Stonyborow: a clue to a Roman settlement in rural Oxfordshire? The symbiotic relationship between field-names and archaeological data

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There is a potentially fruitful and symbiotic relationship between the study of field-names and archaeological investigation and historical data. This article starts by examining some examples of the use of field-names by archaeologists. Then, through a detailed analysis of one field-name, *Stonyborow,* attested in 1605 in Whitehill township, Tackley, Oxfordshire, this article considers the help that archaeological and historical records can be to those studying field-names; particularly so where, as is frequently the case, runs of name-attestations are very limited, sometimes to a single instance. First, the field-name *Stonyborow* is analysed from a linguistic point of view. Second, to help refine meaning and resolve remaining uncertainties, this linguistic analysis is combined with archaeological and historical data. It is shown how and why the 1605 name *Stonyborow* appears to contain the memory of built (Roman?) remains at the specific spot bearing the name. Along the way, it is hoped that the value of bringing together these wide-ranging strands of evidence is demonstrated, as well as the critical importance of integrating field-name evidence into the historic environment record for all to consult easily.

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Field-names are often no longer in everyday usage but, where they can be recovered from past records and analysed, they are sources of intimate knowledge for the history of a landscape. Those who named the fields frequently did so after features and characteristics they found in the fields. These descriptions, embodied in names, bring to life the character, appearance and nature of an area through historical time. Accordingly, the study of field-names has long been recognised as highly important: see the important dictionaries and discussions of field-names compiled by Field (EFN, 1993) and the NDEFN (2018). This article examines one such field-name, recovered from a 1605 estate map in Whitehill township, Tackley parish, Oxfordshire. In isolation, a field-name might be clear in meaning or it might remain obscure, even after linguistic analysis. In the latter case, interdisciplinary combination with archaeological and historical data could make all the difference in our understanding. This article examines how this is the case for the particular field-name discussed below and goes on

to suggest how this demonstrates the importance of bringing together such data and making it as publicly and easily available as possible.

Field-names and archaeology

Some archaeological programmes have used located field-names (historic and modern) to guide targeted intervention, carrying out field-walking, geophysical survey and geochemical analysis where field-names suggest archaeological remains were once known and might still be recoverable. For periods prior to the advent of detailed maps accompanying Enclosure and Tithe Awards, it can be challenging to obtain field-names that are clearly locatable. However, in some regions, where earlier estate maps, terriers and surveys are available, field-names can be pinned down to specific places. The Shapwick Project used this approach with some success, see Aston and Gerrard (2013: 150–53); Gerrard and Aston (2007: 74–101). The project was an archaeological and historical investigation into 'the evolution of settlement and landscape' in the parish of Shapwick, Somerset (Aston and Gerrard 2013: Preface). The methodology, which located field-names to guide archaeological intervention, involved the use of a 1515 terrier drawn up for Abbot Beere of Glastonbury. The terrier was compared with later historic maps at a standardised scale. Some names from 1515 seemed to have survived into the later maps and could be used as fixed points for the rest of the jigsaw. It emerged to those working on the Shapwick Project that the terrier had been compiled in a roughly clockwise fashion working around the parish. Within each field, the references appeared to be in circular groupings. Flow diagrams detailing recorded abutments of field-names, one with another, were prepared. Acreages of the strips within the furlongs, also recorded in 1515, were added in to give more precise shape. Hence, with sufficient fixed points, the locating of most of the 1515 field-names could fall approximately into place. In effect, the non-graphic terrier of 1515 had been converted into a 'new' medieval map.

The Shapwick Project focused on field-names including elements such as:

(a) Middle English *wik(e)* (MED, s.v. *wik(e)*, n.(1))*,* from Old English *wīc* 'a dwelling, a building or collection of buildings for special purposes, a farm, a dairy farm', and, in the plural, 'a hamlet, a village' (EPNE **2** 257); but note refinement of this definition to 'dependent place with a specialised commercial function' (Coates 1999: 92–3). The relevant field-name was *Sladwyke*, first attested in 1303–04 (Aston and Gerrard 2013: 112; Gerrard and Aston 2007: 377–88). Geophysics, geochemical data and subsequent excavation revealed a rectangular stone building of fourth-century date in

this field. The excavators likened it to the cottage-type 'villa' found at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon. There was a considerable amount of fine tablewares and mortaria, together with a number of large vessels which might be linked to processing and storage of agricultural products.

(b) Old English *blæc* 'black' and *land* 'land' (OED, s.v. black land, n.). The relevant field-name was *Blakelonde*, first attested 1365–66 (Aston and Gerrard 2013: 117–20; Gerrard and Aston 2007: 398–403). Archaeologists have observed that land remarked upon historically for its dark soil is sometimes dark because of underlying archaeological remains (Hall 1981: 32). Of course, there are other geological reasons why land might be described as black, so an archaeological connection cannot be presumed. Gregory (NDEFN xxxvii) rightly points out that 'the relatively common names in *black-* … indicate "Black land, land with dark soil or vegetation". This covers a wide range of possible referents, but has been taken by some archaeologists, rather too enthusiastically, to be a clear indicator of previous habitation on the site … ' Field (1993: 33) alludes to the blackness of peat colouring the land in some of the *black-* field-names in boggy moorlands. NEDFN 33 also notes that references to woad processing or dyeing are possible. In this instance, in *Blakelonde,* field-walking, retrieving many sherds of Dorset Black Burnished Ware of second- to fourth-century date, geophysics and excavation uncovered rectilinear enclosures containing buildings alongside a metalled trackway and ditch. Dimensions of plots were standardised suggesting an element of planning.

(c) Old English *ceastel* 'heap, ?ruin' (VEPN **3** 7–9). As an element in field-names, it has the meaning 'land with heaps of stones', some of which are sometimes ruins (NDEFN 72). The relevant field-name at Shapwick was *Chestell* (*Chessell* 1638) (Aston and Gerrard 2013: 103–06; Gerrard and Aston 2007: 364–72). Next to this field in 1515 there was an area called *Stonylond*; a name which is relevant to the field-name that is the subject of this article. Again, geophysics and excavation uncovered in this field a large Roman stone building, Roman hobnails, roofing nails, tesserae and wall plaster, along with imported continental wares. The complex appeared to date from the late second to mid fourth century.

In terms of linguistic analysis, it can be hard to obtain a sizeable run of field-name attestations, or, indeed, any run at all. Field-name entries in English Place-Name Survey (EPNS) volumes often list numerous single attestations of intriguing field-names. *Stonyborow*, the subject of this article, is one such (PN O 287). Carrying out etymological analysis on a highly limited run of name attestations is a perilous business. However, it is here that the symbiotic relationship between archaeology and name-studies may assist. Just as place-names help archaeologists determine

where it might be fruitful to investigate, so archaeology can help place-name scholars be more certain of tentative etymologies.

Care must be taken to distinguish between any nuanced differences in meaning when an element is used in a major place-name and when it is used in a minor field-name. For example, Gelling observed differences in Berkshire between the element *worð* used as a major settlement name and its use as a field-name (PN Brk 943–44). See similar comments relating to names in Surrey (PN Sr 366–67). The element *worð* when it occurs as a field-name should not necessarily be taken as evidence of lost habitation. It may refer to an agricultural form of enclosed farming in severalty. It appears to have persisted as a term in Middle English, judging from field-names and from surnames (Löfvenberg 1942: 238), and was different from the usage of the term as a habitative element in major settlement and parish names and pre-Conquest period estates. By 1642, it was being used as a term for a unit of agricultural land (PN Gl **4** 198), a meaning Gelling supports for various of the Berkshire instances.

A single attestation does not give a reliable indication as to the likely date of origin of the field-name and this can have consequences for possible interpretations. It is difficult to know where a particular field-name, attested but once, fits within the identified diachronic variations in meaning.

Where a field-name does appear to suggest habitation, it can be an error to assume that the habitation necessarily need be in or near that field. The field-name may be referring to habitation elsewhere that had some form of proprietary or associative relationship with the field; that is, it was farmed or owned by people from a village located somewhere else and the field-name refers to that village.

One particular field-name: *Stonyborow*, Oxfordshire — the linguistic evidence

With all those caveats in mind, let us turn now to *Stonyborow,* a field-name attested in Tackley parish in the township of Whitehill, Oxfordshire, on a 1605 estate map drawn up for Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Mowat 1888).

This is a late, single attestation, albeit not as late as the usual collection of field-names derived from Enclosure and Tithe Awards and Maps. At face value, it would appear to be comprised of two elements: (1) a qualifying element derived from Old English *stānig* 'stony' (EPNE **2** 145, Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *stānig, stǣnig*, adj., MED, s.v. *stōnī*, adj.); and (2) a generic element, possibly Old English *be(o)rg* 'hill' (DOE, s.v. *beorg*, n.).
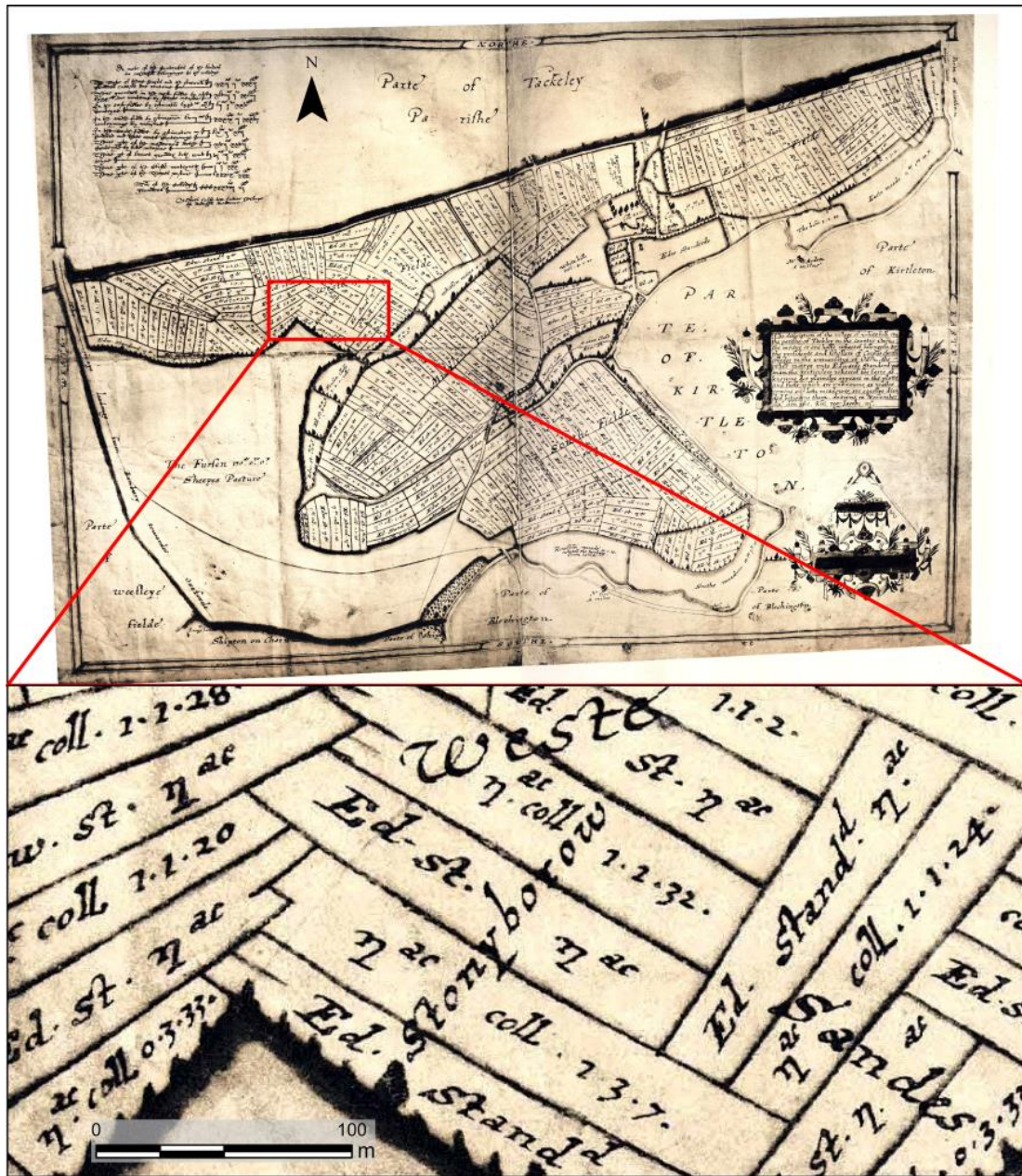
Figure 1: 1605 Corpus Christi Estate Map of Whitehill showing the position of *Stonyborow* (Mowat 1888). Image © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. J. Maps 283.

Be(o)rg has attestations in Oxfordshire spelt *borow*(*e*) by or around 1605, but so does the Old English element *burh* 'fortified enclosure' or 'town' (DOE, s.v. *burh*, n. A and B; see below for both). *Burh* is less common with a *borow* reflex and so might not, at first sight, have been thought to be a likely generic in the field-name *Stonyborow*.

   be(o)rg *Warborowe* 13th c. (Warborough, PN O 169); *Hanborowe* 1428 (Handborough, PN O 269)

Note that it has been suggested that Middle English spellings with <bor->, instead of *bar-* or *ber-*, may arise in names, ultimately derived from the Old English element *be(o)rg*, due to subsequent confusion with names derived from the Old English element *burh* (Kristensson 2002, 178).

> **burh** *Borowham* c.1270 (c.1450) (earthwork on Bladon Heath, PN O 254); *Lowborow* 1641 (Lowbarrow/Loughborough, Leafield, PN O 361)

In these cases, derived from the Old English element *burh*, it seems that <o> has been written for <u> , and a second epenthetic <o> has appeared between <r> and <h> which has rounded to <w> (Jordan and Crook 1974: §146).

In Oxfordshire, the qualifier adjective *stānig* is to be found (before or around 1605) with the following generics: *aker* 1306 'acre', *brigge* c.1298 'bridge', *crofte* 1375 'croft', *den'* 1345 'hill' or 'valley', *grove* 1605 'grove', *ham* 1363 'low-lying meadow', 'enclosed land', *hill* 1605 'hill', *lande* 1601, 1606–7 'land', *pece* t.HyVIII 'piece', and *rudge* 1608–9 'ridge' (PN O). These terms reflect the fact that 'stony' is frequently used as a descriptor of the land condition and this is how it often finds its way into field-names. This is corroborated in a wider search of other counties. It is also possible for the qualifier to signify 'made of stone' or 'stone-built' as in the case of the bridge, albeit this meaning 'made of stone' is first recorded, according to Gelling, in 1382 (PN O 171). See, too, OED, s.v. stony, adj. 2.a. However, this remains a possibility if this field-name was coined in Middle English. *Stonyborow* appears to be the only example recorded in DEEPN of *stānig* accompanying *borow*. Note that *stān* 'stone', does accompany both *burh* and *be(o)rg* in major names, for example, Stainborough (West Yorkshire), Stanbury (West Yorkshire) for the former, and Stoborough (Dorset) for the latter. In the case of collocation with *burh*, as in Stainborough and Stanbury, *stān* might mean 'made of stone', or it might signify that the fortified enclosure was marked by a stone or on a rocky outcrop (Baker 2012: 319–20).

Stonyborow, Oxfordshire — the topographical, historical and archaeological evidence

Since both generic elements *burh* and *be(o)rg* are possible (as is Middle English *burgh* 'burrow', since it is indistinguishable in form from, and possibly a development of, *burh* (VEPN **2** 74)), wider contextual analysis is needed to try to distinguish between them. Turning then to an applied approach, this is where topographical awareness and a symbiotic relationship with archaeology might help.

By 1605, there were four open fields in Whitehill: *Weste*, *Middle*, *Easte* and *Southe Fieldes*. These fields appear to comprise (earlier?) smaller fields, judging by the names given to different parts of them, still recorded on the 1605 map: for example *Longe furl[ong]*, *Milnpath furl[ong]*, *Fishers furl[ong]*, *Shorte furl[ong]*, *Clay f[urlong]*, *piked acre*: the latter being 'land which comes to a point' (NDEFN 327–28). Extensive meadowland is marked, some, judging from field-names, previously shared in common, divided by lot: *Lott Meade* (first recorded 1309, Crossley 1983); see also *Rowsham Meade*, the herbage of which was permitted to Whitehill from Lammas; Rousham is a neighbouring parish — hence, this meadow was shared between parishes. There is also evidence of non-arable land, enclosed prior to 1605, in the names *Furzen Close*, *Moore Close*, *Southe Meade Close*, referring to piecemeal enclosure of the edges of moor, furze (rough grazing land) and meadow. Whitehill is an interesting township in that by 1605 it was owned by only two owners, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Edward Standard. It may seem odd that these two owners had not taken steps by 1605 to consolidate their holdings; indeed, their strips appear on the 1605 map to be strictly intermixed, alternating one with another, including over the *Stonyborow* area. However, from 1552, the college's lands were always leased to the lord of the manor (the Standard family). Thus, effectively, by 1605, Whitehill was being farmed by one farmer. In 1777, an Enclosure Act consolidated and divided the area between the college (given the north) and Simon Wisdom (then lord of the manor, given the south) (Crossley 1983).

1. Evidence favouring *be(o)rg*

There is precedent, cited above, for the qualifier 'stony', in its sense of referring to the quality of the land, to be used in a field-name in conjunction with a hill-term as the generic, and, on first consideration, this might seem to favour *be(o)rg* as the generic of *Stonyborow*. On the 1605 map there are other field-names named after land formations or the quality of the land: *Sandes*, *Longe over* and *Shorte over*, which could be referencing the southern end of the Whitehill hill formation (see below) on which they lie (from Old English *ofer*[1] giving the sense 'upper land' or as a noun *ofer*[2] 'land on a flat-topped ridge', NDEFN 312), and *The Cliffe* in an area containing a steep, riverine cliff, visible clearly today, and mentioned as *þe clyf* in the bounds of Whitehill in Æthelred II's charter, purportedly dated to 1004 (S909). These other field-names demonstrate that naming fields after land formations or the quality of the land had occurred prior to or around 1605 in the township.

The main hill-form in the township, on which *Stonyborow* lies, is actually referenced in the township name: Whitehill, Old English *wiht* and *hyll* 'hill with a curved hollow' (PN O 286). This name has some age and longevity, first attested in Æthelred II's 1004 charter (S909). It persists today in the names of farms. This, perhaps, makes it less likely that *Stonyborow* is a name for the hill-form, since the hill already has an old and enduring name. Pound Hill, the other distinct hill formation in the township, towards the east overlooking the River Cherwell, also has a relatively early attested name (1139: PN O 286) which exists still today, again making it less likely (aside from the difference in location) that *Stonyborow* is a second name for this hill.
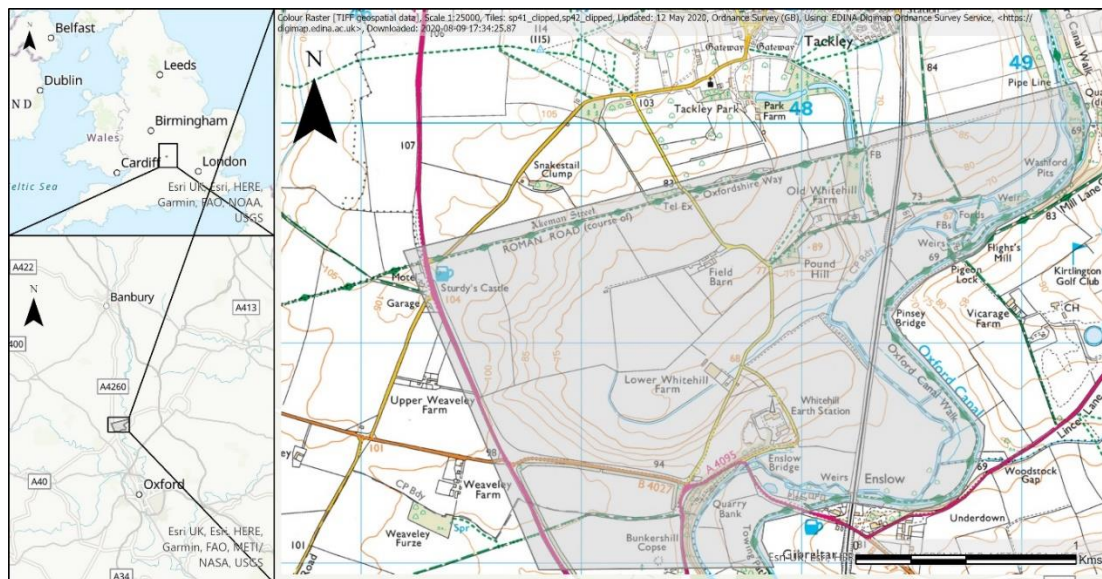

Figure 2: The location of Whitehill township, Oxfordshire, showing the approximate location of Whitehill's bounds recorded in Æthelred II's charter, purportedly dated to 1004 (S909).
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Moreover, although the possibility of locational migration of the name must be noted, *Stonyborow*, the field, lies on the *lower flanks* of Whitehill (the hill). Furthermore, it does not seem to relate to a distinct or notable part of the larger hill (however, see below on the possibility of loss due to the plough). Figures 3 and 4 illustrate this. Whitehill (the topographic feature, the 'bent or curved hill') rises to a height of 105m. In the rest of the township, towards the River Cherwell where Whitehill the village is situated, the land falls away to 68m. *Stonyborow* is marked on the 1605 estate map (georeferenced using ESRI's ArcGIS) at 73m (calculated using elevation data from the Ordnance Survey Terrain 5m Digital Terrain Model). Therefore, the *Stonyborow* field area in 1605 sits at the lower end of the range of heights in the township.
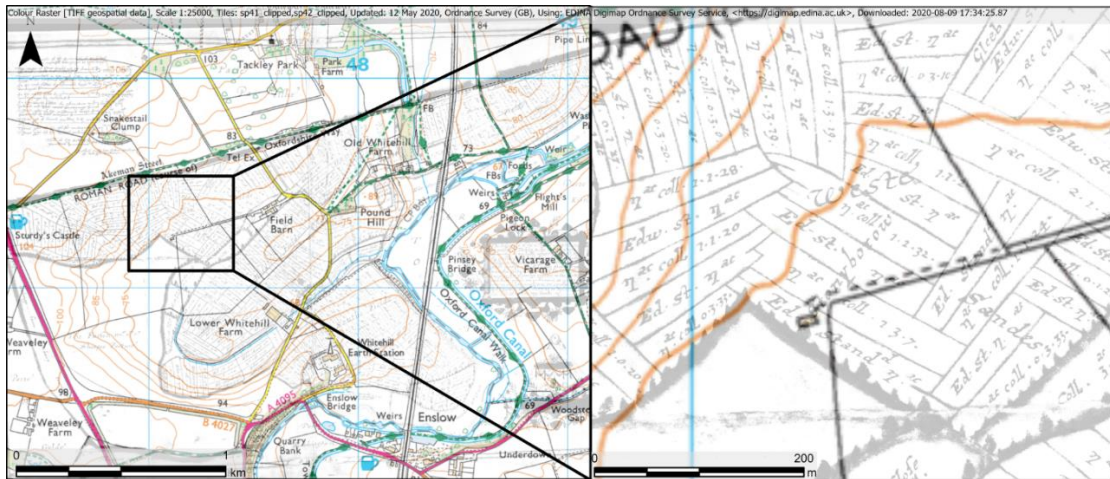
Figure 3: The location of *Stonyborow* superimposed on the OS 1:25,000 map 2020, georeferenced using the 1605 estate map and ESRI ArcGIS.
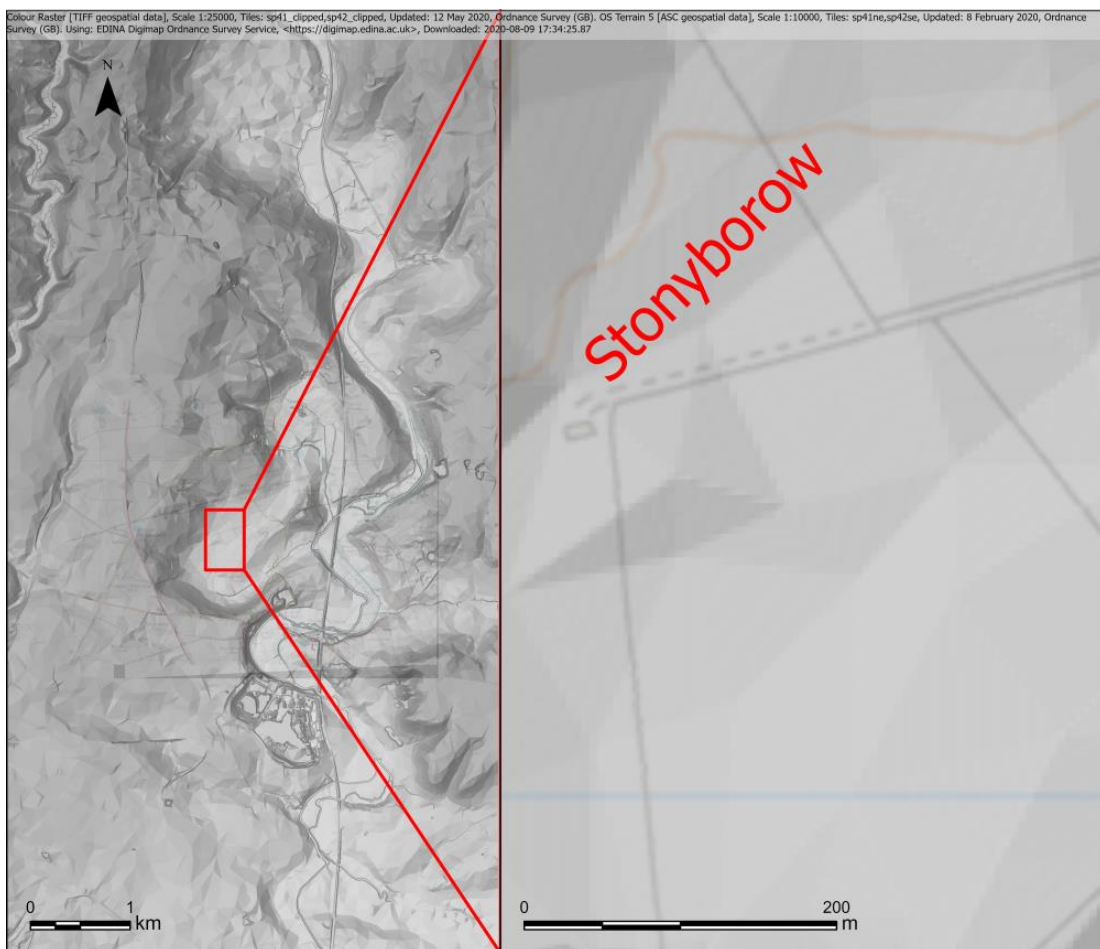© Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252).

Figure 4: The location of *Stonyborow* in relation to the terrain, using OS Terrain 5m data visualised with ESRI ArcGIS Multidirectional Hillshade and a Z Factor of 10. Contains OS Data. © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252).

Geologically, *Stonyborow* sits on top of sand and gravel river deposits and the White Limestone Formation (see Figure 5). The Cornbrash Limestone Formation in the area, on top of Whitehill (the hill not the village), gives rise to stony fields, evident even today in ploughed stubble. However, this is present across the whole of Whitehill (the hill). It is not clear that the area of *Stonyborow* is notably stonier than the rest, which may suggest that the meaning of *stony* should not be taken to be particularly geological or soil-related alone.
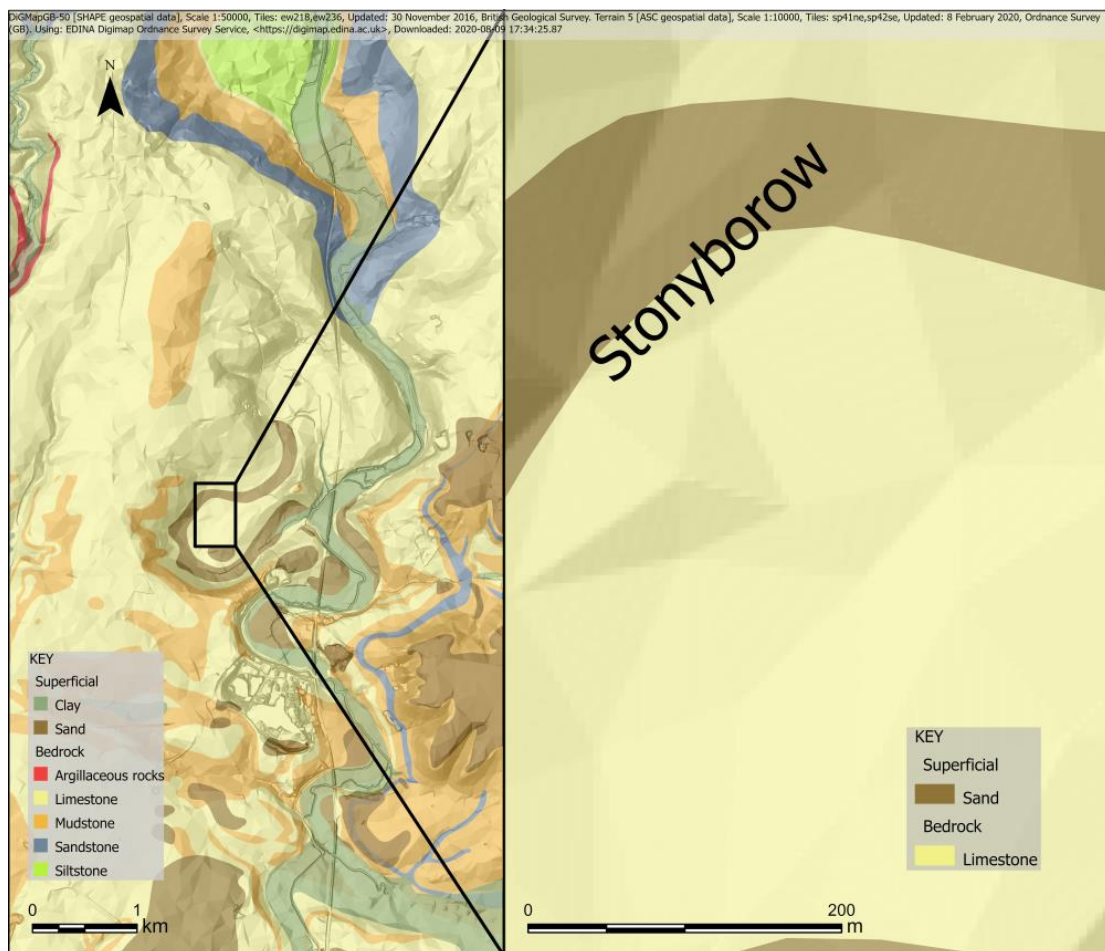

Figure 5: The geology of Stonyborow and the Whitehill region, using British Geological Survey data, processed with Edina Digimap and ESRI ArcGIS. Geological Map Data BGS © UKRI 2020.

2. Evidence favouring *burh*

The 1605 map itself does not mark any upstanding remains or ruins, or even any topographical variation (whether natural or artificial) such as a mound or earthwork, in the vicinity of *Stonyborow*. Instead, the area of *Stonyborow* is laid out in strips, as with other areas in the map, each strip marked with its acres, roods and perches. The map is, in fact, a mixture of

bird's eye view, depicting buildings in the village of Whitehill and trees on field boundaries as upstanding features of which partial vertical elevations are seen; and plan view, strictly from above, showing plots and roads or paths in plan only, as modern Ordnance Survey maps are drawn today. Since it is such a mixture, had there been some upstanding mound or remains in the *Stonyborow* area, they might have been depicted. On the other hand, it would be unwise to take their absence as conclusive.

Things become more interesting when archaeological interventions and investigations in the area are consulted via the Historic Environment Record. *Stonyborow* sits just south of Akeman Street, the Roman road from St Albans (*Verulamium*) to Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*), see Figures 2 and 3. Indeed, the northern boundary of Whitehill land in Æthelred II's charter (S909) is taken to be Akeman Street, although the road itself seems to be omitted from and not mentioned in the charter's bounds.[1] The street is heading for a crossing of the Cherwell which the Romans used (O'Neil 1929). The crossing point might have moved in the post-Roman era, judging from the fact that Whitehill medieval village was further south,[2] downstream, closer towards a point on the Cherwell described as *ealdon hensig'lade* 'the old difficult crossing or artificial channel of *Hensing*' (possibly a stream name derived from Old English *hēns* 'hens', PN O 271, DEPN 235), in Æthelred II's 1004 charter bounds, which is near modern-day Enslow. This latter boundary marker (at a point now bridged by Enslow Bridge) reflects either a difficult river crossing that is often flood-prone, *gelād* (PN O 271, LPN 81–3), or an artificial cut or canal in the river, *lād* (LPN 20–1). Personal local knowledge of the Cherwell corroborates the flood-prone nature of this site. If an artificial cut or canal is meant, it would pre-date the Oxford to Coventry canal running parallel to the Cherwell by some centuries.

Significantly, the crossing or channel was 'old' already by 1004, suggesting a newer or later crossing point or man-made cut in the river elsewhere (Forsberg 1950: 30; Blair 2014: 270–71). The Cherwell's propensity to flood and its shifting patterns of braided channels near Whitehill (see Figures 2 and 3) make it likely that river crossings in the township fluctuated, migrating southwards from the original line of the Akeman Street crossing.

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[1] *þam stennithtanwege* 'the stony way', one of the charter boundary markers, probably does not refer to Akeman Street but to a stony way running parallel to, but south of, Akeman Street in this parish (PN O **4** 489). Grundy (1933: 62) explains how, given the mention of *strete* for the previous boundary marker *þa porte strete* 'the port street', the charter copyist might have jumped over explicit mention of Akeman Street. See Cooper (1985: 16) for a contrary interpretation.

[2] Whitehill is now a shrunken hamlet, adjacent to scheduled earthworks.

Whilst later settlement appears to have moved closer to the Cherwell, south of the Akeman Street crossing, it is plausible and to be expected that earlier settlement existed alongside or nearer to Akeman Street. *Stonyborow* is in such a position. In 2004, cropmarks were observable in the area of *Stonyborow*. A complex of rectilinear marks showed up. It is worth noting that the marks were not on the alignment either of the Roman road or of existing or mapped historic field boundaries in the same area.

Figure 6: Cropmarks in 2004 over *Stonyborow*.

In 2009, systematic field-walking in the area recovered Roman pottery, largely abraded, dating to the third and fourth centuries, with little earlier material (Oxfordshire Historic Environment Record 5318). In July the same year, and again in 2013, Historic England took photographs of the cropmarks, classifying them as possibly a Romano-British villa or an Iron Age complex (PastScape Monument Number 336622). Such decisions are largely based on morphology, although in this case the proximity of Akeman Street and the pottery finds on site strengthen the conclusions reached based upon morphology. The site spans an area of approximately 300m by 250m, but might be larger, since the faint cropmarks at the edges may extend further than has yet been captured.

In 2004–5, Air Photo Services Ltd and Cotswold Archaeology carried out a program of analysing aerial photography, geophysical survey, field walking and limited excavation in advance of the projected construction of

a pipeline along the line of Akeman Street (Cullen and Hancocks 2007). They transcribed and digitised the cropmarks that were observable in the area. Some of their reports are publicly available via the ADS. Using their transcription, and georeferencing it together with the 1605 estate map in ESRI ArcGIS, it is possible to show that the field labelled *Stonyborow* lies directly on top of the rectilinear cropmarks discussed above.
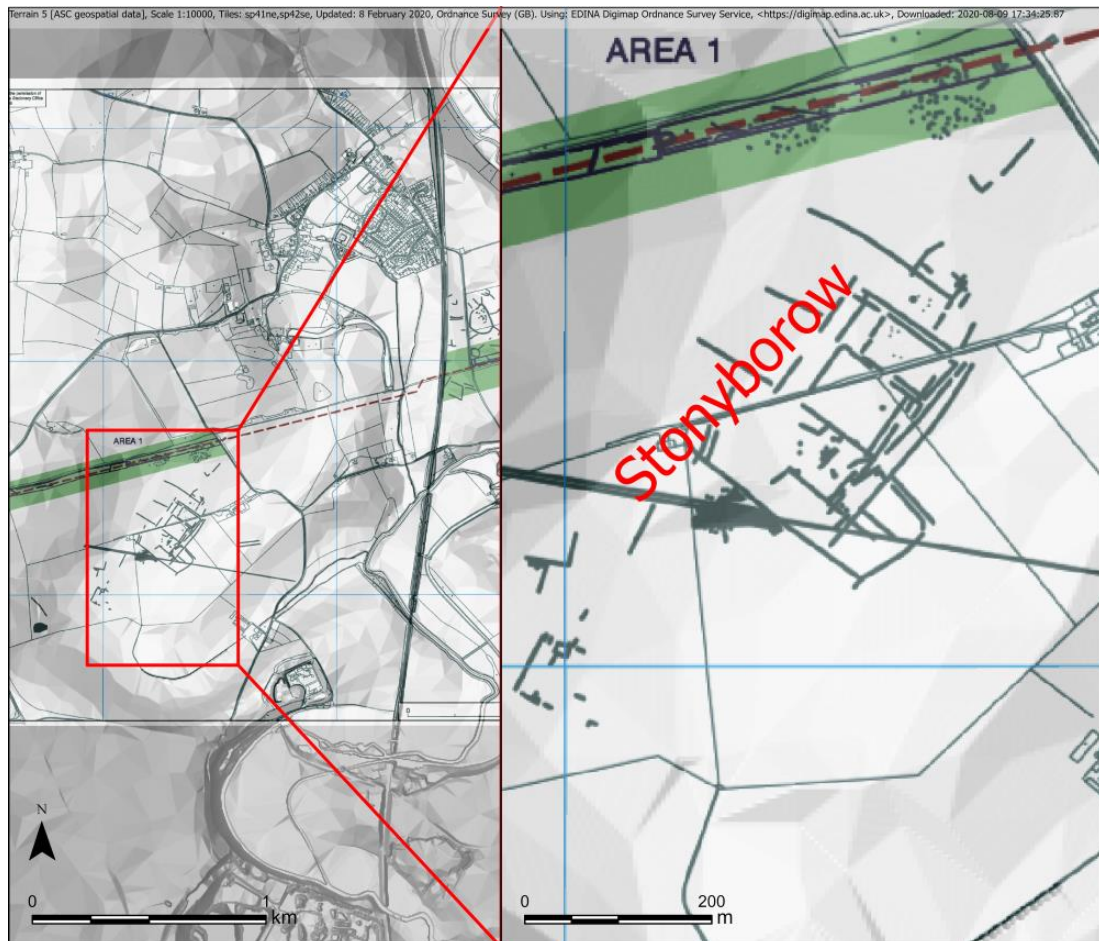

Figure 7: Transcribed rectilinear cropmark complex after Cullen and Hancocks 2007, georeferenced with the 1605 location of *Stonyborow* using ESRI ArcGIS.

That juxtaposition does not appear to have been formally noted on the Historic Environment Record, at least not on that which was available online. Some County Councils have been making use of field-name evidence in their records — Buckinghamshire County Council's digital portal *Unlocking Buckinghamshire's Past* was a good case in point (although it has just been revamped post-August 2020). Oxfordshire's digitally searchable Historic Environment Record (via Heritage Gateway) does not have field-name evidence systematically available.

Although *burh* often signified a 'fort, fortified place' in Old English, in late Old English and Middle English it could mean a single 'manor house'

and 'dwelling' (VEPN **2** 77–8, PN Hrt 243, Gelling 1997: 143, 82). This is relevant to a field-name that might only have been coined in the late medieval period. *Burh* could signify, in this context, knowledge of older structural remains buried in the fields, without signifying precise knowledge of whether those remains were fortified or not. Perhaps the field-name merely preserves a memory of settlement, buildings and structures of some sort, lying in the field. Even on that basis, *be(o)rg*, in the sense of 'artificial mound' rather than natural hill, and *burgh* meaning 'animal burrow' cannot be entirely ruled out. Archaeological remains of former buildings and structures could historically create raised artificial mounds, no longer visible today following the advent of industrialised agricultural methods which have ploughed such mounds flat. In addition, it might be possible that building and structural remains within such a mound would create subterranean voids utilised by burrowing animals, giving the function and appearance of a warren.[3] It would be interesting to find and conduct further surveys into other field-names with this generic to clarify this point.

Conclusion

It seems, given the evidence surveyed, that out of the three discussed above, the generic element is likely to be derived from Old English *burh* or its Middle English successors.[4] Using a single late attestation of a field-name, of the kind to be found frequently within the EPNS volumes, this article has sought to demonstrate a valuable symbiotic relationship that can exist between place-name scholarship and archaeological data. On occasion, extra material offers the only possibility of choosing with some degree of confidence between competing etymological possibilities. Alone and not joined up, either place-name or archaeological evidence can appear slight and inconclusive. Added together, the picture is enriched and the case strengthened for more definite conclusions to be drawn about the history of the landscape.

Arguably, the more that field-name evidence can be integrated with County Council Historic Environment Records the better. A single field-name by itself may not appear highly informative, but, if combined with available archaeological data, it could become important in informing

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[3] I am grateful to Dr J. Baker for this point and for a useful discussion with him and Dr J. Carroll on the subject.

[4] If *burh* is the generic element for this field-name, it appears to be in the nominative rather than dative form. If this is so, it would favour an archaeological interpretation in the West Midlands, according to Gelling (PN Sa **1** 300).

development proposals and planning permission consents. Development decisions should be based on the fullest possible range of available information. Place-name and field-name evidence has a part to play in this process.

Field-names are voluminous in quantity and often take years of hard labour by willing volunteers to collect and analyse. Having collected, analysed and interpreted them, it is vital to make sure that they are integrated into the wider Historic Environment Record so that all the strands of fragmentary evidence can be drawn together. Such a coming together is mutually beneficial to archaeologists, place-name scholars and historians alike.

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ADS = *Archaeology Data Service* (York: University of York) <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/search.xhtml>, accessed September 2020

eSAWYER = *The Electronic Sawyer. Online catalogue of Anglo-Saxon charters* (London: King's College London) <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/about/index.html>, accessed September 2020

DEEPN = *The Digital Survey of English Place-Names* (Nottingham: Institute for Name-Studies) <https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/>, accessed September 2020

Heritage Gateway = *Heritage Gateway* <https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/>, accessed September 2020

Pastscape = Historic England (2015), *PastScape* <https://www.pastscape.org.uk/default.aspx>, accessed September 2020

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