of pagan-burials between the burial-site areas and the *-ingas* areas would seem to be a discontinuity between the use of a kind of site which can be discovered as a pagan-burial, and the use of a kind of site which could become a Christian churchyard grave-yard. This discontinuity can only have come about through the use by some communities in the *-ingas* phase of a site, near to the settlement, which could be handily appropriated to the use of the church. The dissociation between the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name and the late pagan-burial may mean that the late-burial community was no longer using the *-ingas* formula to make new place-names, i.e. the *-ingas* phase preceded the late burials. If they were contemporary phenomena, it may mean simply that the *-ingas* communities were not those which continued to use the discoverable pagan-burial.

The problem of the burial habits of the *-ingas* communities which provide no pagan-burial site would be reduced if the *-ingas* place-name could be ascribed to settlements made long enough after the conversion for the 'churchyard' form of funeral to have been generally used. However, place-names authorities (*PN-Ing*, *Elements* I, *PBA* XLII) emphasize the fact that the *-ingas* formula is archaic. The *-ingas* formula is common in continental place-names. The incidence, as protothemes in *-ingas* formations, of archaic personal-name themes and common nouns often obsolete by historic Old English times but with analogous words in continental Germanic languages, is further evidence of the *-ingas* phase being entered before the continental tradition was lost. From its south-easterly distribution in England, the type of place-name appears to have been in vogue at an early stage of the English settlement. The limit of the vogue in later history is not marked, but it must have fallen into disuse for the naming of new settlements before the expansion of Anglo-Saxon settlement out of the immigration-areas had proceeded too far. In England as a whole the farther from the immigration-areas, the fewer the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names are. The vogue may not necessarily begin in every part of the country simultaneously, and the place-name type need not appear in every county with comparable frequency, for its appearance would be subject to various local conditions. A time-scale which places the emergence of the *-ingas* place-name after, but not long after, the immigration-phase, in any given district, would allow for the archaism of the name-type and also for the necessary course of time in which the *-ingas* settlement in south-east England could achieve the importance, venerability and recognition which it possessed

by the 7th and 8th centuries, qualities reflected in the fiscal and administrative status of many of them, which is an important point made in the 2nd edition of *PN-Ing.* For the evidence in the south-eastern counties, this suggests a 6th-century date for the beginning of the *-ingas* phase in place-names.

But the conditions of south-east England cannot be assumed for other regions. In the south-eastern counties it is possible to construct from the distribution-map a chronological and geographical progression from immigration to colonization, with the *-ingas, -inga-* place-name emerging at the time of the colonization, associated with communities with some peculiarities of burial habit. But even in this region there are places where *-ingas* place-names and pagan-burials are in geographical juxtaposition, and in other regions it happens that the *-ingas* place-name is not removed from the immigration-settlement areas. The concentration of this experiment upon the south-eastern counties avoids the apparent confusion of the complex relationships between place-names and archaeology in the midlands.[13] There are several major early cemeteries at *-ingas, -inga-* place-names in the midlands, e.g. Kettering (Northants.), and Reading (Berks.) and the geographical dissociation of burial-site and place-name type which leads to the inference of an *-ingas* phase in the south-eastern counties is not so obvious in the midland and East-Anglian regions.

Anglo-Saxon pagan-burial sites are found in the vicinity of *-ingas, -inga-* place-names. This coincidence is analysed by Mrs. Audrey Meaney in Appendix II. Its occurrence in Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Essex has been described on pp. 9 ff. It is also found, from the lists in *Meaney*, in Norfolk at Dersingham, Great Ellingham, Gissing, Hilgay, Illington, Kenninghall, Poringland, Little Snoring, Wallington, Great and Little Walsingham, and Wormegay; in Suffolk at Bungay, Exning, Finningham, Herringswell (but this may not be an *-ingas* name), Icklingham, Lakenheath, Rickinghall Inferior, and Waldringfield; in Cambridgeshire, at Haslingfield and Sawston; in Bedfordshire at Toddington and Shillington; in Buckinghamshire at Wing; in Oxfordshire at Filkins and Hornton (Benson is *-ing*[2] or *-ing*-[4]); in Berkshire at Pangbourne, Reading and Wallingford (Lockinge is an *-ing*[2] name); in Wiltshire at West Chisenbury and at Roundway Down in Bishops Cannings; in Hampshire at Basingstoke and Wymering (Portsdown); in Lincolnshire at Stenigot, Threekingham and South Willingham; in Leicestershire at Peatling (but this may be an *-ing*[2] name); in Northamptonshire at Kettering; in Nottinghamshire at Collingham and Bingham; and in the North Riding of Yorkshire at Pickering. This list only includes instances where *-inga-* place-names and pagan-burials occur within the same parish. No account is taken of instances where a pagan-burial site occurs within a mile or two of such a place-name but outside the parish. These will have to be considered in any future study. It is remarkable how few the instances are. It is remarkable, too, how frequently the coincidence occurs in the geographically contained area of East Anglia. From this a significant conclusion may be possible. The *-ingas*

[13] Here Dr. J. N. L. Myres offered helpful and informative criticism upon perusal of the draft of this piece, which prompts the anticipation of that further study referred to on p. 18, and the hazard of some speculation as to the result.

phase theory as evolved from the south-eastern region supposes that the *-ingas* place-names are not generally associated with discoverable pagan-burial sites, and that the emergence of the *-ingas* community as a social entity coincided in time with a movement away from the immigration-settlement areas.[14] The key to this is the geographical removal noticed in the distribution-map. But the geographical factor is variable, and in a region where political, economic or physical geography discouraged or forbade territorial expansion, the *-ingas* phase may have overtaken communities in a long-settled immigration-area. If it be supposed that the *-ingas* folk-name is the result of a social evolution taking place generally at a juncture in the history of Anglo-Saxon society in England, then the evolution might be looked for whether the community was on the move or at rest. The recognition of communal identity and established folk-history might have caused a community to emerge as an *-ingas* society in circumstances where no movement was in progress. The result of this might not show as a place-name in *-ingas*, since no new settlement might be involved, and the place-names of the immigration-phase settlements might have become too well established to be replaced by *-ingas* folk-cum-place-names. If some time had elapsed between the immigration and the onset of the *-ingas* phase, there would be time for the establishment of a conservatism as to place-names already given and used, land already appropriated, and burial places hallowed by long custom, strong enough to resist the effects of new ideas. This may in fact be so in the immigration-areas without *-ingas* names in the south-eastern counties subjected to study.

On the other hand, the result of the emergence of the *-ingas* idea in an immigration-area could sometimes have been an *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name in an early pagan-burial district. In such circumstances one might expect the pre-*ingas*-phase burial-site to continue in use. The *-ingas* community which had emerged here would in fact be the same folk as that which had always lived in the place, different only in the new social identity which had come to recognition. Through sentimental inertia such a community might continue to use in its *-ingas* phase, and beyond, the burial ground inherited from its pre-*ingas* phase.

It seems likely to prove, when the evidence from other regions has been scrutinized, that there are several possible distribution-patterns involving the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name and the pagan-burial site in a sensible relationship. The non-*ingas* place-name with an early to late burial-site might represent the settlement of a long-standing community which existed before, during, and after the *-ingas* phase, but either did not achieve the status of an *-ingas* community or did not pass on the *-ingas* name to the place. The non-*ingas* place-name with only an early burial-site might represent a pre-*ingas* community (or in some cases perhaps a lost *-ingas* folk) which ceased existing at this place at the closing date of the burial ground. The non-*ingas* place-name with only a late burial-site or none at all discoverable, might represent the settlement of a non-*ingas* community in new territory made after the *-ingas* phase had ended. The *-ingas* place-name with only an early burial-site might represent either recolonization by an *-ingas* community with undiscoverable burials, of ground settled earlier by a lost

[14] Professor Kenneth Cameron tells me of a similar dissociation in the Trent valley region.

immigrant community, or it might represent the evolution of an *-ingas* identity in a pre-*ingas* community with simultaneous reform of burial habit leading to disuse of the early burial ground. The *-ingas* place-name with early to late burial-site might represent a pre-*ingas* community which evolved into an *-ingas* society and continued *in situ* with its traditional burial customs. The *-ingas* place-names with only late burial-sites, or with no discovered burial-sites at all, might represent colonies established in new territory in the *-ingas* phase, with occasional conservatism of burial practice. The *-ingas* phase might be clearly revealed only where geography allowed expansion into new colonies to be made at that juncture, away from the background of immigration-settlements, old place-names and traditional burial-sites, so encouraging the use of the *-ingas, -inga-* folk-name as a new place-name, and a different kind of burial place as a new 'undiscoverable' cemetery.

From the evidence available, the *-ingas* place-name seems to be the result of a social development contemporary with a colonizing process later than, but soon after, the immigration-settlement that is recorded in the early pagan-burials. It appears infrequently in the areas of late 'discoverable' pagan-burial and it is an archaic formula, so it seems likely to belong to a pre-conversion community, which sometimes used a burial habit not discoverable to archaeology. The burial habit of the *-ingas* communities is, paradoxically, evidenced by its absence from archaeology in those places where colonies emerge in the *-ingas* phase away from the older burial-site districts. If the maps be read in this way, and the *-ingas, -inga-* place-name be taken as evidence of a stage in the Anglo-Saxon settlement subsequent to the settlement of the immigration-areas, the anomaly of their distribution relative to that of the pagan-burials is removed, leaving, instead of an embarrassment, an historical potential in the disparity of the evidences of different times, places and customs. Such a result would justify the effort to change the angle of approach. The distribution-plots could then be seen as showing evidence of different phases of the settlement. These *-ingas, -inga-* place-names become the results of some phase in the Anglo-Saxon settlement later than the immigration period, an epoch of territorial expansion and social consolidation, marked by the establishment of colonizing communities, by the recognition of traditions embodied in social structures, and identified, as to allegiance, heritage and land-tenure, with a settlement organization. In this phase a new kind of society emerges, characterized by its place-names and its undiscoverable burials. At this position, there would be an expectation, rather than a consternation, that the pagan-burial site as seen in non-*ingas* areas should not be found in the *-ingas* areas, and that many *-ingas* place-names should be outside, sometimes far outside, the probable limits of the immigration-settlement areas indicated by the pagan-burial map, and that some *-ingas, -inga-* place-name sites should lie in more difficult soils than do the pagan-burial sites.

The converse occurrence, again, of an *-ingas, -inga-* place-name within the pagan-burial regions could be taken as evidence of a new social development in an old immigration-area (as perhaps in the Cambridge region, cf. *Antiquity* IX, 462), or as an insertion into a gap or 'island' of unclaimed territory between

immigration-settlements (as in the North Downs in Kent). These *-ingas* names might thus be quite fortuitously near the burial grounds used in a previous phase of the settlements. The conundrum of Essex would resolve into feasible parts. The early burials would represent the first immigrations into a difficult country, by not many communities and those keeping to coastal lands or districts already opened up by the Romans. The *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names would become the record of the second impetus, succeeding and superseding the first. Investigation along these lines offers a way to the reconciliation of those hitherto incompatible evidences, the pagan-burials and the *-ingas* place-names. The accommodation prescribed by Myres in *Antiquity* IX is possible if the historical value of the *-ingas* place-name assessed by Ekwall is insisted upon. But this value is not necessarily the right one. A different assessment of the historical significance of that sort of place-name has been attempted from the disparity which caused so much concern. It is still not clear at what time the pers.n.*-ingas* place-name became an obsolete usage, and some of those which are recorded may well be later than others. But these speculations do indicate that the emergence of this type of place-name is probably later than has been supposed. Speculation is not proof, however, and this essay is experiment rather than demonstration. So, while it would demote those men whose names appear in the *-ingas* place-names from the captaincy of immigrant armadas and transfer them to the leadership of the folk who made Britain England, they are still sure of their eminence in some command, whichever way the speculation goes. They lived in a dark age, and are not to be seen by moonshine, though it might serve, for want of a better light, for the estimation of their range and distance from us.

APPENDIX I

THE ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES IN *-ingas*, *-inga-* IN SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND

This list is intended as a gazetteer of the place-names featured on the distribution-maps (FIGS. 2–6). Where the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name is not a parish-name the parish-name is quoted in brackets. Immediately after the place-name, the nature of the basic element of the name is stated. National Grid references for lost places are either approximate to the supposed site or fixed by the parish nucleus. It would be tedious to rehearse the etymologies of all these place-names. Complex or interchanging *-ing* formations are indicated by such summary formulae as *-ing*^{2}/*-ingas*, after the bibliography. The bibliography cited will lead to the appropriate discussion. However, uncertainty of etymology is a commonplace in place-name studies, and some of the place-names used are shown as imperfectly explained. Some are so controversial as to make some short note a polite insurance. A principal difficulty in the way of isolating the *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-name in south-east England, and particularly in Kent, is the confusion between the *-ingas* construction and the frequently used *-ing* (singular) construction, hereafter alluded to as *-ing*^{2} (cf. *Elements*, 285–290, *PN-Ing*, 174–218). Sometimes the common noun-suffix formation *-ing*^{1} (*Elements*, *loc. cit.*) intervenes. In the Middle English spellings which provide much of the evidence for place-name forms, the differences of paradigm between the various kinds of OE *-ing* suffix formations tend to be levelled out (cf. *PN-Ing*, 212–4, *Elements*, *loc. cit.*). In a number of place-names the *-ing*^{2} forms and those from *-ingas* alternate in the recorded spellings and make it difficult to decide to which category they

belong. Halling (Kent) is recorded in both ways in Old English. The basis is an OE pers.n. **Heall* found only in place-names in English but matched by the OG pers.n. *Halo*. Halling appears as a folk-name *Heallingas* describing the people of this *Heall*, each of whom would be a *Healling*. But *Healling wara mearc* 880 (*c.* 1150) *BCS* 548, 'the boundary of the *Healling* dwellers' contains the name of the place, called after *Heall*, which was *Healling*. The same personal-name, from the same man or the memory of him, appears in *Hallesmeri* 765–91 (*c.* 1150) *BCS* 260, *Halles mere* 880 (*c.* 1150) *BCS* 548, '*Heall's* pool', the place-name of a boundary between Cuxton and Halling. Sometimes a clue to the existence of an *-ing*[2] form of the suffix survives in the palatalized spelling or pronunciation *-in(d)ge* from the OE locative-dative inflexion, but this has often been levelled with the *-ing* pronunciation and spelling of the *-ingas* form. *Hebbinge* (lost, Boughton Aluph parish, Kent) exhibits the early spelling *Hebbinges* which is an *-ingas* form, and subsequent ones with palatalization of the *-ing* which are *-ing*[2] forms. Here, from OE pers.n. **Hebbi*, a pair of names have been formed, *Hebbinge* with *-ing*[2] for the place, *Hebbingas* with *-ingas* for the inhabitants. Conversely, Charing (Kent) exhibits the *-ing*[2] form first, and the alternative *-ingas* form subsequently. Again, such a pair of place-names as Selling and Sellindge (Kent) illustrates the ambivalence of some of these south-eastern place-names. Both are recorded in both *-ingas* and *-ing*[2] forms and eventually one or the other form has been superseded in everyday use. One cannot tell whether the two forms of such place-names are simultaneous in origin or whether the one was derived from the other (*Elements*, 286). So these names may be seen as *-ingas* folk-cum-place-names or as *-ing*[2] (singular) place-names, or as both together. An important effect of this confusion is that it is sometimes impossible to tell whether the place-name should be regarded as a pers.n.[1]*-ingas* of the ancient category with a later derived *-ing*[2] form, or a not-so-ancient pers.n.[1]*-ing*[2] type, with a later derived place-name-*ingas* form. In the maps, all names which might be *-ingas* or which exhibit ambivalent characteristics of this kind, are indicated by the symbol for *-?ingas*.

KENT

-ingas		
BIRLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/679602	*PN-Ing*, 9, *PNK*, 146, *KPN*, 71, *DEPN*.
BOBBING pers.n.[1]	TQ/899649	*PN-Ing*, 9, *PNK*, 243, *KPN*, 82, *DEPN*.
BRISHING (Langley) pers.n.[1]	TQ/777515	*PN-Ing*, 9, *PNK*, 220.
CHEVENING el.	TQ/487577	*PN-Ing*, 10, *PNK*, 52, *DEPN*.
COOLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/755759	*PN-Ing*, 10, *PNK*, 112, *KPN*, 57, *DEPN*.
DETLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/794583	*PN-Ing*, 11, *PNK*, 136, *DEPN*.
EASTLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/964556	*PN-Ing*, 11, *PNK*, 284, *DEPN*.
EVERDEN (Alkham) pers.n.[1]	TR/231424	*PN-Ing*, 11, *PNK*, 440.
HALLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/705637	*PN-Ing*, 12, *PNK*, 116, *KPN*, 75, *DEPN*; with *ing*[2] form.
HUCKING pers.n.[1]	TQ/845585	*PN-Ing*, 12, *PNK*, 219, *DEPN*.
LIDSING pers.n.[1]	TQ/787623	*PN-Ing*, 13, *PNK*, 131.
E. and W. MALLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/700571, 682578	*PN-Ing*, 13, *PNK*, 148, *KPN*, 253, *DEPN*.
POSTLING pers.n.[1]	TR/145390	*PN-Ing*, 14, *PNK*, 456, *DEPN*.
YALDING pers.n.[1]	TQ/698501	*PN-Ing*, 17, *PNK*, 168, *DEPN*.
-?ingas		
E. and W. BARMING el.	TQ/720545	*PN-Ing*, 8, *PNK*, 132, *KPN*, 8, *DEPN*.
CHARING pers.n.[1]	TQ/953494	*PN-Ing*, 184, *PNK*, 388, *KPN*, 85, *DEPN*; *-ing*[2]/*-ingas*.
COOTING (Adisham) pers.n.[1]	TR/226533	*PN-Ing*, 11, 219, *PNK*, 520; *-ing*[2]/*-ingas*.
HEBBINGE (lost, Boughton Aluph) pers.n.[1]	TR/035475	*PN-Ing*, 205, *PNK*, 381; *-ing*[2]/*-ingas*.
PISING (lost, E. Langdon) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TR/335465	*PN-Ing*, 14, *PNK*, 568; *-ing*[1]/*-ingas*.
ROOTING (Pluckley) pers.n.[1]	TQ/954450	*PN-Ing*, 14, 219, *PNK*, 395; *-ing*[2]/*-ingas*.
ROWLING (Goodnestone) pers.n.[1]	TR/272549	*PN-Ing*, 15, 219, *PNK*, 532; *-ing*[2]/*-ingas*.
SELLINDGE el.	TR/094384	*PN-Ing*, 15, 173, 206, *PNK*, 467, 304, *KPN*, 30, *DEPN*; *-ing*[2]/*-ingas*.
SELLING el.	TR/045565	*PN-Ing*, 15, *PNK*, 304, *KPN*, 30, *DEPN*; *-ing*[1]/*-ingas*.

SHINGLETON (Eastry) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TR/286528	*PN-Ing*, 15, *PNK*, 580; *-ing[1]/-ing[2]/-ingas.*
STELLING pers.n.[1]	TR/143487	*PN-Ing*, 15, *PNK*, 437, *DEPN*; *-ing[1]/-ingas.*
STOWTING ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TR/125418	*PN-Ing*, 188, *PNK*, 429, *KPN*, 325, *DEPN*; *-ing[2]/-ingas.*
WEAVERING STREET (Boxley) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/785560	*PN-Ing*, 16, *PNK*, 135.
WYCHLING el.	TQ/922562	*PN-Ing*, 16, PNK 238, *DEPN s.n.* Wichling; *-ing[2]/-ingas.*
WYTHERLING (Molash) el.	TR/037532	*PN-Ing*, 16, *PNK*, 379.
-ingahām		
FARNINGHAM el.	TQ/549669	*PN-Ing*, 118, 119, *PNK*, 40, *KPN*, 326, *DEPN.*
FRINNINGHAM (Thurnham) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/820589	*PN-Ing*, 119, *PNK*, 235, 40, *KPN*, 326.
GILLINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/782691	*PN-Ing*, 119, *PNK*, 128, *KPN*, 303, *DEPN.*
ISLINGHAM (Frindsbury) pers.n.[1]	TQ/750690	*PN-Ing*, 11, 119, *PNK*, 115, *KPN*, 47–8.
GT. and LT. MONGEHAM pers.n.[1]	TR/350515, 333509	*PN-Ing*, 120, *PNK*, 569, *DEPN.*
RAINHAM ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/815659	*PN-Ing*, 120, *PNK*, 261, *KPN*, 115, *DEPN.*
TERLINGHAM (Hawkinge) pers.n.[1]	TR/213391	*PN-Ing*, 120, *PNK*, 451.
WINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TR/242575	*PN-Ing*, 120, *PNK*, 537, *KPN*, 158, *DEPN.*
-inga-?hām		
FREEZINGHAM (Rolvenden) pers.n.[1]	TQ/865303	*PN-Ing*, 119, *PNK*, 352, *KPN*, 89; forms suggest *hām*, situation *hamm.*
-inga-		
ÆGYLBYRHTINGAHYRST (lost, Biddenden) pers.n.[2]	TQ/825375	*KPN*, 172.
BARDINGLEY (Sutton Valence) pers.n.[1]	TQ/799460	*PNK*, 232, *KPN*, 128.
BELLINGHAM (Lewisham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/377723	*PN-Ing*, 118, *PNK*, 6, *KPN*, 300.
BINBURY (Thurnham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/812601	*PNK*, 234.
BRANDENBURY (Yalding) pers.n.[1]	TQ/722472	*PNK*, 169.
COBHAMBURY (Edenbridge) pers.n.[1]	TQ/455445	*PNK*, 73.
EOHINGA BURH (lost, Higham Upshire) pers.n.[1]	TQ/730725	*KPN*, 55.
FARTHINGLOE (Hougham) el.	TR/295405	*PNK*, 562.
FRENCH HAY (Tenterden) pers.n.[1]	TQ/907317	*PNK*, 357, *KPN*, 89.
GLASSENBURY (Cranbrook) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/748365	*PNK*, 320; perhaps not an original name.
HALLINGHURST (lost, Smarden) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/875435	*PNK*, 399.
HASTINGLEIGH pers.n.[1]	TR/095449	*PN-Ing*, 36, *PNK*, 424, *KPN*, 340, *DEPN.*
HAWKENBURY (Headcorn) pers.n.[1]	TQ/803447	*PNK*, 215, *KPN*, 129, cf. *Elements, s.v. fogge.*
KENSHAM GREEN (Rolvenden) pers.n.[1]	TQ/800315	*PN-Ing*, 119, *PNK*, 353, *KPN*, 120, 460.
LORRINGDEN (lost, Challock) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TR/000515	*KPN*, 346.
MOTTINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/419728	*PN-Ing*, 120, *PNK*, 7, *KPN*, 210.
OTTERDEN pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/945542	*PNK*, 228, *DEPN.*
OZENGELL (St. Lawrence, Thanet) pers.n.[1]	TR/356656	*PNK*, 601, *DEPN.*
PEMBURY pers.n.[1]	TQ/625406	*PNK*, 185, *DEPN.*
SHILLINGHAM (Chilham) pers.n.[1]	TR/075555	*PNK*, 375.
SITTINGBOURNE el.	TQ/915635	*PNK*, 264, *DEPN.*
STOCKBURY el.	TQ/840619	*PNK*, 230, *DEPN.*
STOKENBURY (lost, E. Peckham) el.	TQ/659497	*PNK*, 166.
TATLINGBURY (Capel) pers.n.[1]	TQ/630440	*PNK*, 174.
ÞORNINGA BYRA (lost, Chart Sutton) el.	TQ/780475	*PNK*, 210, *KPN*, 127.
TRILLINGHURST (Goudhurst) el.	TQ/690340	*PNK*, 313.
WATERINGBURY pers.n.[2]	TQ/685535	*PNK*, 167, *KPN*, 249, *DEPN.*
WOMENSWOLD ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TR/227507	*PNK*, 539, *KPN*, 160, *DEPN.*
YFINGA HO (lost, Herne) pers.n.[1]	TR/190665	*KPN*, 283, 108–9.
-?inga-		
FRENCHHURST (Sandhurst) pers.n.[1]	TQ/785275	*PNK*, 344, *KPN*, 89.
WINGMORE (Elham) pers.n.[1]	TR/187465	*PNK*, 434.

SUSSEX

-ingas		
ANGMERING pers.n.[2]	SU/067045	*PN-Ing*, 30, *PNSx*, 163, *DEPN*.
UPPER and LOWER BEEDING pers.n.[1]	TQ/195105	*PN-Ing*, 31, *PNSx*, 205, *DEPN*.
BIDLINGTON (Bramber) pers.n.[1]	TQ/097177	*PNSx*, 223.
BIRLING (Eastdean) pers.n.[1]	TV/559969	*PN-Ing*, 32, *PNSx*, 417.
BRIGHTLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/683210	*PN-Ing*, 32, *PNSx*, 471, *DEPN*.
CHYNGTON (Seaford) pers.n.[1]	TV/504987	*PN-Ing*, 32, *PNSx*, 364, *PNSr*, Addenda xli.
CLIMPING pers.n.[1]	TQ/002023	*PN-Ing*, 32, *PNSx*, 138, *DEPN*.
COCKING pers.n.[1]	SU/879176	*PN-Ing*, 32, *PNSx*, 16, *DEPN*.
COODEN DOWN (Bexhill) pers.n[1]	TQ/714075	*PN-Ing*, 32, *PNSx*, 491, *DEPN*.
DIDLING pers.n.[1]	SU/838185	*PN-Ing*, 33, *PNSx*, 34, *DEPN*.
DITCHLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/325153	*PN-Ing*, 33, *PNSx*, 300, *DEPN*.
E. and W. FERRING pers.n.[1]	TQ/095025	*PN-Ing*, 33, 19, *PNSx*, 167, *DEPN*.
FLETCHING pers.n.[1]	TQ/428235	*PN-Ing*, 34, *PNSx*, 345, *DEPN*.
FULKING pers.n.[1]	TQ/249116	*PN-Ing*, 34, *PNSx*, 284, *DEPN*.
GENSING (Hastings) pers.n.[1]	TQ/815105	*PN-Ing*, 34, *PNSx*, 535, vi.
GILLINGE (lost, Crowhurst) pers.n.[1]	TQ/767127	*PN-Ing*, 34 *s.n.* Gilling, *PNSx*, 502.
GLATTING (Sutton) pers.n.[1]	SU/967144	*PN-Ing*, 34, *PNSx*, 120.
GORING pers.n.[1]	TQ/110025	*PN-Ing*, 34, *PNSx*, 168, *DEPN*.
HAREBEATING (Hailsham) pers.n.[2]	TQ/594105	cf. foll.
HARPINGDEN (lost, Piddinghoe) pers.n.[2]	TQ/425025	*PN-Ing*, 35, *PNSx*, 325, 436; as for prec.
HARTING pers.n.[1]	SU/785195	*PN-Ing*, 35, *PNSx*, 35, *DEPN*.
HASTINGS pers.n.[1]	TQ/815095	*PN-Ing*, 35, *PNSx*, 534, *DEPN*.
IPING pers.n.[1]	SU/852230	*PN-Ing*, 36, *PNSx*, 22, *DEPN*.
LANCING pers.n.[1]	TQ/185055	*PN-Ing*, 36, *PNSx*, 199, *DEPN*.
LIPPERING (Birdham) pers.n.[1]	SZ/814999	*PN-Ing*, 36, *PNSx*, 81.
S. MALLING WITHOUT pers.n.[1]	TQ/415110	*PN-Ing*, 36, *PNSx*, 354, *DEPN*.
MEECHING (now Newhaven) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/445013	*PN-Ing*, 37, *PNSx*, 323.
OVING pers.n.[1]	SU/901050	*PN-Ing*, 37, *PNSx*, 75, *DEPN*.
PATCHING pers.n.[1]	TQ/088065	*PN-Ing*, 37, *PNSx*, 248, *DEPN*.
PEELINGS (Westham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/617049	*PN-Ing*, 37, *PNSx*, 448. *DEPN*.
PEPPERING (Burpham) el.	TQ/035093	*PN-Ing*, 38, *PNSx*, 167.
PERCHING (Fulking) pers.n.[1]	TQ/243115	*PN-Ing*, 38, *PNSx*, 285.
POLING pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/047047	*PN-Ing*, 39, *PNSx*, 171, *DEPN*.
POYNINGS pers.n.[1]	TQ/264120	*PN-Ing*, 39, *PNSx*, 286, *DEPN*.
RENCHING (Westham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/629039	*PN-Ing*, 39, *PNSx*, 448.
SOMPTING el.	TQ/160051	*PN-Ing*, 40, *PNSx*, 201, *EPNS*, IX, 10, *Studies*[1], 3.4–8.
STEYNING pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/175113	*PN-Ing*, 40, *PNSx*, 234, *DEPN*.
W. TARRING (Broadwater) pers.n.[1]	TQ/132040	*PN-Ing*, 40, *PNSx*, 194.
TARRING NEVILLE pers.n.[1]	TQ/442037	*PN-Ing*, 40, *PNSx*, 339, 194, *DEPN*.
WARTLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/655092	*PN-Ing*, 41, *PNSx*, 483, *DEPN*.
WILTING (Hollington) pers.n.[1]	TQ/780110	*PN-Ing*, 41, *PNSx*, 504.
E. and W. WITTERING pers.n.[2]	SZ/796972, 779985	*PN-Ing*, 41, *PNSx*, 87, *DEPN*.
WOOLBEDING pers.n.[2]	SU/875229	*PN-Ing*, 41, *PNSx*, 31, *DEPN*.
WORTHING (Broadwater) pers.n.[1]	TQ/150029	*PN-Ing*, 42, *PNSx*, 194, *DEPN*.
-?ingas		
E. and W. ASHLING (Funtington) ?pers.n.[1]	SU/825075, 810075	*PN-Ing*, 31, 86, *PNSx*, 60, *DEPN*.
FILCHING (Jevington) pers.n.[1]	TQ/569029	*PN-Ing*, 33, *PNSx*, 422; *?-ing*[2].
GUESTLING ?pers.n.[1]	TQ/840140	*PN-Ing*, 34, *PNSx*, 508, *DEPN*.
-ingahām		
ERRINGHAM (Old Shoreham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/205077	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 247.
SESSINGHAM (Arlington) pers.n.[1]	TQ/556094	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 410.
-inga-?hām		
CHALKHAM (S. Malling Without) pers.n.[1]	TQ/435115	*PN-Ing*, 123, *PNSx*, 354.
NUNNINGHAM (Herstmonceux) pers.n.[1]	TQ/620140	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 481.
PALLINGHAM (Wisborough Green) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/044224	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 134.
TILLINGHAM (Peasmarsh) pers.n.[1]	TQ/889205	*PN-Ing*, 125, *PNSx*, 532.

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HARDHAM pers.n.[2]	TQ/039175	*PN-Ing*, 125, *PNSx*, 128; *?-ing*[2].

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ALDRINGTON pers.n.[2]	TQ/275050	*PNSx*, 288.
ANNINGTON (Botolphs) pers.n.[1]	TQ/190095	*PNSx*, 222, *DEPN.*
ARDINGLY pers.n.[1] (pers.n.[2] possible)	TQ/348295	*PNSx*, 251, *DEPN.*
ASHINGTON pers.n.[1]	TQ/130159	*PNSx*, 183, *DEPN.*
ATLINGWORTH (Portslade) pers.n.[1]	TQ/253089	*PNSx*, 290.
BADDINGMERE (lost, Horsham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/165315	*PNSx*, 225.
BECHINGTON (Friston) pers.n.[1]	TV/555995	*PNSx*, 420.
BEDDINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/445079	*PN-Ing*, 123, 31, *PNSx*, 357, *DEPN.*
BEVERINGTON (lost, Eastbourne) pers.n.[1]	TV/605995	*PNSx*, 427.
BEVINGFORD (Buxted) pers.n.[1]	TQ/479248	*PNSx*, 390.
BILLINGABYRIG (lost) pers.n.[1]		*PNSx*, 148.
BLETCHINGLEY (Rotherfield) pers.n.[1]	TQ/572301	*PNSx*, 377.
BUDDINGTON (Wiston) pers.n.[1]	TQ/139110	*PNSx*, 244.
BUNCTON (Wiston) pers.n.[1]	TQ/144139	*PNSx*, 244.
CHIDDINGLY (W. Hoathly) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/360340	*PN-Ing*, 80, *PNSx*, 271, *DEPN.*
CHIDDINGLY ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/543143	*PNSx*, 398, *DEPN.*
COTTENDEN (Ticehurst) pers.n.[1]	TQ/675285	*PNSx*, 452.
CUTTINGLYE (Worth) pers.n.[1]	TQ/350390	*PNSx*, 281.
DALLINGRIDGE (Forest Row) pers.n.[1]	TQ/430360	*PNSx*, 328.
DRUNGEWICK (Wisborough Green) pers.n.[1]	TQ/063306	*PN-Ing*, 171 *s.n.* Drungewich, *PNSx*, 131.
ETCHINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/711261	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 455, *DEPN.*
ETCHINGWOOD (Buxted) pers.n.[1]	TQ/505222	*PNSx*, 390.
GLOTTENHAM (Mountfield) pers.n.[1]	TQ/725225	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 475.
GODDENWICK (Lindfield) pers.n.[1]	TQ/355255	*PNSx*, 341.
GORINGLEE (Itchingfield) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TQ/117277	*PNSx*, 181, 195n, *KPN*, 239.
HAFOCUNGALEAHGE (lost, perhaps W. Hoathly) pers.n.[1] (el. possible)		*PN-Ing*, 80, *PNSx*, 271.
HASTINGFORD (Hadlow Down) pers.n.[1]	TQ/522258	*PN-Ing*, 35, *PNSx*, 395, xxiv.
HAWKRIDGE (Hellingly) pers.n.[1]	TQ/555115	*PNSx*, 440.
HELLINGLY ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/580125	*PNSx*, 438, *DEPN.*
ITCHINGFIELD pers.n.[1]	TQ/131289	*PNSx*, 176, *DEPN.*
JEVINGTON pers.n.[1]	TQ/561015	*PNSx*, 421, *DEPN.*
LIMBO FM. (Petworth) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	SU/965241	*PNSx*, 117.
OAKENDEAN (Cowfold) pers.n.[1]	TQ/226226	*PNSx*, 210.
OVINGDEAN pers.n.[1]	TQ/355038	*PNSx*, 311, *DEPN.*
PALLINGFOLD (lost, Rudgewick) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/061339	*PNSx*, 134.
PATTLETON'S FM. (Westfield) pers.n.[1]	TQ/823165	*PNSx*, 506.
PIDDINGHOE pers.n.[1]	TQ/433030	*PNSx*, 324, *DEPN.*
PIDDINGWORTH (Ditchling) pers.n.[1]	TQ/313108	*PNSx*, 302.
POSSINGWORTH (Waldron) pers.n.[1]	TQ/550215	*PNSx*, 407.
ROTTINGDEAN pers.n.[1]	TQ/367025	*PNSx*, 311, *DEPN.*
RUTTINGHAM (Fletching) pers.n.[1]	TQ/425245	*PN-Ing*, 124, *PNSx*, 347, *DEPN.*
SHILLINGLEE (Kirdford) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	SU/965325	*PNSx*, 106.
STOCKINGHAM (Laughton) el.	TQ/505135	*PN-Ing*, 125, *PNSx*, 402.
SUNNINGLYE (Frant) pers.n.[1]	TQ/622379	*PNSx*, 376.
TILLINGHURST (Ardingly) pers.n.[1]	TQ/338308	*PNSx*, 254.
VINNETROW (N. Mundham) el.	SU/870020	*PNSx*, 75.
WAPPINGTHORNE (Steyning) pers.n.[1]	TQ/163141	*PNSx*, 237.
WARNINGLID (Slaugham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/249260	*PNSx*, 278.
WASHINGHAM (Greatham) el.	TQ/030157	*PN-Ing*, 125, *PNSx*, 151.
WASHINGTON pers.n.[1]	TQ/122130	*PNSx*, 240, *DEPN.*
WELLINGHAM (Ringmer) el.	TQ/433138	*PN-Ing*, 125, *PNSx*, 357.
WHATLINGTON ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/760184	*PNSx*, 500, *DEPN.*
YEVERINGTON (lost, Eastbourne) pers.n.[2]	TQ/615005	*PNSx*, 434.

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GRAININGFOLD (Billingshurst) pers.n.[1]	TQ/095275	*PNSx*, 148; *?-ing*-4.
HASLINGBOURNE (Petworth) el.	SU/985200	*PNSx*, 116; *?-ing*[1] or *-ing*[2].
WINTON (Alfriston) pers.n.[1]	TQ/520038	*PNSx*, 416; *?-ing*-4.

SURREY

-ingas

BINTON (Seale) pers.n.[1]	SU/878468	*PN-Ing*, 28, *PNSr*, 181.
DORKING el.	TQ/165495	*PN-Ing*, 29, *PNSr*, 269, *DEPN*.
EASHING (Godalming) pers.n.[1] or el.	SU/950437	*PN-Ing*, 29, *PNSr*, 196, *DEPN*.
EATON (Cobham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/102602	*PN-Ing*, 29, *PNSr*, 88.
GODALMING pers.n.[2]	SU/970439	*PN-Ing*, 29, *PNSr*, 195, *DEPN*.
TOOTING pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/275715	*PN-Ing*, 30, *PNSr*, 35, *EPNS*, xxii, lxxii, *DEPN*.
TYTING (St. Martha's) pers.n.[1]	TQ/020499	*PN-Ing*, 30, *PNSr*, 245.
WOKING pers.n.[1]	TQ/010570	*PN-Ing*, 30, *PNSr*, 156.

-?ingas

HALING (Croydon) considered highly improbable by *PN-Ing*, 230, *PNSr*, 50, *PN-Ing* (1st ed.), 29, so not entered.

LYDLING (Godalming) pers.n.[1]	SU/930461	*PN-Ing*, 29, *PNSr*, 198.

-ingahām

EFFINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/117537	*PN-Ing*, 122, *PNSr*, 102, *DEPN*.
TYLLINGEHAM (lost, Shere cum Gomshall) pers.n.[1]	TQ/080480 approx.	*PNSr*, 6 *s.n.* Tillingbourne, 251 *s.n.* Tenningshook, 281.
WARLINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/345580	*PN-Ing*, 122, *PNSr*, 339, *DEPN*.
WASHINGHAM (lost, Battersea, at Clapham Common) pers.n.[1] or pers.n.[2]	TQ/285750	*PN-Ing*, 123, *PNSr*, 15.
WOLDINGHAM ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/371558	*PN-Ing*, 123, *PNSr*, 339.

-inga-

ABINGER pers.n.[1]	TQ/115460	*PN-Ing*, 171, *PNSr*, 259, *DEPN*.
ANNINGSLEY (Chertsey) pers.n.[1]	TQ/025625	*PNSr*, 108, *DEPN*.
BLECHINGLEY pers.n.[1]	TQ/328508	*PNSr*, 308, *DEPN*.
BRIDDINGHURST (lost, Camberwell) pers.n.[1]	TQ/330765	*PNSr*, 18.
BURNINGFOLD (Dunsfold) pers.n.[1]	SU/994343	*PNSr*, 235.
CHIDDINGFOLD pers.n.[1]	SU/962357	*PNSr*, 187, *DEPN*.
COLONY (Chobham) pers.n.[1]	SU/918592	*PNSr*, 115.
ISLINGHURST (Ockley) pers.n.[1]	TQ/145370	*PNSr*, 276.
LINGFIELD el.	TQ/389437	*PNSr*, 327, *DEPN*.
LULLENDEN (Lingfield) pers.n.[1]	TQ/425432	*PNSr*, 329.
OTTERING WOOD (lost, Farnham) pers.n.[1]	SU/822475	*PNSr*, 171.
PALLINGHURST (Cranleigh) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/055345	*PNSr*, 231.
PECHINGEORDE (lost, Effingham Half-Hundred, ?near Effingham) pers.n.[1]		*PNSr*, 99n.
POLLINGFOLD (Ewhurst) pers.n.[1]	TQ/099352	*PNSr*, 240.
RYDINGHURST (Cranleigh) el.	TQ/035394	*PNSr*, 231.
TILLINGDOWN (Tandridge) pers.n.[1]	TQ/355555	*PNSr*, 336.

ESSEX

-ingas

BARKING pers.n.[1]	TQ/450835	*PN-Ing*, 17, *PNEss*, 88, *DEPN*.
BARLING pers.n.[1]	TQ/933895	*PN-Ing*, 18, *PNEss*, 178, *DEPN*.
CREPPING (Wakes Colne) pers.n.[1]	TL/902288	*PN-Ing*, 18, *PNEss*, 383.
EPPING el.	TL/460025	*PN-Ing*, 19, *PNEss*, 22, *DEPN*.
FEERING pers.n.[1] (el. possible)	TL/872195	*PN-Ing*, 19, *PNEss*, 389, *DEPN*.
FRISTLING (Margaretting) pers.n.[1]	TL/665025	*PN-Ing* (2nd ed.), 19, *id.* (1st ed.), 44, *PNEss*, 259, *DEPN; PNEss* is preferable to *DEPN* and *PN-Ing* (2nd ed.).
HAVERING ATTE BOWER pers.n.[1]	TQ/512932	*PN-Ing*, 20, *PNEss*, 111, *DEPN*.
MATCHING pers.n.[1]	TL/525120	*PN-Ing*, 21, *PNEss*, 45, *DEPN*.
MESSING pers.n.[1]	TL/897187	*PN-Ing*, 21, *PNEss*, 396.
MUCKING pers.n.[1]	TQ/685810	*PN-Ing*, 22, *PNEss*, 163, *DEPN*.
NAZEING el.	TL/415065	*PN-Ing*, 22, *PNEss*, 25, *DEPN*.
PATCHING (Broomfield) pers.n.[1]	TL/705090	*PN-Ing*, 22, *PNEss*, 241.
RICKLING pers.n.[1]	TL/495310	*PN-Ing*, 23, *PNEss*, 532, *DEPN*.

THE RODINGS pers.n.[1] *PN-Ing*, 23; a group including:		
ABBESS RODING	TL/573115	*PNEss*, 75–6.
BEAUCHAMP RODING	TL/580099	*PNEss*, 75–6.
AYTHORPE RODING	TL/582152	*PNEss*, 490–4.
BERNERS RODING	TL/519095	*PNEss*, 490–4.
HIGH RODING	TL/605175	*PNEss*, 490–4.
LEADEN RODING	TL/595133	*PNEss*, 490–4.
MARGARET RODING	TL/599120	*PNEss*, 490–4.
WHITE RODING	TL/563135	*PNEss*, 490–4.
SHEERING pers.n.[1]	TL/505139	*PN-Ing*, 24, *PNEss*, 50, *DEPN*.
TERLING pers.n.[1]	TL/772150	*PN-Ing*, 25, *PNEss*, 296, *DEPN*.
ULTING el.	TL/817087	*PN-Ing*, 25, *PNEss*, 298, *DEPN*.
WAKERING pers.n.[1]	TQ/945875	*PN-Ing*, 25, *PNEss*, 203, *DEPN*.
(G)ING(ES) pers.n.[1] or el. *PN-Ing*, 20, *PNEss*, 258, *DEPN*, *s.n.* Ing, *Elements*, *s.v.* **gē*; a group including:		
FOUCHERS (E. Horndon)	TQ/623985	*PNEss*, 159.
INGRAVE	TQ/622919	*PNEss*, 161.
BUTTSBURY	TQ/667970	*PNEss*, 242.
INGATESTONE	TQ/650995	*PNEss*, 253.
FRYERNING	TL/638002	*PNEss*, 254.
MARGARETTING	TL/672019	*PNEss*, 258.
MOUNTNESSING	TQ/631978	*PNEss*, 260.
THOBY PRIORY (Mountnessing)	TQ/640920	*PNEss*, 261.

Ekwall, *PN-Ing* (1st ed.), 46, presented **gē-ingas* 'the people of the district'. In *PN-Ing* (2nd ed.), 21, he ignores the *Geng-*, *Yeng-* spellings, cannot accept 'people of the district' as sensible, and rejects the straightforward OE **gē* etymology in favour of a pers.n. derivation. On the basis of the *(G)Ing-* spellings only, he offers a parallel German place-name Gingkofen (*Giginc(g)hova*) from the OG pers.n. *Gigo*, whence he supposes an OE cognate pers.n. **Giga*. However, admitting that this derivation from OE **gē* is formally possible, he prefers to allow the alternative proposed in *PNEss*, an OE pers.n. derived from **gē*, parallel to the OHG pers.n. *Gawo* from OHG *gawi* (G *gau*). The reason for Ekwall's change of mind is his failure to appreciate the significance of the etymology that is most formally acceptable. The possibilities are 'people of the district' from *-ingas* suffixed to OE **gē*, or 'the people of the man of the district' from *-ingas* suffixed to a personal–(nick)–name derived from OE **gē*. The element **gē*, though archaic in English and not recorded in historical times, appears in several place-names, Surrey, Eastry, Sturry, Ely, etc. The Surrey men were of the *sūðor-gē* 'the south district or province' of the Middle Saxons, which infers a northern one. There is no reason why there should not have been at least one more **gē* among the East Saxons than that called Vange (*PNEss*, 174). The name **Gē-ingas* is very meaningful. Its connotation is 'the people of *the* district' and probably '*the* people of *the* district'. It is a self-conscious name whose continuance proves the recognition by neighbours and selves of some pre-eminence or distinctiveness in that area and its population. The **gē* might have had a name of its own like the examples quoted, but its inhabitants imposed their identity upon it. The personality of the folk is the essential expression in this place-name whichever alternative derivation is preferred, '*the* local men' or 'the people of *the* local man'.

-?ingas		
BOCKING pers.n.[1]	TL/755240	*PN-Ing*, 189, *PNEss*, 413; *-ing*[2]*/-ingas*.
FOBBING pers.n.[1]	TQ/719839	*PN-Ing*, 19, *PNEss*, 156; *-ing*[2]*/-ingas*.
FRATING pers.n.[1]	TM/090230	*PN-Ing*, 19, *PNEss*, 338; *-ing*[2]*/-ingas*.
SEVEN KINGS (Ilford) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/455871	*PN-Ing*, 24, *PNEss*, 99.
STEBBING ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TL/663240	*PN-Ing*, 24, *PNEss*, 457, *DEPN*; *-ing*[1]*/-ingas*.
-ingahām		
BOCKINGHAM (Copford) pers.n.[1]	TL/925217	*PN-Ing*, 21, *PNEss*, 385, *DEPN*.
CORRINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TQ/710835	*PN-Ing*, 121, *PNEss*, 151.
GOLDINGHAM (Bulmer) pers.n.[1]	TL/840390	*PN-Ing*, 121, *PNEss*, 418.
CASTLE and SIBLE HEDINGHAM ?pers.n.[1] or el. (as in Hinckford)	TL/785355, 781335	*PN-Ing*, 121, *PNEss*, 438–9, *DEPN*, *Studies*[3], 66.
LANGHAM pers.n.[1]	TM/029335	*PN-Ing*, 122, *PNEss*, 395, *DEPN*.
RICINGEHAAM (lost, near Dagenham) pers.n.[1]	TQ/501851	*PN-Ing*, 122; *PNEss*, index, 238, and 560 *s.v. -ingahām*, may have intended identification with *Rykhame*, *PNEss*, 238. i.e. Culvert's Fm., Boreham par., Chelmsford Hundred, but the process was omitted.
TILLINGHAM pers.n.[1]	TL/995035	*PN-Ing*, 122, *PNEss*, 229, *DEPN*.
-inga-		
CORRINGALES (Hatfield Broad Oak) pers.n.[1]	TL/525165	*PN-Ing*, 121, *PNEss*, 40.

DANBURY el.	TL/785055	*PNEss*, 248.
DENGIE el.	TL/990015	*PNEss*, 213.
DODDINGHURST pers.n.[1]	TQ/595990	*PNEss*, 152, *DEPN*.
E., S. and W. HANNINGFIELD pers.n.[1]	TL/770010 TQ/741977, 730998	*PNEss*, 250, *DEPN*.
HINCKFORD (Hundred-name, Castle Hedingham) ?pers.n.[1] or el.		*PNEss*, 405, 439, and cf. Castle and Sible Hedingham, *supra*.
NAVESTOCK el.	TQ/537974	*PN-Ing*, 22, *PNEss*, 69, *DEPN*.
NAYLINGHURST (Braintree) pers.n.[1]	TL/740220	*PNEss*, 417.
-?inga-		
GESTINGTHORPE ?pers.n.[1]	TL/813373	*PNEss*, 430, *DEPN*.

MIDDLESEX

-ingas		
EALING pers.n.[1]	TQ/185800	*PN-Ing*, 26, *PNMx*, 90, *DEPN*.
SUNNINGES (lost, Sunbury) pers.n.[1]	TQ/105695	*PN-Ing*, 27, *PNMx*, 22.
YEADING (Hayes) pers.n.[1]	TQ/110820	*PN-Ing*, 27, *PNMx*, 40, *DEPN*.
-?ingas		
WAPPING (Stepney) ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/350805	*PN-Ing*, 27, *PNMx*, 152, *DEPN*, *Elements* II, *s.v. wapol;* probably an *-ing*[1] derivative of a cognate of OE *wapol* and meaning 'a marsh', but possibly an *-ing*[2] place-name upon that base, meaning 'the marsh-place', and least likely, either *-ingas* or *-ing*[2], or both, upon an OE pers.n. **Wappa*, **Wæppa* only found in place-names.
-inga-		
HARROW ?pers.n.[1] or el.	TQ/155870	*PN-Ing*, 28, 103, *PNMx*, 51, *DEPN*.
HAYES el.	TQ/105810	*PNMx*, 39.
TEDDINGTON pers.n.[1]	TQ/160710	*PNMx*, 24, *DEPN*.
-?inga-		
RAVENSCOURT PARK (Hammersmith) pers.n.[1]	TQ/225784	*PNMx*, 109; probably an *-ing*[2] place-name with the element OE *wīc* suffixed.

HERTFORDSHIRE

-ingas		
BRAUGHING pers.n.[1]	TL/397252	*PN-Ing*, 25, *PNHrt*, 189, *DEPN*.
TEWIN ?pers.n.	TL/273147	*PN-Ing*, 26, *PNHrt*, 231, *DEPN*, *Elements*, *s.v. Tīw*.
-?ingas		
THROCKING el.	TL/339300	*PN-Ing*, 26, *PNHrt*, 187, *DEPN;* probably an *-ing*[2] or an *-ing*[1] formation upon OE *broc(c)*.
-inga-		
BENGEO el.	TL/325135	*PN-Ing*, 171, *PNHrt*, 215, *DEPN*.
ESSENDON pers.n.[1]	TL/275087	*PNHrt*, 223, *DEPN*.
HERTINGFORDBURY el.	TL/307125	*PNHrt*, 227, *DEPN*.
ST. ALBANS pers.n.[1]	TL/150070	*PNHrt*, 86, *DEPN;* also WATLING STREET road-name *PNBdHu*, 5, *PNHrt*, 7.
SWANGLEY'S FM. (Knebworth) pers.n.[1]	TL/230220	*PNHrt*, 131.
WALLINGTON pers.n.[1]	TL/294337	*PNHrt*, 168, DEPN.
-?inga-		
BUNTINGFORD (Layston with Buntingford) ?pers.n.	TL/363295	*PNHrt*, 182, *DEPN*.
HERRINGWORTH (Gt. Munden) el.	TL/340245	*PNHrt*, 134.
WAIN WOOD (Ippollitts) el.	TL/215255	*PNHrt*, 14.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE COINCIDENTAL BURIALS

By Audrey Meaney

In the foregoing article Mr. Dodgson has shown how rare it is that early Anglo-Saxon burial-sites coincide with *-ingas, -inga-* place-names. It seems worth while, however, to attempt to date the coincidental burials, in order to see if any correspondence emerges which might help to date the *-ingas, -inga-* names. The dating has been done as well as possible from published sources; a study of the material preserved in museums may extend the time-range of some cemeteries, but will probably not alter the picture significantly. For the sake of simplicity, brevity and clarity only the sites mentioned in Mr. Dodgson's article have been considered, i.e. those which fall within the same parish as an *-ingas, -inga-* name, and therefore might properly belong to the same community. Sometimes more than one site has been found within a relevant parish; all these sites have been considered since any of them may be the one belonging to the *-ingas, -inga-* community.[15] Eighty-two sites, relating to 69 names, fall to be considered altogether.[16]

The following general categories of sites may be distinguished. A question-mark after the name of the site indicates an isolated find, not necessarily a burial, a letter B that it has so far produced less than three burials; all others are to be regarded as cemeteries.

A. Five sites which are not certainly early Anglo-Saxon, either because they did not produce distinctive relics, or because they were too badly recorded to be now recognizable. They must therefore be ignored.
   Easting and Effingham (Surrey), Nazeing (Essex), Kenninghall II (Norfolk), Threekingham (Lincs.).

B. Twenty sites, fairly certainly early Anglo-Saxon, but for which there is insufficient evidence for a more precise dating. These also, unfortunately, must be ignored.
   Lidsing B and Gillingham B (Kent), Beeding Hill B, Ovingdean B, Beddingham and Lancing (Sussex), Dorking ? and Cobham (Eaton) ? (Surrey), Great Ellingham ?, Hilgay B, Little Snoring B and Wormegay ? (Norfolk), Herringswell ?, Rickinghall Inferior B and Waldringfield B (Suffolk), Wing (Bucks.), West Chisenbury (Wilts.), Kettering II ? (Northants.), Parsons Hill (Bingham) B and North Collingham (Notts.).

C. Seven sites clearly belonging to the pagan series rather than to the late 7th-century Christian series, usually because of a cremation element, but which are impossible to date more precisely.
   Great Mongeham B (Kent) (a poorly attested site, but producing a button brooch), Saddlescombe (Poynings) (Sussex), Finningham (Suffolk), Fancot (Toddington) and Toddington II (Beds.), Reading IV B (Berks.) (an inhumation with spear and shield-boss), South Willingham (Lincs.).

D. Six sites probably belonging wholly to the 5th and early 6th centuries.
   Beddingham and Malling Hill (Sussex), Dersingham (Norfolk), Pangbourne ? (Berks.), Sawston B (Cambs.), Peatling Magna B (a poorly attested site) (Leics.).

[15] There are two sites in Gillingham (Kent)—Gillingham and Chatham Lines—Beddingham (Sussex), Kettering (Northants.), Kenninghall and Great and Little Walsingham (Norfolk); three in Toddington (Beds.), and four at Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Kent) and Reading (Berks.).

[16] The site listed in *Meaney*, 98, under Nursling (Hants.), as a possible inhumation-burial turned out, on perusal of O. G. S. Crawford's pamphlet *A Short History of Nursling* (Winchester, 1948), p. 13, to be a rubbish-pit containing Anglo-Saxon potsherds and animal bones (probably of the middle or late Anglo-Saxon period).

E. Ten sites originating in the 5th century and lasting probably all the pagan period.
Gillingham (Chatham Lines), Milton-next-Sittingbourne III and Ozengell (Kent), High Down (Ferring) (Sussex), Illington, Kenninghall I and Great Walsingham (Norfolk), Haslingfield (Cambs.), Reading I (Berks.), Kettering I (Northants.).

F. Thirteen sites originating in the later 6th century, belonging to the pagan series.
Postling B and Stowting (Kent), Gissing B, Wallington B and Little Walsingham B (Norfolk), Exning, Mitchell's Hill (Icklingham) and Lakenheath (Suffolk), Toddington I (Beds.), Filkins and Hornton (Oxon.), Reading III B and Wallingford (Berks.).

G. Five sites, impossible to date precisely, but which, because they are barrow burials, are probably later than the middle of the 6th century.
Peppering, Blackpatch (Patching) B and Rottingdean (Sussex), Poringland B (Norfolk), Pegsdon Common (Shillington) (Beds.).

H. Fourteen sites belonging to the Christian series of the late 7th to early 8th century.
Boughton Aluph (Hebbinge) B, Chalkwell (Bobbing) B, Milton-next-Sittingbourne I, II and IV, Farningham and Wingham (Kent), Feering and Broomfield (Patching) B (Essex), Bungay B (Suffolk), Roundway Down (Bishops Cannings) B (Wilts.), Portsdown Hill I (Wymering) and West Ham (Basingstoke) B (Hants.), Stenigot B (Lincs.).

In view of the very small number of coincidental burials of any period no conclusions can or should be drawn; nor does it seem useful to try to reduce the figures to percentages, but a few points may be made (ignoring categories A and B):

1. The sites listed under category D were often casual discoveries and further investigation might show that their period of use lasted until the end of the pagan period. On the other hand some are so poorly attested (especially Pangbourne and Peatling Magna) that they may not be sites at all. Some of the sites in category F were also casual discoveries, and may therefore have really come into use earlier than the middle of the 6th century.
2. To date, only 16 *-ingas, -inga-* names in the whole of England coincide with pagan-burials of the 5th century.
3. Only 21 such names (excluding the doubtful category G) correspond with sites in use in the pagan period.
4. Thirty-three such names, however, coincide with sites which came into use after the middle of the 6th century.
5. Category H represents a special class of burial-site which appears to have been intermediate between the pagan countryside cemetery and the Christian churchyard. However, it seems very probable that many communities would have missed out this intermediate stage, and changed immediately from heathen burial to churchyard burial, either on conversion, if they lived near enough to a church (cf. Yeavering, Northumberland) or perhaps as late as the middle of the 8th century. Note here that the burials (undated) at Wing (Bucks.) were near the churchyard of a late 7th-century church, and one (also undated) at Hilgay (Norfolk) was actually within the churchyard.
6. The coincidence of *-ingas, -inga-* names and *cremation*-burials is negligible. Only three sites—Illington and Great Walsingham (Norfolk) and South Willingham (Lincs.)—belong to the series of large pure-cremation cemeteries. Isolated cremation-burials were found at Dersingham and Wallington (Norfolk), Finningham and Waldringfield (Suffolk), Reading III (Berks.), and may on further investigation prove to be on the sites of cemeteries. Mixed cemeteries were found at High Down (Ferring) and Saddlescombe (Poynings) (Sussex), Haslingfield (Cambs.), Toddington I and II (Beds.), Reading I and Wallingford (Berks.), and Kettering I (Northants.)—a total of only 14 *-ingas, -inga-* names associated with cremation-burials.