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From John
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SAXON OXFORDSHIRE.

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From  
my Friend. J.M. Bolland  
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Oxfordshire Record Society.

**SAXON OXFORDSHIRE.
CHARTERS AND
ANCIENT HIGHWAYS.**

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CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Preface	vi.	Horspath, fn.	37
Introduction	vii.	Minster Lovell, fn. ..	38
List of Abbreviations ..	x.	Newnham Murren, ch. ..	39
Ardley, ch.	1	Nuneham Courtenay, fn.	42
Arncote, ch.	4	Pishill, fn.	43
Bensington, ch., fn. ..	5	Pyrton, fn.	43
Berrick Salome, fn. ..	8	<i>Read Ora</i> , ch.	43
Brighthampton, fn. ..	8	Sandford, ch.	52
Brightwell Baldwin, ch., fn.	9	Shifford, ch.	54
Britwell Salome, fn. ..	12	Shipton-on-Cherwell, ch., fn.	55
Chimney, ch., fn. ..	12	Shirburn, fn.	59
Clifton Hampden, fn. ..	14	South Weston, fn. ..	59
Cowley, ch.	15	Standlake, fn.	60
Crawley, fn.	17	Swyncombe, fn.	60
Cuddesdon, ch., fn. ..	18	Tackley, ch., fn.	61
Culham, ch.	22	Tadmarton, ch.	63
Curbridge, fn.	24	Whitchurch, ch., fn. ..	73
Cutslow, ch., fn.	24	Witney, ch.	76
Cuxham, ch., fn.	26	Woodeaton, ch., fn. ..	85
Ducklington, ch., fn. ..	28	Wootton, ch., fn.	91
Eynsham, ch., fn... ..	33	Ancient Highways	93
Garsington, fn.	36	Vocabulary of Field Names	116
Hailey, fn.	37	Index	119

PREFACE.

The series of Saxon charters of Oxfordshire is much smaller than those of Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Worcestershire, Dorset or Kent,¹ because there was not in the county any monastery which in respect to extent of possessions could compare with the great religious houses of those counties, foundations such as Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the Old and the New Monasteries at Winchester, Shaftesbury, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Wilton, Evesham, Pershore, Worcester and Abingdon.

But the charters of the county, though comparatively few in number, contain matter which raises interesting and important questions with regard to the legal and economic situation in the Saxon age.

The elucidation of the boundaries of the grants has been rendered difficult in some cases by the fact that it has been at times impossible to get lists of the field names of the land-units (parishes) concerned because many of the tithe awards were made under private acts, the records of which have been lost ; and it is in the field names especially that one may look for the survival of names which appear in the Saxon surveys.

In the cases of the charters of Witney, *Read Ora* and, to a certain extent, of those of Woodeaton and Newnham Murren, a further difficulty has arisen because some of the bounds of the grants fell within forest regions, or passed over the uplands of the Chilterns. In both cases the old population would be small, and with the spread of cultivation new circumstances would lead to new names and the disappearance of the old ones.

The topographical references have been made throughout in such a way that a reader who has the one-inch ordnance map of Oxfordshire in his possession may follow them.

¹ I have already published the series of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Worcestershire in the following publications :—

Berkshire in the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal* :

Hampshire and Wiltshire in the *Archæological Journal* (of the *Archæological Institute*) :

Worcestershire in the *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* :

and those of Somerset are being published in the *Journal of the Somerset Archaeological Society*, and are now nearly complete.

INTRODUCTION.

As many misleading views on the genuineness of a number of Saxon charters have been put forward in the past by writers who might be expected to be able to express authoritative opinions on such questions, it may be well to call to the mind of the reader the circumstances under which documents of the Saxon age have come down to the modern world.

Any discussion of the charters of Oxfordshire on the scale adopted, for instance, in Napier and Stevenson's edition of the *Crawford Charters* would have entailed the writing of a book of a size such as would have rendered its publication a financial impossibility,—a book which would have contained matter two-thirds of which would have been of little or no interest to any save a very narrow circle of students.

But it may be well to state briefly the criteria of a general nature which may be applied as tests of the genuineness of a charter.

It is, no doubt, the case that many of the extant MSS. of charters do not go back to the age at which the grants they record were made. But it is not a question of the date of the extant copies, but of whether they show evidence of having been copied from documents which had an origin in, or a descent from, Saxon times. The re-copying of documents must have been a necessity in ages when they were exposed to the ravages of damp or other forms of damage in storage very different from that in which documents are preserved in modern libraries. The very mistakes made in extant copies show, in

many cases, that the scribe was copying a document the text of which had faded, or parts of which were in a language (Saxon) which he, at best, imperfectly understood, for the evolution of English proceeded with amazing rapidity between the date of the Conquest and that of Chaucer. It may be taken as certain that, had the scribe of the document now surviving been a forger, these mistakes would not have been present.

There is another very important consideration which must be taken into account in forming a judgment of the genuineness of a document. Modern authorities have often formed this judgment on the Latin element in a charter, and have condemned its genuineness because it contains Latin expressions not customary at the date to which it professes to belong. It is questionable whether this is a true criterion. A scribe of the Fourteenth Century who was dealing with a document of the Saxon age would be dealing with a Latin element in it which, if not too faded, he would have no difficulty in understanding, and a Saxon element which he could not interpret, though he might recognize many of the terms employed. It is quite conceivable that he might be tempted to 'improve' the Latin element which he did understand, while confining himself to reproducing the Saxon element letter by letter; in fact, as far as the Latin element is concerned, a copyist of any age who was acquainted with Latin, as monkish scribes would be, would be tempted to modify Latin expressions in the original with a view either to greater adornment of style or to greater clearness of expression. Yet the copy might give a perfectly truthful version of the original grant.

In so far as it is possible to test the genuineness of these Saxon documents which have survived up to the present time, it is only on the Saxon element that this can be founded with any assurance. Conclusions drawn from the Latin element can be, at best, no more than suspicions.

Each of the charters contained in this book has been judged by such intrinsic evidence as it affords ; and, if it contains a suspicious element, the existence of that element and the nature of the suspicion attached to it have been clearly stated.

Some readers may be surprised at the attention which has been given to the determination of the exact area of a grant. They would not be surprised at this did they know how often those who have in the past used these charters to illustrate points of legal or economic history have been misled by mistaken assumptions as to the locality or area of the grants on which they sought to support conclusions. It is most unsafe to use any charter for the support or illustration of some legal or historical point unless its topographical application has been accurately determined.

ABBREVIATIONS.

B (with a number). Reference to charter printed in Birch's
Cartularium Saxonicum.

BT. Bosworth & Toller's Anglo-Saxon Lexicon.

By. Boundary.

Ch. Charter.

Co.By. County Boundary.

fn. field name.

fur. furlong.

K (with a number). Reference to charter printed in Kemble's
Codex Diplomaticus.

m. mile.

OM1. One-inch ordnance map.

OM6. Six-inch ordnance map.

(V). Vocabulary of field names.

SAXON OXFORDSHIRE.

ARDLEY.

Ardley is about 13½m. almost due N. of Oxford.

Charter.

K.1289 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to Ethelwig five hides at *Eardulfes Lea* at the reputed date A.D. 995.

In the body of the charter the king recites how the land came into his possession owing to the criminal misdeeds of three brothers, a statement which is of great importance as suggesting at least one way in which land¹ might come to be at the disposal of the king or crown.

The Ethelwig to whom the grant is made is described as having been the king's 'praepositus,' lieutenant, in Buckinghamshire.

Survey.

That the survey is at least based ultimately on one of the Saxon age there is no reason to doubt. The forms of words show that.

1. *Aerest of thare Greetan Dic thaet to Aethelwoldes Lea to than Landgemaere :*

'First from the Great Dyke then to Aethelwold's Lea to the Balk of the Ploughland.'

The Great Dyke was probably on the By. on the N. edge of Ardley village. The Lea was on the N. By. to the E. of the village. The Balk ran along the E. end of the N. By. and possibly down the N. part of the E. By.

2. *Of than Gemaere swa aefter Dene in Sexig Broc :*

¹ I say 'land' for lack of a better term to employ in a matter in which very various opinions have been expressed. My own impression is that in the case of all these instances of the grant of *boerland* recorded in the charters what *did* pass to the grantee was the right to the dues, or parts of the dues, on the land payable to the king or crown and probably the fines in the local courts; and that what *might* pass was the holding of certain lands within the community which had fallen to the crown owing, *inter alia*, to such circumstances as those recorded in this charter.

'From the Balk so after (along ?) the Dean to (Dagger Eyot ? ?)¹ Brook.'

The Brook is unquestionably that which forms nearly the whole of the E. By. of the parish. The Dean is apparently the hollow in which the brook runs.

3. *Of etc. thaet into Uffewylle Broc :*

'From Sexig Brook to the Brook of (Uffa's ?) Spring.'

This carries the survey along the S. By. to a stream which, coming down SSW. from Ashgrove Farm (OM1), forms part of that By. This is the *Uffewylle Broc*.

4. *Of etc. thaet on tha Grenan Dic :*

'From the Brook then to the Green Dyke.'

This Dyke ran along that part of the By. immed. W. of the brook.

5. *Of etc. be suthan thaere Eorthbyrg thaet on Cwicelmes Hlaew :*

'From the Dyke to the south of the Earthen Camp to Cwichehm's Low (tumulus).'

It is interesting to find here a tumulus with the same name as the famous *Cwichelmes Hlaew* of the Berkshire Downs. Unfortunately in the present case no sign of the tumulus survives. But it must have stood at the re-entering angle of the S. By. 5 fur. SW. by W. of Ashgrove Farm. (OM1). The Camp has also vanished. The survey implies that it stood just N. of the tumulus.

6. *Of etc. thaet on tha Portstraete :*

'From the Low then to the Street (made Road) to the Town (Market ?).'

This is that rather remarkable road which forms parts of the W. By. of the parish. It coincides with that mysterious earth-work called Abes Ditch. (OM1). The noticeable part of it starts on the N. at Fritwell, whence it runs S. in a series of straight lines to the Roman road, the Akeman Street, which it joins, after a course of 4½ m., just on the N. edge of Kirtlington village. It is possible that it was a Roman vicinal way running off from the main Roman road. (See chapter on roads.)

¹ The translation is of the most tentative character. It is possible that a long narrow eyot might be given such a name. But two other things are possible : (1) that there is a MS. error : (2) that *Sexig* is a stream name with no recognizable meaning.

7. *Of etc. thaet with Lytle Ciltene an aecer braede :*

'From the Portstreet over against Little¹ at the breadth of a strip of ploughland from it.'

On the W. By. 2¼ fur. S. of the S. end of Ballards Copse (OM1) the By. leaves the line of the Portstreet and Abes Ditch and runs parallel with it for a short way at a distance of roughly speaking 22yds. from it. The *an aecer braede* of the landmark implies also about 22 yds.

8. *Thaet on thaene Grenan Weg the scyt to Heyforda :*

'Then to the Green Way which runs to Heyford.'

The Ardley end of this Way survives in the form of the road which runs WSW. from Fewcot (OM1) across the N. part of the parish to the N. edge of Ballards Copse, where it forms part of the W. By. It is then pointing direct to Upper Heyford. The rest of its line has vanished.

9. *Aefter etc. thaet foran ongen Cynewynne Wylle :*

'After (Following ?) the Green Way then over against Cynewyn's Spring.'

This spring is (OM6) on the By. a short ¼m. N. of Ballards Copse. (OM1).

10. *Of etc. into thaere Greetan Dic :*

'From the Spring to the Great Dyke.'

Just after running N. from the Spring the By. again meets the line of the Abes Ditch, the Great Dyke of the landmark.

11. *Andlang thaere Dic thaet into Bunon (read Burnan ?) :*

'Along the Dyke then to the Bourne (?).'

Bunon may be a stream name ; but the form in which it appears in the next landmark suggests that it is an error. The reference is to the stream which forms the W. half of the N. By.

12. *Andlang Bunan (read Burnan ?) to than Ealdan Forda :*

'Along the Bourne (?) to the Old Ford.'

The Old Ford must have been where the N. By. leaves the stream just on the SW. edge of the village of Fewcot. (OM1).

13. *Of etc. into Eardulfes Lea :*

'From the Ford to Ardley.'

The reference is evidently to the village itself which abuts on the N. By. of the parish.

14. *Of etc. thaet eft to thaere Greetan Dic :*

'From the Lea then again to the Great Dyke.'

See landmark 1.

¹ *Ciltene* is not translatable. Is it the old name of Abes Ditch ?

ARNCOTE.

Arncote is 3m. SE. of Bicester.

Charter.

K.1279 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to the monastery at Abingdon two hides at *Earnigcote* at the reputed date A.D. 983.

Survey.

The survey at least goes back to a genuine document of the Saxon age.

1. *Aerest of than Ealdan Slaepe up andlang Giht :*

'First from the old Slippery Place¹ up along the Giht (Ray) river.'

This landmark was where the W. By. of the parish impinges first on the river Ray 3 fur. SSE. of Astleybridge Farm (OM1) in Merton parish. A track runs over the river at this point.

Giht is the old name of the river Ray².

From the *Slaep* the By. goes E. along the *Giht* (Ray) which forms the whole of the N. By. of the parish.

2. *Of Giht on thaet Rithig :*

'From the Ray to the Streamlet.'

3. *Andlang Rithies on thone Mere :*

'Along the Streamlet to the Pond.'

4. *Of etc. eft on thaet Rithig :*

'From the Pond once more to the Streamlet.'

5. *Andlang etc. to than Hindfaldan :*

'Along the Streamlet to the Fold of the Hinds.'

¹ *Slaep* is a curious word. For meaning see Mawer, *Chief Elements in English Place Names*. I would go further than Mawer and suggest that *slaep* was a slippery place on a track as it descended to a ford over a river. The term is the second element in the place name Islip.

² Ekwall, *River Names of England*, does not recognize this fact. Ray, with a variant form Rea, is a very common river name in England. It has, as in the present case, often taken the place of some older name, some of which names are known from the charters. Ray means merely 'the river,' meaning thereby that these Rays were to the inhabitants of the respective districts through which they flowed each of them so marked in the topography of this or that locality as to be called by the inhabitants 'the river,' an expression which dwellers in the locality would always understand as the well-known stream of their neighbourhood. It was to the Saxon dweller in its neighbourhood the *ea*, 'river'; but, as the true Saxon place name was in the locative case, it would be known as *aet thaere ea*, literally 'at the river'; and, as in the course of language evolution the name became modified, the 'r' of the definite article *thaere* adhered, as it were, to the *ea*, and so formed the modern name Ray or Rea.

6. *Of etc. on thone Swinhege :*
'From the Fold of the Hinds to the Swine Hedge.'
7. *Andlang etc. innan Easthealas :*
'Along the Swine Hedge to the East Hollows.'
8. *Swa be Wyrtwalan inna thone Smalan Weg :*
'So by the Foot of the Slope to the Narrow Way.'
9. *Andlang etc. on Gihl to than Ealdan Slaepe thaer hit aer ongan :*
'Along the Narrow Way to the Ray to the Old Slippery Place where it first began.'

Arncote parish is a very featureless region, and that makes the determination of these landmarks difficult.

The *Smal Weg* of 8 is now represented by a field road which runs along the W. By. just S. of the Ray river.

The *East Healas* of 7 are almost certainly the hollows in the hillside at the SE. corner of the parish a furlong or more SE. of Cluehill Farm. (OM1).

The *Swinhege* must have run down the S. part of the E. By. to the E. and NE. of the aforesaid farm. There must have been woodland outside the By. at this point, and there is some woodland there at the present day.

A small stream forms part of the E. By. for a distance of about one furlong, and just a furlong W. of Widnell Barn. (OM1). This is probably the *Rithig* of 4.

BENSINGTON or BENSON.

Bensington is 2½m. NNE. of Wallingford in Berks.

Charter.

K.1292 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to three brothers two hides at *Bysington* at the reputed date A.D. 996.

Judging from the acreage of the hide in the charters dealing with land of the same nature as that at Bensington, these two hides do not probably represent more than 250 acres. Benson is a large parish of 2,921 acres, and therefore this grant is but a small fraction of the whole. That alone would make it quite certain that an attempt to solve the topography of the survey of the grant would present serious, if not insoluble, difficulties.

It is possible perhaps to say where the grant lay; but it is absolutely impossible to identify with any probability more than a few of the landmarks of its survey. It does not appear to have lain within the main area of the modern parish. But

between the villages of Berrick Salome and Roke on the W., and the W. By. of Brightwell Baldwin on the E., there is an extraordinary district made up of detached portions of Benson, Berrick Salome and Ewelme mingled in a way that it would be hard or perhaps impossible to parallel in the rest of the map of England. These appear on the map of the present day. But, more than this, up to quite recent times what is now the NE. part of the parish of Berrick Salome was in Benson, and even to the W. of Berrick village there was land of Benson over and above that still forming part of that parish. That this grant deals with the whole or part of these detached pieces of Benson is highly probable. Benson was royal property, and probably Berrick was so also. The king gave these three brothers two hides which may be translated, without doing violence to the real meaning, 'two farms.' To understand what farm meant in the days before the Enclosure Acts it is necessary to study the tithe award map of some parish where the award was made before the Enclosure Act was applied to the parish. There it will be seen that a farm did not consist, as it ordinarily does now-a-days, of a series of contiguous fields, but of patches of arable and grass land scattered all about the parish.¹ Thus it must not be assumed that these two hides represent two areas of land each within a sort of ring fence. At the same time it is possible that, if the land granted had previously been 'domain' land of the king, a possibility supported by the fact that there was a 'villa regia' at Benson,² then the grant may have been in a more consolidated form than that in which it would have been had the farms been of the ordinary type of a Saxon family holding. But, however this may be, it is probable that these detached pieces of Benson in the neighbourhood of the village of Berrick Salome represent either wholly or in part the two hides of this charter.³ Furthermore the first few landmarks of the survey can, with some show of probability, be placed on that eastern extension of the N. By. of Berrick which forms the N. By. of the region of detached pieces of parishes.

¹ In the parish of North Moreton, Berks, at the time of the tithe award the largest holder in the parish held about 120 acres. This holding was in 109 lots scattered all about that small parish.

² See B.54 and K.311 and the notes on Brightwell Baldwin. Nearly all the insoluble difficulties which are met with by an inquirer into the Saxon-age land system centre round the unsolved question of domain land.

³ It is very curious how some of these small grants made in the Saxon developed into properties which maintained their individuality for centuries after the grant was made.

Survey.¹

1. *Aerest of Smalan Wyllle east be Heafðan be than Gemaere thaet hit cymth innan Cealcseathes Weg :*

'First from the Small Spring by the Headland (of a Ploughland) by the Balk till it comes to the Way of the Chalkpit.'

2. *And swa andlang Weges innan Aculfes Dene :*

'And so along the Way to Aculf's Dean.'

3. *Andlang Dene thaet on Fildena Wuduweg :*

'Along the Dean then to the 'Switchback'² Way by the Wood.'

This *Fildena Wuduweg* is probably the *Fildena Weg* of the Brightwell Baldwin charter, represented at the present day by the lane which runs from Whitehouse Farm (OM1) S. down the W. By. of that parish. The actual landmark indicated here is on that By. about 120 yds. S. of the farm buildings. From this point a parish By. runs W. along a hollow which is the *Aculfes Dene* of 2. This hollow is the Hollandtide Bottom (OM1) of the modern map and the *Holdene* of the Brightwell charter.

Running W. along this By. is a lane, the modern representative of the *Weg* of 2 and the *Cealcseathes Weg* of 1, and the identity of this lane with the old *weg* is confirmed by the existence of an old chalkpit (OM6) close by the lane just where it crosses the road which comes down due S. from Lonesome Farm (OM1) in Newington parish. The Small Spring of 1 is a spring close to this By. about 2¾ fur. almost due E. of Berrick Farm (OM1) in Newington parish.

There are six more landmarks in the survey of the main part of the grant, not one of which is now identifiable. It may be suspected that after landmark 3 the By. turned W.

There is a second survey of seven landmarks relating to some woodland which was attached to the grant; but it does not contain any landmark which may be identified at the present day, and so the site of the woodland is indeterminable.

It may be mentioned that every term in both the surveys is in a genuine Saxon form; so that there can be no question as to the genuine Saxon origin of this document, or, if it is a copy, of the document from which it was copied.

¹ I do not propose to print that part of the survey which I have found quite insoluble because anyone who wants to look into it can find the text in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*.

² For note on the meaning of *Fildena* see notes on Brightwell Baldwin, p. 10.

Field Names.

Measured from Hale Farm (OM1):—Slough (V) Close, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur.
N. by W.: Two Butts Foul Furlong (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N.:
Brigg Pitts, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SSW.

From the crossroads in Roke Marsh (OM1):—Roke (V) Crofts,
3 fur. E.: Acre Long Marsh, $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N.: Hopslade
Furlong, $5\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E.: Acre Furlong shooting (V) on
Durhams, 3 fur. ESE.

From Benson church (OM1):—Hazeley Mead, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. WNW.
by W.: Ilden Meadow, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NW. by W.: Brookmead
Furlong, 3 fur. N.: Land Furlong shooting on Hunts
Hudes (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE.: Blacklands (V), $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NE.:
Three Roods East, $4\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by N.: Land Furlong (V)
shooting (V) on Crofts, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by S.: Rimsway Furlong,
 $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ESE.: Great Furlong Moorlands, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE.

From Pilrush (OM1):—Pilrush Furlong, immed. SE.: The
Hitchings (V), 5 fur. W. by S.: Mud Pit Piece, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur.
WSW.: Beggar Bush Hanging (V), 6. fur. SSE.

BERRICK SALOME.

Berrick Salome is $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. by S. of Watlington.

Charter.

See notes on Bensington.

Field Names.

Measured from Berrick Farm (OM1):—(1) Hale (V) Furlong (V),
2 fur. WNW.: Bottle Hill Furlong, 2 fur. N. by W.:
Keames Hedge Furlong, 3 fur. E.: Egmoor Common (in
Benson?), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW.: Kingsditch Furlong, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur.
WSW. This is on the By. of what was till recent times a
part of Benson and was no doubt a By. of land belonging
to the king who had a 'villa regia' at Benson. (See
notes on Brightwell Baldwin.)

From Ivyhouse Farm (OM1):—Part of a land Budgetts, $2\frac{3}{4}$
fur. ESE.: Foxhole Furlong, 6 fur. E.

From the crossroads at the N. edge of Roke hamlet:—Stamford
Furlong, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. NW.: Brookslade Furlong, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. ENE.:
Acre Little Marsh, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E. by S.

BRIGHTHAMPTON.

Brightampton is 4m. SSE. of Witney.

Field Names.

Measured from the crossroads in the village:—Redlands, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur.
SW.: Knightsbridge, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SSW.

BRIGHTWELL BALDWIN.

Brightwell Baldwin is about 2m. W. by N. of Watlington.

Charter.

The charter to which the Brightwell survey is attached is B.547, K.311. It records a grant by Ethelred, 'dux' of the Mercians, to the monastery at Worcester at the reputed date 880. The grant is made with the consent of King Alfred and the bishops and chief men of Mercia,—presumably the Mercian witangemot. The grant includes six hides at Brightwell, eight at Watlington (*Waeclingtun*) together with certain outlying woodlands and 'camps,'¹ the bounds of which, it is stated, have been laid down. This implies that the woodland was not any longer held in common by a number of communities, but had been parcelled out among them.²

A further point in the charter is that the land granted by it is attached to the church at *Readanora*, a place the name of which has vanished, though the charter³ of it shows that it was in the neighbourhood of Brightwell and was held by Worcester.

The grant further includes 'sex homines qui prius pertinebant ad villam regiam in *Bensincgtune* (Benson),' presumably slaves.⁴

Survey.

There is no question but that the survey is at least a copy of a genuine survey of the Saxon age.

¹ 'Camp' is a term used but rarely in the Saxon charters. That implies that it was a rare economic feature. That it is a loan word from the Lat. *campus* is practically certain. I am inclined to think that it was open pasture land which was not originally within the bounds of any community, but used in common by such communities as were within reach of it,—probably a pasture area too extensive to be included in the lands of any one community, and not suitable for arable agriculture, and so devoid of any centre of population. In the present case it may have been on the Chilterns.

Of course the application of this meaning to *camp* is conjectural. The instances of its use are too rare to admit of any conclusive induction of its meaning.

² See notes on Wooddeaton p. 87.

³ See notes on *Readora*.

⁴ I cannot recall any other charter in which a grant of slaves is mentioned, though there were many slaves in the land. It is probable that, if the services of slaves, *ascripti glebae*, were included in the rights conferred by a grant, they passed naturally to the grantee. But it is a question whether *bockland*, i.e. what was granted by charter, necessarily included any conferring of any form of possession of landed property.

In the present case the mention of slaves would seem to be due to the fact that they were not attached to any lands included in the grant, but were taken from the villa regia at Benson,

1. *Aet Byrhtan Wellan from Teolulfes Treowe ondlong Longan Hylles on Fildena Weg*.¹

'At Brightwell from Teolulf's Tree along Long Hill to the Switchback Way.'

The survey begins at the SE. angle of the parish By. where Teolulf's (or Ceolulf's) Tree seems to have stood. This is about 5 fur. WSW. of Brightwell Grove (OM1). The Long Hill was the rising ground on the W. By. about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. further N. *Fildena Weg* was the lane called Rumbold's Lane (OM6) which passes up the W. By. There is a cross reference to it in the Benson charter K.1292 under the name *Fildena Wuduweg*.

2. *Thonan on Holandene up on Cadandune to Aethelheg's Gemaere* :

'Then to Hollow Dean up on Cada's Hill to Aethelheg's Boundary.'

Holdene was the name of the valley which the W. By. crosses just S. of Whitehouse Farm (OM1). The name survives partly in that of Hollandtide Bottom (OM1) which occurs lower down the valley on the N. By. of Berrick Salome. *Cadandun* was the hill on the W. By. where Whitehouse Farm (OM1) stands. Cada's name still survives in the names Cadwell Covert (OM1) and Cadwell Farm (OM1) in the NE. part of the parish. Aethelheg's Boundary was probably the N. part of the present W. By. of the parish.

3. *Thonan to Ecgfrithes Gemaere* :

'Then to Ecgfrith's Boundary.'

This was the W. part of the N. By. Ecgfrith was possibly a holder in Chalgrove.

4. *Thonne a big Ecgfrithes Gemaere to Cucshaema Gemaere* :

'Then always by Ecgfrith's Boundary to the Boundary of Cuxham.'

This brings the survey to the By. of Cuxham parish, which the Brightwell By. meets about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. by S. of Cutt Mill. (OM1).

¹ *Fild* means 'milking'; but it is incomprehensible that the genitive plural of that word could be used as an attribute of *weg*. The only lexicon which gives any other word *fild* is the supplementary volume of BT. Two other terms *fild* are given, one an adj. *fild*, 'level,' which will not fit in here with the form *fildena*, and another, a subst., meaning a 'twist,' 'fold,' or 'wrinkle.' That seems to be most likely to be the *fild* of this and other charters. I take it to mean a track which passed over ridges in its course, a 'switchback.'

There is a *Fildene Lan*, 'Lane,' in B.708. K.366 of Tarrant Hinton, Dorset; a *Fildene Straet* in K.129 of Bengeworth, Worcs.; a *Fildene Weg* in K.691 of Cuxham, Oxon; and a *Fildena Wuduweg* in the charter of the neighbouring Benson.

5. *Th' to Incghaema Gemaere suth thurh East Leh* (read *Aesc Leah*) :

'Then to the Boundary of Ingham south through Ash Lea.'

The name Ingham has vanished from the modern map. This was where the S. part of the E. By. of Brightwell passes along the N. part of the W. By. of the detached portion of Britwell Salome. It looks as if this detached part of that parish bore formerly the name of Ingham.

The name *Aesc Leah* survives in that of Ashley's Wood (OM6), the large wood on the E. By. due E. of Brightwell Grove (OM1).

6. *Th' to Gisles Baec* :¹

'Then to Gisel's (Hostage's) Ridge.'

This is the ridge at the SE. corner of the parish. The actual point indicated is about 150 yds. S. by W. of Britwell House. (OM1).

7. *Th' ondlong* etc. :

'Then along Gisel's Ridge.'

This takes the survey the whole way along the S. By. of the parish, which, as stated in the survey, passes along the ridge.

8. *Th' eft to Ceolwulfes Treowe* :

'Then back to Ceolwulf's Tree.'

See landmark 1.

Note added at the end of the survey :

And th' Maed Lond be betweenum Egsaforda and Straetforda be northan Broce and thone Wudu thaerto the Scylfhrych is haten :

'And the Mead Land between Egsa's Ford and Street Ford to the north of the Brook and furthermore the Wood which is called Shelfridge.'

This is one of those statements commonly attached to the survey of a grant of which the mead lies separate from the main part of the grant. The *Egsanford* is mentioned in the Cuxham charter K.691 and its situation is there clearly defined as having been where the road running N. from Cuxham village crosses the stream which flows near the common By. of Cuxham and Easington.

Egsa is evidently the name of the man who gave his name to Easington, the *Esendon* of post-Conquest documents.

¹ There are in Saxon two quite distinct words *baec*. One, the more common in the charters, means a small intermittent stream which only flows in rainy weather; the other means a ridge. Both are represented in modern nomenclature by 'batch.'

But the *Strætforda* is a difficulty, for this term, whether in the charters or in a modern map in the form Stratford almost invariably implies a ford where a definitely Roman road crossed a stream. The Icknield Way, commonly called a Roman, but really a Romanised road, passes several miles E. of Brightwell. That fact would not absolutely rule it out as a possible site for a detached mead of Brightwell, for such meads may be quite a long distance from the main land unit,¹ but what does rule it out is that no ford is in the least likely to have been upon the Icknield Way because it was the summer way of the ridgeway of the Chilterns, and therefore kept above the heads of perennial streams. Also the word *betweon* in the note is a difficulty, for it is quite impossible for Brightwell to have had a mead extending for several miles. Mead land was too rare and too valuable for that.

The only possible conjecture seems to be that a copyist of the charter has inserted *betweonum* after *be*. Standing together in the text the two terms are more or less contradictory of one another. Perhaps the reference is to another detached piece of mead on the Roman road somewhere near Dorchester.¹

The Shelf Ridge was probably one of two projecting promontories of the Chilterns, Watlington Hill (OM1) or Swyncombe Down (OM1).

Field Name.

Blackwell Plot, in the extreme NE. corner of the parish.

BRITWELL SALOME.

Britwell Salome is about 1½m. SW. of Watlington.

Field Names.

Measured from the church (OM1):—Allotment on Cuddington, 5 fur. NNW. : Whalley Close, 150 yds. NNW. : Chaff Hill, ½m. ESE. : Cranes Field, 1m. 1 fur. SE. [and 2½ fur. WNW. of Dame Alice Farm in Watlington parish. (OM1).]

From Britwell Hill (OM1):—Banstead Down, Immed. SW.

CHIMNEY.

Chimney is 5½m. S. of Witney.

Charters.

K. 940 is a charter, undated, which mentions Chimney among the properties of St. Peter's Monastery, Exeter.

¹ The mead of Sunningwell, Berks, a few miles from Oxford, was on the Thames between the village of Radley and the river, with another piece somewhat lower down stream. This was the best part of 2m. from the village.

The ownership of Chimney is confirmed by a charter¹ which records the grant of Bampton, Chimney, and other places to Exeter by William I in 1069.

For a discussion of the name Chimney see notes on Shifford.

This second charter has a survey attached to it which is headed *Bemtune*, Bampton; but the first six landmarks of it give the bounds of Chimney.

It is a most interesting little survey because some of the names survive in curious forms in the field names of the parish.

1. *Aerest thaer Ceoman Lace utscyt :*

'First where the Slow Stream (called) Ceommene² runs out.'

A cross reference in the Shifford survey shows this stream to have been that which forms the E. part of the N. By. of the parish.

2. *Andlang etc. thaet hit cymth on Temese :*

'Along the Slow Stream (called) Ceommene till it comes to the Thames.'

This is, of course, where the lake meets the Thames at the NE. corner of the parish about 3 fur. SSW. of Shifford hamlet.

3. *Andlang Temese westward swa Westsexena Gemaere and Mercena thaet hit cymth to tham Gemythan :*

'Along the Thames westward as the Boundary between Wessex and Mercia runs till it comes to the Watermeet.'

This carries the survey right along the Thames, i.e. along the S. By. of the parish, to the westernmost corner of the parish, where a stream enters the Thames. The meeting of the two is the *Gemyth* of the survey.

4. *Thonne went hit on thon Northeran Ea thaet hit cymth to anre Lace betwix Berhtulfin Yge and Hrisyge :*

'Then it goes by the Northern Stream till it comes to a Slow Stream between Berhtulfin Island and Rush Island.'

If the stream which forms the W. By. of the parish be noticed carefully it will be seen that a stream coming from the hamlet of Chimney enters it about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. WSW. of that hamlet. To the N. of this branch stream are two fields called Russia, a curious corruption of the old name *Hrisyge*. To the S. of the same stream is a field called Bawgey, an equally curious corruption of the *Berhtulfin Yge* of the survey. So this branch stream coming W. from the hamlet of Chimney is the stream mentioned as between the two islands. The Northern Stream of the

¹ Published in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 291.

² For this name see notes on Shifford.

survey is the stream this branch stream enters, and it, the Northern Stream, forms the whole of the W. and N. boundaries of the parish. But this landmark only carries the survey to the point where the two streams meet.

5. *Thonne on thone North Ea :*

This is explained in reference to the previous landmark.

6. *Th' andlang thaere Ea thaet hit cymth eft to Ceoman Lace :*

'Then along North Stream till it comes again to the Slow Stream (called) Ceommene.'

See note on landmark 4.

Field Names.

Measured from Ten Foot Bridge (OM1):—Upper Bawgey, immed. NW. See *Berhtulfing Yge* of the charter : Showell Mead, 3 fur. NNW.

From the crossroads at the N. edge of Chimney hamlet (OM1):—Home Russia, 2 fur. SW. : Great Russia, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WSW. : Aston Russia, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. For the name of the last three fields see *Hrisyge* of the charter. The Caveat, immed. SE. : East Caveat, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by S. : Hatchway (V) Close, immed. NNW. : Little Moor (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. by E. : Great Moor, 4 fur. NE. : The Blacken, 3 fur. ENE. : Hale (V) 6 fur. ENE. : High Ham (V), $6\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ENE. : The Pikes (V), $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N. : Swift Lake (V), Hay (V), 5 fur. E. : From Duxford Ferry (OM1):—Duxford Hay (V), immed. N.

CLIFTON HAMPDEN.

Clifton Hampden is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ m. ESE. of Abingdon (Berks).

Certain old landmarks on its W. By. are given in the Culham charter.

Field Names.

Measured from Culham railway station (OM1):—Glovers Furzen (V), 4 fur. NNW. : Lank Furlong, 2 fur. NW. : Overs (V) Ditch Furlong, 3 fur. NW.

From Fullamoor Farm (OM1):—Woollands, 3 fur. slightly W. of S. : Mouse Furlong (V), $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. : Homer Furlong, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. : Garbroad Furlong, $4\frac{1}{4}$ furl slightly E. of S. : Short Pill (V) Furlong, 4 fur. SSE. : Rushington Bottom, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSE. : Long Pill (V) Furlong, 4 fur. SE. : Corsicle (V), $4\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SE. : Hurst Lands, 5 fur. SSE. by E. : The Peeks (V), 3 fur. ESE. : Flax Acres, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. : Long Butts (V), $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Short Butts (V), $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. ENE.

From the church (OM1) :—Chissel (V) Pit Furlong, $4\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. by W. : Lank (V) Furlong, 3 fur. SSW. : Long Castle, 2 fur. W. by N. : Standing Lands, 3 fur. NW. : Breach (V) Furlong, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNW. : Long Haddon Slade, 4 fur. N. by W. : Meer (V) Cross Furlong, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NE.

COWLEY.

Cowley is about $2\frac{1}{4}$ m. SE. of Oxford.

Charter.

K.709 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to St. Frideswide's monastery, Oxford, various lands, including those of Cowley.

Survey.

The extant copy of the survey is in too fragmentary a form, and in any case too brief, for it to be possible to say at what date the survey was drawn up. As it stands it is a copy of much later date than the Conquest : nor is there any evidence in it of its having been copied from a survey of earlier date, though the reputed date of the grant is A.D. 1004.

Thare beth hide (sic) londeymere into Couleele :

'These are the bounds of Cowley.'

1. *Fro Charwell Brigge andlong the streme on that Rithe :*
'From Cherwell Bridge along stream to the Streamlet.'
2. -ling Croft :
' -ling Croft.'
3. *Endlong Rithes estward to that cometh to other shet up norward to the Furlonges Heued :*
'Along the Streamlet eastward (till it comes ?) to another (which ?) runs up northward to the Headland of the Furlong (Group of strips of ploughland).'
4. *Fro the Haued estward into Merchuthe :*
'From the Headland eastward to the Landing-place (? ?) on the Boundary.'
5. *Fro the Huthe into the Bro into Deneacre :*
'From the Landingplace to the (Brook ? ?) to the Strip of Ploughland in the Dean.'
6. *Fro the Acre into the Ockmere :*
'From the Strip of Ploughland to the . . . Pond.'
7. *Fro that Mere :*
'From the Pond'

8. *Fro Restell into Broke* :
 'From . . . (Hollow ? ?) to the Brook.'
 9. *Fro the Broke into Charwell* :
 'From the Brook to the Cherwell.'

Attempts to restore the gaps in the text must, at best, be very conjectural. The suggestions may be made briefly.

In 3 supply *Rith*. In 5 *Broc* is almost certain. In 6 the *Ock-* of *Ockmere* may be a form of *Ac.* 'oak,' a form always very rare, which does not occur before A.D. 1250. It is also possible that it might be the stream name *Ock* (*Occene*, *Eocene*); but the topographical circumstances render that unlikely. In 7 restore the *Restell* of 8. All that can be said of *Restell* is that -ell was in late mediæval, and is in modern times, a form which *healh*, 'hollow,' takes as a final compound in place names.

The mention of the Cherwell shows that the survey includes what is now Cowley St. John as well as Cowley proper. But the question is whether the modern bounds of Cowley St. John follow those of the old parish of Cowley.

As far as the general question of the determination of the old bounds is concerned it may be assumed that, stated in odds, the odds are at least 30 to 1 in favour of the survey having been taken with the clock. Surveys taken against the clock are very rare.

Of the landmarks three may be determined, one with probability, one with high probability, and one with certainty.

It is probable that the Cherwell Bridge was on or about the site of the present Magdalen Bridge. It is highly probable that the *Broke* of 8 is that on the S. By. which crosses the Oxford-Iffley road about 350 yds. short of where the road turns into Iffley village, for the reason that there is not on the Cowley By. any other stream which a surveyor would be likely to call a *broke*. Finally the site of *Ockmere* is determined with certainty by the name Hockmore Farm (OM1) and Hockmere Cottages (OM6) close to the S. By. due S. of the village of Cowley.

The *Restell* of 8, being of quite indeterminate meaning is not determinable as to site; but it must have been on the By. where it is descending the hill down to the place where the road to Cowley village turns E. from the Oxford-Henley road.

Landmark 9 needs some explanation. The brook of 8, already determined, flows from E. to W. till it comes to within a furlong of the Thames. At the present day it then turns S. to enter the Thames just above Iffley Lock. (OM1). The

wording of 9 renders it almost certain that it formerly did not make that turn S., but went direct to the Thames along the Cowley By.

The next point requiring explanation is the identity of the Cherwell of 9. An Abingdon charter makes it quite clear that in Saxon times the mouth of that river on the Thames was not where it is now, among the college barges, but $\frac{1}{2}$ m. further down the Thames in what is known as The Gut. The old lower course of the Cherwell is now represented by a backwater which starts from the present channel of the river about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. above its mouth and goes round a large eyot to the Gut. This eyot is part of Berkshire, for the backwater and not the Thames is the county By. in this part.

Thus landmark 9 takes the survey from where the brook formerly entered the Thames about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. below the Gut to this old channel of the lower Cherwell.

As regards the other landmarks of the survey it can only be said that, if the modern By. of Cowley St. John is that of the old Cowley then the *Rith* of 1 must have run down the line of what is now the Cowley road just before it reaches Magdalen Bridge. (OM1). The *Merehuth* cannot be a landing place, for the N. By. of Cowley is altogether away from the Thames and Cherwell. The *huth* may be a scribe's error. It is almost certain that the *Broke* (?) of 5 is the same brook as that in 8, but the point indicated is on quite another part of it, namely where the N. By. of the parish runs along it for about 300 yds. at a point about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. WNW. of the barracks (OM1) at Cowley. From this part of the brook the By. runs N. into a valley in the side of Shotover, and doubtless the *Deneacre* was at the N. point of the By. in this valley.

The survey is an unsatisfactory one. Apart from what are plainly illegible passages in the extant copy of it, it is to be suspected that some landmarks have been omitted between 5 and 6.

CRAWLEY.

Crawley is $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. NNW. of Witney.

Crawley seems to have been part of the grant recorded in the Witney charters (*q.v.*). Old names on its By. will be found in them.

Field Names.

Measured from Chasewood Farm (OM1):—Spoonley Copse, 4 fur. WNW. See *Spon Leah* of the Witney charter. Smalley Copse, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SSW.

From Showells Farm (OM1):—Henley Knap Copse, $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. See *Hean Leah* of the Witney charter. Cowley Copse, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. slightly N. of W. : Broken Hatch (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by W. : Hemmitt Hill, 3 fur. SSE. by E. : Side Land (V), $4\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SSE.

From the church at Crawley (OM1):—The Linch (V), 200 yds. S. : Sideland Close (V), 2 fur. SSE.

CUDDESDON.

Cuddesdon is 6m. ESE. of Oxford.
Charter.

B.945, K.437 is a charter whereby King Edwy grants to Aelfhere twenty hides at *Cuthenesdune* at the reputed date A.D. 956.

Survey.

The survey originates in one of the Saxon age ; but certain peculiarities in the spelling of some of the terms used suggest strongly that it is a copy of an original Saxon document, not the document itself.

1. *Of Hrythera Ford on Holan Ford.*

‘ From the Ford of the Cattle to the Hollow Ford.’

The survey begins on the river Thame at the SE. angle of the parish By. *Hrythera Ford* was on the Thame below Cuddesdon Mill (OM1) and about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of it. The Hollow Ford was about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. lower down the Thame. Between the two fords the Cuddesdon By. is not on the river.

2. *Of etc. on Lahhan Mere :*

‘ From Hollow Ford to Pond.’

Lahhan is probably a scribe’s error ; but it is not possible to say what the correct form of the word should be. The pond was on the By. N. and not far from the ford.

3. *Andlang Rithiges on Bradan Maedwa :*

‘ Along the Streamlet to Board Meadow.’

The meadow was at that angle in the parish By. which is about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. SE. of Denton village.

4. *Thaet swa north andlang Fura on Set Thorn :*

‘ Then so north along the Furrow to the Thorntree (where the Seat is ?).

From the Broad Meadow the By. runs in a general direction N. as described in the survey. The Thorntree was probably at the re-entering angle of the By. about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ENE. of Denton village.

5. *Of etc. on Fulan Rithig on anne Pyt :*

‘From (Seat ?) Thorn to the Dirty Streamlet to a Pit.’

The By. meets the *Rithig* at an angle in the By. a short $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of the S. end of Cuddesdon village. The Pit was probably close to the stream.

6. *Of etc. andlang Rithiges of thaet Heafod Lond :*

‘From the Pit along the Streamlet to the Headland of a Ploughland.’

As described in the survey the By. runs NNW. up the Streamlet. The Headland was on the By. between the village and the Wheatley-Garsington road.

7. *Of etc. andlang Fura on Pric Thorn on foreweardne Eanferthes Hlau :*

‘From the Headland along the Furrow¹ to Prick Thorn (in front of ?) Eanferth’s Low (tumulus).’

The survey now enters on the By. of Horspath, which parish is included in the survey. The By. is now running for about 260 yds. along the line of the Wheatley-Garsington road. That must have been the line of the old Furrow. The Thorn stood probably at the angle in the By. where it leaves the road and begins to run NW. again. The tumulus was evidently close to the Thorn.

8. *Of etc. andlang Fure :*

‘From Eanferth’s Low along a Furrow.’

This ran NW. from the Wheatley-Garsington road along the By.

9. *Thaet on an Rithing :*

‘Then to a Streamlet.’

This is a small stream which runs along the By. about $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WSW. of Hill Farm. (OM1).

10. *Andlang Rithiges th’ on ane Dic :*

‘Along the Streamlet to a Dyke.’

The Dyke was probably a part of the Streamlet which had been artificially straightened. It would be on that part of the By. which lies $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. by S. of Hill Farm. (OM1).

11. *Andlang Dices on Drygean Broc :*

‘Along the Dyke to Dry Brook.’

This is the brook now called Hollow Brook (OM1) which the By. meets $\frac{1}{2}$ m. almost due W. of Hill Farm. (OM1).

¹ Furrows are not uncommon boundaries of ploughlands. Such furrows were probably made of exceptional depth and width.

12. *Thaet swa andlang Dices on Maerwelle Broc :*

'Then so along the Dyke to the Brook of the Spring on the Boundary.'

The By. follows Dry (Hollow) Brook for $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. and then runs due W. for a furlong. Along this short stretch of By. ran the Dyke. This piece of By. abuts on another brook which is the *Maerwelle Broc* of the survey.

13. *Andlang Broces on Maerwelle :*

'Along the Brook to Boundary Spring.'

This is the Spring at the head of the brook of the previous landmark. It was at the re-entering angle of the By. about 3 fur. S. by W. of the church at Horspath.

14. *Of etc. on thaet Heafod Long (read Lond) on gerihte to Straet :*

'From the Boundary Spring to the Headland of a Ploughland straight on to the Street (Made Road).'

The *Heafod Lond* would be where the parish By. makes a short bend just where the railway crosses it. From the railway the By. runs due W. to the Roman road from Alchester to Dorchester which is the *Straet* of the landmark.

15. *Thonne east andlang Straete oth thaera Straeta Gelaeto :*

'Then east along the Street as far as the Crossroads.'

The orientation here is mistaken, for the By. runs almost due N. along the Roman road. It goes along that road for $\frac{1}{2}$ m. and then turns NE. The bend is at the SW. end of Open Brasenose (OM1). The survey shows that another track met it here. This track may have been along the line of the modern road from New Headington which meets the Roman road at this point.

16. *Thonan rihte north ondlong Weges oth tha Heafdo :*

'Then due north along the Track as far as the Headland of a Ploughland.'

The By. runs NE. not N. The mistake in orientation is no doubt part of the error in the previous landmark. The *Weg* must have run up the S. side of Open Brasenose (OM1), and the Headland must have been at the E. corner of Brasenose Wood. (OM1).

17. *Th' on Maer Weg :*

'Then to the Boundary Way.'

This must have run along the N. By. of Horspath just E. of the E. corner of Brasenose Wood. (OM1).

18. *Andlong Maerweges th' onbutan Ceorla Graf on Fost Broc :*

'Along the Boundary Way round Husbandmen's Grove to . . . Brook.'

The Grove lay probably in Forest Hill parish where the Horspath boundary makes a short curve just E. of the E. corner of Brasenose Wood. (OM1). The name of the brook is untranslatable,—probably a copyist's error. The Brook is the stream which runs down the W. side of Horspath Common. (OM1).

19. *Of Fost Broce on thone Hlith Weg :*

‘From . . . Brook to the Way of the Hillside.’

This Way passed probably along the NW. and N. sides of Horspath Common (OM1) and got its name from its running along the S. slope of Shotover Hill. (OM1).

20. *Andlong Weges on Hina Gemaere.*

‘Along the Way to the Hinds’ Balk.’¹

21. *Andlong etc. on tha Hlydan :*

‘Along the Hinds’ Boundary to the Stream Dell.’

22. *Th’ of etc. on tha Stan Bricge :*

‘Then from the Stream Dell to the Stone Bridge.’

23. *Andlong Healhtunes Gemaere on Risc Dene :*

‘Along the Boundary of Holton to Rush Dean.’

The survey is going now along the W. and N. By. of Wheatley, which land unit is included in the grant. It reaches the Holton By. at the E. corner of the grounds of Shotover House (OM1) on the Oxford–London road. Probably the Stone Bridge was at this point. The landmarks in this part of the survey are not so close together as in the previous part of it, probably because the By. is passing over uncultivated land which did not call for such careful definition. The *Hlyd* of 21 may be the valley down which the By. passes about 3 fur. W. of the hamlet of Littleworth. (OM1).

24. *Thaet of etc. on gerihthe on thaet Thri Ex* (read *Aesc* ?) :

Ex is impossible. *Aesc* is the only emendation which seems possible.

‘Then from Rush Dean to the Three Ashtrees.’

25. *Of etc. on tha Straet :*

‘From the Three Ashtrees to the Street (Made Road).’

26. *Andlong Straete on Holan Broc :*

‘Along the Street to Hollow Brook.’

¹ *Hina Gemaere* is quite a common landmark in the charters. The ‘hinds’ (for want of a better translation) were probably originally landless men who worked for others, and then got or were allotted patches of uncultivated land for cultivation, land which would in most cases be on the boundary of a land-unit.

27. *Andlong Broces on Herpath Ford on Tame :*

‘ Along the Brook to the Ford of the Highway to the Thame.’

28. *Andlong Tame th’ eft on Hrythera Ford :*

‘ Along the Thame then back to Cattle Ford.’

The Rush Dean of 23 *may* be the hollow up which the present Oxford–London road passes in the northernmost part of Wheatley parish about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of the village. There is no clue to the site of the Ashtrees of 24. The *Straet* of 25 is the Oxford–London road E. of Wheatley village.¹ It is a ridgeway. The actual point mentioned in the survey would be at the road junction at the E. end of Wheatley village where the old ridge-way coming down from Shotover joins the modern Oxford–London road.

The Hollow Brook is the brook which forms the E. end of the N. By. W. of Wheatley Bridge. (OM1).

It is pretty certain that just S. of Wheatley Bridge the course of the Thame has altered since Saxon times. The E. By. of Wheatley follows what is now the line of a backwater, not the main stream, for about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. This backwater is almost certainly on the old line of the main stream of the river.

For *Hrythera Ford* of 28 see landmark 1.

Field Names.

Measured from Slay Barn (OM1) :—Upper Sleigh (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. : Middle Sleigh (V), $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. : The Butts (V), immed. N. : Combe Leys, 2 fur. N. by E. : Great Stowell, 2 fur. NE. : Catsbrain (V) Copse, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NE. : Huddleston Hill, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S.

From Cuddesdon Mill (OM1) :—Welbourne Close, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. : Bennells Mead, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSE.

From the Park (OM1) :—Great Stowell, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WNW. : Long Mead, 2 fur. NNE. : Pond Slays (V), $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S. by W.

CULHAM.

Culham is $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. SSE. of Abingdon (Berks).

Charter.

B.759, 760 is a charter whereby King Edmund grants to Aelfhild fifteen hides at *Culanham* at the reputed date A.D. 940.

¹ Less than 200 years ago the Oxford–London road passed over the summit of Shotover. In its course towards Oxford the old road left the line of the modern road at the E. end of Wheatley village and, after passing through what is even now the main street of the village, went W. up the E. slope of Shotover Hill (OM1). See chapter on old highways.

In the charter it is stated that the document is a copy of a previous one.¹ The grant passed subsequently to Abingdon monastery. In K.1135 the passing of this land to the monastery after Aelfhild's death is recorded.

Survey.

The survey is either an original, or the copy of an original, survey of the Saxon age.

1. *Aerest on Wylfingford on Temese :*

'First to the Ford of the Family of Wulf to the Thames.'

This Ford was probably where Abingdon Bridge now stands.

2. *Th' of etc. andlang anre Smale Dic to Niwanhaeminga Londgemaere on tha Heafdo :*

'Then from Wulfing Ford along a Small (Narrow ?) Dyke to the Balks of the Ploughlands of Nuneham to the Headland of a Ploughland.'

This takes the survey to where the N. end of the E. By. of Culham abuts on the Thames a furlong below the railway bridge at Nuneham. The Dyke must have run S. from the river along the N. end of the By. The Balks were of course along that part of the E. By. which coincides with the S. By. of Nuneham on the S. edge of Nuneham Park, and the Headland would be where that E. By. makes a right-angled turn S. on meeting the Clifton Hampden By.

3. *Th' forth be thon Heafodon on Fippel Beorgas :*

'Then forth by the Headland to² Barrows.'

No trace whatever of the Barrows survives. But they probably stood somewhere near Culham station.

4. *Of etc. on Culanhema Dic :*

'From Barrows to Culham Dyke.'

The Dyke still runs along the S. part of the E. By. to the S. of Culham station.

5. *Andlang Dic on Aeppelford :*

'Along the Dyke to the Ford of the Appletrees.'

The Ford was obviously on the Thames at the S. end of the E. By. opposite to the village of Appleford which takes its name from it. The weiring of the river has done away with it.

6. *Of etc. andlang thaere Richt Temese onbutan Utan Ege :*

'From the Ford of the Appletrees along the Straight Stretch of the Thames round Outlying Island.'

¹ Certain minor errors in the extant copy of the charter would suggest that it is a copy of an original, not the original itself.

² I cannot find any trace of this term or name.

The survey now goes the straight reach of the Thames to just beyond Sutton Courtenay village where there is a large eyot still called Otteney, the *Utan Ig* of the charter. Also the Culham By. still includes this island although it lies on the side of the Thames opposite to the main part of the parish.

7. *Thæt eft on Wylfingford :*

‘Then back to Wulfing Ford.’ See landmark 1.

CURBRIDGE.

Curbridge is a little more than 1m. SW. of Witney.

It is included in the Witney charters. Old names on its By. will be found also in the Ducklington charter.

Field Names.

Measured from Apley Barn (OM1) :—Lady Ham (V), 2 fur. slightly S. of E. : Appley Piece, 1 fur. SSW.

From Curbridge Down Farm (OM1) :—Hawksley, two fields 2 fur. N. by E. and 3 fur. NNE by E. respectively. Cf. the *Hafoces Hlaew* of the Witney charter. Ashmore Well, 3 fur. S.

From the church at Curbridge (OM1) :—Minster Ground, $7\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NW. by W. : Short Stanning, 6 fur. WNW. : Blindwell, 5 fur. N. : Gate Hedge Piece, 4 fur. N. : Packsford Piece, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. N. : Folly Piece (V), 2 fur. NNE. : China Lands, 3 fur. NE. : Garston (V) Field, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WSW. : Long Miskin, 3 fur. E.

From Witney Park Farm (OM1) :—Black Grove, 5 fur. E. : Galley Hill, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. ESE. : Great and Little Burwell Field, $4\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. by E.

From Parsonage Barn (OM1) :—Lower and Upper Heath, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. W. by S. : Starnham Ground, $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ENE. : Coatswell Close, 3 fur. E. : The Lanket (V), $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NE.

CUTSLOW.

Cutslow is a small hamlet about 3m. N. of Oxford. The area of the parish is only 281 acres.

Charter.

K.709 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to St. Frideswide's, Oxford, two hides at *Cudeslawe* and other lands at various other places. The reputed date of the charter is A.D. 1004. For discussion of its actual date see notes on Tackley.

Survey.

1. *Erest of Portstrete into Trilliwelle :*

'First from the Made Road to the Town (Market ?) to Trill Spring.'

The *Stræet* was on the line of the Oxford-Banbury road which forms the W. By. of the parish. That road is a ridgeway at this point and for many miles north. (See notes on ancient highways of the county.) The point indicated is the NW. angle of the parish which is on the above road about 3 fur. S. of where it crosses the Oxford-Bletchley railway. Trill¹ Spring was probably a small spring rising on the N. By. close to the hamlet of Cutslow. (OM1).

2. *Fro the Welle into Rithe :*

'From the Spring to the Streamlet.'

This is the stream which forms the whole of the E. By. of the parish.

3. *Fro to Byshopes More :*

'From (the Streamlet) to Bishop's Moor (Swampy ground).'

This was on the low ground at the SE. corner of the parish about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. SSE. of Cutslow Farm. (OM1).

4. *Fro the More into Wynele Slade into the Slade into Wyneles Hull :*

This is how the text is printed by Kemble. It is almost certainly two landmarks. The second *into* should be *fro* ; and the missing word is *Wynele*.

'From the Moor to Wynel's Slade.'

5. 'From Wynel's Slade to Wynel's Hill.'

The Slade is the slight hollow on the S. By. due S. of Cutslow Farm. (OM1). The Hill was on the S. By. about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of the previous landmark.

¹ The stream name *Tril* or Trill occurs several times in W. and SW. England. In B.1214. K.545 a charter of Sturminster Newton in Dorset there is reference to a *Trildoune*, 'Trill Down,' and to a stream called *Tril*, now Darknoll Brook. In a perambulation of the forest of Blackmore made in 1155 this stream is called *Trulle*. In Dorset also there is a Trill in Fifehead Magdalen and another in Bere Hacket parish. Ekwall (*River Names of England*) cites other examples of this stream name in Somerset and Devon, and associates it with the name of Tirl Brook in N. Gloucestershire. He attempts to derive the name from a Germanic source, but admits that the result is not convincing,—which is indeed the case. The geographical distribution of the name in and on the fringe of Wales and the SW. part of England, where a Celtic population survived the first phases of the Saxon conquest, might suggest a Celtic origin for the name,

6. *Fro the Hulle on Hyme :*

The word *Hyme* is not identifiable. No dictionary or glossary gives any word resembling it. It has probably resulted from mis-copying either in ancient or modern times. Kemble's fragmentary test of the survey shows that he found parts of the document un-decipherable. It may perhaps be suspected that the original reference was to some place on the S. By. where the *hymlic*, 'hemlock,' grew freely.

CUXHAM.

Cuxham lies about 1½m. WNW. of Watlington.

Charter.

K.691 is a charter whereby Aescwig, bishop of Dorchester, grants 5 hides at *Cucesham* to a certain Aelfstan. The grant is made with the consent of the king and the 'senatores,' i.e. the *Witan*. The reputed date is A.D. 995.

Survey.

Whatever the date of the extant document, it is unquestionably a copy of a document of the Saxon age, possibly of the reputed date of the grant.

1. *Aerest of Cudan Hlaewe on Fildena Weg :*

'First from Cud's Low to Hilly Way.'¹

The survey begins at the SE. angle of the parish which is about ½m. due E. of Brightwell Upperton. (OM1). Whether traces of the tumulus may be distinguished at the present day can only be determined by examination of the site.² None are marked on the map.

The *Fildena Weg* is the lane which forms the whole of the W. By. of the parish.

2. *Andlang Weges th' on thone Ealdan Egsan Ford :*³

'Along the Track to the Old Ford of Egsa.'

This ford is mentioned in the Brightwell Baldwin charter. It was over the brook which edges the N. By. of the parish at the point where the road running N. from Cuxham village crosses it.

¹ Cf. the *Cudes Hlaew* of the Cutslow charter. Saxon surveyors were rather indifferent as to whether they used the weak or the strong form of the genitive ; e.g. the *Hodes Hlaew* of one Berkshire charter is the same tumulus as the *Hodan Hlaew* of another. For *Fildena Weg* see the notes on the Brightwell Baldwin charter.

² In three cases in Hampshire I found from references in charters tumuli which are not marked on the OM.

³ For this name see notes on Brightwell Baldwin.

3. *Of etc. andlang Hweowelrithiges :*

‘From the Ford along the Streamlet of the Wheel (?).’¹

The point indicated by this landmark is that on the N. By. where the stream which comes up N. from Cuxham village meets the N. By. It comes again later in the survey.

4. *Th’ on Swaeferthes Wylles Heafdon :*

‘Then to the Headland of the Spring of Swaferth (Stream).’²

Swaferth is the small stream which flows for a short way along the N. part of the E. By. of the parish.

5. *On thone Aesc :*

‘To the Ashtree.’

This is probably part of landmark 4 indicating that an ashtree stood on the headland of the ploughland.

6. *Of etc. eft on Hweowelrithig :*

‘From the Ashtree again to the Wheel Streamlet.’

This is the upper part of the brook mentioned in landmark 3. It crosses the E. By. a furlong E. of Cuxham village.

7. *Of etc. on tha Ealdan Dic :*

‘From the Wheel Streamlet to the Old Dyke.’

The Dyke ran probably down the S. part of the E. By. of the parish.

8. *Of etc. th’ on tha Wudu Wic aet Wylleres Seathon :*

‘From the Dyke to the Dairy Farmstead by the Wood at Wyller’s Pits.’

The farmstead was on the S. By. though it is not possible to point to its exact position. The Wood no longer exists.

(Note added) ; *and swa se wudu the into tham lande gebyrath :*

‘And the Wood which belongs to the land.’

Whether this is the wood just mentioned or some outlying woodland away from the parish is not clear. The latter is probably the case.³

¹ I have given the only interpretation of *Hweowel* which seems possible on the assumption that it is written for *Hweowle* an oblique case of *hweogol*, ‘wheel.’ It may have been named from a waterwheel.

² *Swaferth* is an interesting example of those stream names in -ferth which occur in the Worcestershire charters : e.g. *Flaferth* B.667 and K.1295 ; *Wenferth* B.514 ; *Sihtferth* B.462, K.266 and in six other charters.

³ Timber was a necessity for the village community, for building, repairs, and fencing. As the main aim of the Saxon economic system was to make each village community so far as possible self-sufficing, any community which had no timber on its home area was allotted either proportionate rights in some neighbouring woodland, or a definite area of it. (See notes on Wood-eaton.)

Field Names.

Measured from Cutt Mill (OM1):—The Peash, immed. E. :
 Town Mead, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ENE. : Butt (V) Furlong (V), $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ESE. :
 Oxlease Furlong (V), $\frac{1}{4}$ m. SE. : Stir Furlong (V), 3 fur.
 ESE. : Common Furlong (V), $\frac{1}{4}$ m. SSE. : Greenwich
 Close, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by E.

DUCKLINGTON.

Ducklington is about 1m. S. of Witney.

Charter.

B.1036, K.1218 is a charter of the reputed date A.D. 958 whereby King Edgar grants 'aliquantulam ruris partem quaterdenis aestimatam mansiunculis, necnon et quadriginta jugeribus' at *Duclingtun* to a certain Eanulf.

Survey.

The survey is either an original, or a copy of an original, survey of the Saxon age.

It opens with the words:—*This sindon tha landgemaero to Duclingtune XIII hida and tha ealdan cyricean aet Aestlea and thaerto XL aecera and Byrnan lea eal into Duclingtune :*

'These are the bounds of Ducklington (of the) 14 hides, and the old church at East Lea and furthermore 40 strips of ploughland and Byrn Lea all with Ducklington.'

It will be well to take the detailed survey before attempting any explanation of the above passage.

1. *Aerest of Duclingtune on Wenric :*

'First from Ducklington to the Windrush.'

It will be seen that the village centre of the grant lies close to the Windrush on the NE. By. of the parish. It is from the village that the survey begins.

2. *Andlang Wenrices on thone Byge :*

'Along the Windrush to the Bend (in the boundary).'

This carries the survey a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. down the Windrush to where the parish By. turns E. from the river to meet another channel of it.

3. *Of etc. on tha Ealdan Lace :*

'From the Bend to the Old Backwater.'

This is a small channel or dyke which runs along the By. between the two branches of the Windrush.

4. *Andlang Lace on tha Northea :*

'Along the Backwater to the North River.'

This is the N. branch of the Windrush which the By. meets about $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N. of Ducklington Mill. (OM1).

5. *Andlang streames on Folgorhyrste neothewearde :*

'Along stream to Spinney¹ (at its lower end ?).'

The wood seems to have stood where the By. turns SW. from the N. branch of the Windrush, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE. of the North Lodge (OM1) of Cokethorpe Park.

6. *Thonon on tha Ealdan Dic :*

'Then to the Old Dyke.'

After leaving the river the By. runs SW. for about 1 furlong and meets a small side channel of the Windrush. This is the Old Dyke.

7. *Andlang Dic thaet suth eft on Waenric :*

'Along the Dyke then south once more to the Windrush.'

The By. follows this small channel of the Windrush for a long distance to a point a long $\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. of the mill (OM1) at Hardwick. This channel which is now quite a minor branch of the river was evidently in former days one of the main branches of it.

8. *Up ongean stream on thone Ealdan Ford :*

'Up against stream to the Old Ford.'

Here again it seems that the course of the main river has altered. The S. branch of those days must have run to join the N. branch at the point indicated in the previous landmark, the extreme E. point of the parish ; and it is up that old course of the S. branch that this landmark takes the By. The Old Ford was at the village of Hardwick about 100 yds. E. of the mill. (OM1).

9. *Of etc. up on tha Rithe an furlang with suthan tha Cyrican :*

'From the Ford up the Streamlet for one furlong to the south of the Church.'

The Streamlet is the small backwater of the river, just about a furlong long, which leaves and rejoins the Windrush close to the mill (OM1) at Hardwaick. The church is no longer there.

10. *Andlang Rithe on tha Wurtwalan :*

'Along the Streamlet to the Foot of the (Wood ?).'

¹ *Folgor* must be a copyist's error. It is not a proper name, nor is there any suitable common term which might be suggested as an emendation.

² *Wyrwala* in the charters is used commonly with the meaning of 'foot of a slope' ; but there are cases in which it may be suspected to mean the fringe of a wood, with reference especially to the exposed roots of trees.

11. *Thaet ut thurh thone Hagan on Burhðic ufewealde :*

'Then out through the Game Enclosure upward to the Camp Ditch.'

These landmarks present some difficulty. The *Haga* was, partly at any rate, on the site of Cokethorpe Park ; but it would be far more extensive than the modern park. Possibly the *Burh* of which the *Dic* is mentioned, stood more or less on the site of Cokethorpe House (OM1). Between the house and the Windrush is a plantation called Berryham Plantation (OM6), a name of which the 'Berry' element may refer to the *burh*.

After this the landmarks become still more difficult of individual identification ; and it will be well to take a series of them until one which can be identified with certainty is reached.

12. *Of etc. on tha Ealdan Rode* :¹

'From the Dyke to the Old 'Ride' (through the wood).'

13. *Of etc. on Scottes Healh :*

'From the Ride to Scot's Hollow.'

14. *Of etc. on Uuenburge Byrgge* (read *Brygge*) :

'From the Hollow to Wenburg's Bridge.'

15. *Of theare Brucge on tha Dic :*

'From the Bridge to the Dyke.'

16. *Andlang Dices on Easthaema Gemaere :*

'Along the Dyke to the Boundary of the people of Aston.'

This brings the survey to a definite point, that where the By. of Ducklington first meets the By. of Aston. This is about 350 yds. S. of Claywell Farm (OM1) at the SE. corner of the parish By. Working backwards from this the Dyke of 15 must have run down the By. which runs down just E. of the farm. Wenburg's Bridge must have been over some small stream on this S. part of the E. By. of Ducklington. None is shown on OM6 ; but then that series does not mark small streams which follow field boundaries.

It is possible that the *Eald Rod* was on that part of the By. which now runs along the W. edge of Boy's Wood. (OM1).

¹ The word *rod* is very common in the charters ; but its meaning is not really known. It has been suggested that it means a 'ride,' or path through a wood made to facilitate the hunting and capture of game ; and, on the whole, this seems to be the most probable of the meanings which have been suggested for it, though there are cases in the charters where it occurs in relation to districts where there is no woodland at the present day. In the present case the presence of a *haga* makes this application of the term very possible.

The *Healh* of 13 might be some quite insignificant hollow. It might be identified by one who perambulated the By.; but it does not show on the map.

17. *On thone Bige* :
'To the Bend.'
18. *To than Heafdan* :
'To the headland of a Ploughland.'
19. *On Gatethyrnan* :
'To the Thorn Thicket by the Gate.'
20. *Of etc. on Blace Thyran* :
'From the Thorn Thicket to the Blackthorn Thicket.'
21. *On tha Dic* :
'To the Dyke.'
22. *Of thaere Thyrrnan to Wurtwalan to than Furan* :
'From the Thorn Thicket to the Foot of the Slope to the Furrow.'
23. *Andlang Fura on tha Ealdan Dic to than Ellene* :
'Along the Furrow to the Old Dyke to the Eldertree.'
24. *Andlang Dices to than other Ellene* :
'Along the Dyke to the other Eldertree.'
25. *Of etc. to thaere Apoldre* :
'From the Eldertree to the Appletree.'
26. *Thanon to Aegleswullan Broce* :
'Then to the Brook of Aegel's Spring.'

This at last brings the survey to a determinable landmark. This is the brook which forms the S. part of the W. By. of the parish. The survey reaches it first at a point about 3 fur. WNW. of Newhouse Farm (OM1) in Aston parish.

It will be noticed that the nine landmarks 17-25 are all of them of a nature such as would make the possibility of survival in any form or of identification most unlikely. But it will also be noticed that the parish By. between landmarks 16 and 26, though not very long, makes no less than thirteen changes of direction. It is these, or the most marked of them, that the surveyors have noted in their survey probably because, as the rectilinear character of the By. angles shows, there was ploughland all along this part of the parish By. and ploughland always called for detailed definition.

The *Wyrtwala* of 22 was probably the foot of the slope of Claywell Hill. (OM1). The remaining landmarks 17-25 were at various of the angles of this part of the By.

27. *Up ongean stream on Stanford :*
 'Up against stream to Stone Ford.'

28. *Of etc. on Fugelslaed :*
 'From the Ford to Bird Slade.'

29. *Of etc. on Coluullan Broc :*
 'From the Slade to Colwell (Charcoal Spring) Brook.'

This last is the brook which forms the whole of the NW. and N. By. of the parish, flowing due E. to Emma's Bridge. (OM1). This brook is a landmark of a survey of Witney. Its name Colwell survives. (v. OM6).

The *Fugelslaed* of 28 is also cited in the Witney survey, it cannot therefore have been on the Ducklington By. S. of the point where it meets the Curbridge B., a point exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ m. WSW. of Coursehill Farm. (OM1). It was probably about 1 fur. N. of that point, at the westernmost angle of the parish By. It is very likely that the *Stanford* of 27 was at the point referred to above where the Ducklington By. meets that of Curbridge.

30. *Andlang Broces on Swyllan Healas :*
 'Along the Brook to (Bubbling ?) Hollows.'¹

The reference must be to the very waterlogged land near Emma's Bridge. (OM1).

31. *Of etc. on Hastings Lace :*
 'From the Hollows to Hasting's Slow Stream.'

This is the drain or backwater down which the N. part of the E. By. runs to the N. of Ducklington village.

32. *Andlang Lace on thone Eastream :*
 'Along the Slow Stream to the Course of the River.'

This brings the survey back to the Windrush close to Ducklington village.

(Note added.) *And twegan hammas aet Loppedethorne* (read *Coppedethorne*) *hyrath into Duckingtune :*

'And two enclosures at Pollard Thorn belong to Ducklington.'

This place does not appear on the modern map, unless Copythorn, a field on the S. By. of Hailey, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. of Middlefield Farm (OM1) marks the site. Copythorn is a local name common in S. England, it is derived from *Coppede-thorn*.

¹ I have assumed that *swyllan* is connected with *swellen*, which is used of water bubbling up from the ground.

Field Names.

Measured from Coursehill Farm (OM1):—The Long Lanket (V), 1 fur. W. : Wansalls Heath, 1 fur. SW. : Edgerley Ground, 1 fur. SSE. : Oxfar Close, 2 fur. NNE. : Upper Starnham Ground, 3 fur. NE. by N. (Field names in Curbridge show that Starnham covered a considerable area): Lapam Close, 4 fur. NE. : One Elm Ground, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. : Picked (V) Ground, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E.

From Barley Park Farm (OM1):—Upper & Lower Park, 2 fur. NW. : Fox Hill, immed. W. : Hill Furlong, 2 fur. ENE. : Pitchless Hill, 3 fur. ESE. : Upper Dodnell or Dodnoll, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. : Dodnoll, 4 fur. S. by W. : Gather Ground, 5 fur. SSW. by S. : The Rod (V) Ham (V), 5 fur. SSW. by W. : The Lankett (V), 4 fur. SSW. : Ferney Leys, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. by S.

From Emma's Bridge (OM1):—Borwell Hedge Close, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. by S. : Sandy Leys Plantation, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. : Upper and Lower Mead, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S. by W.

From the church of Ducklington (OM1):—Goose Ham (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. : Down Hays, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SSE.

From Claywell Farm (OM1):—Gander Field, $4\frac{3}{4}$ fur, WNW. : Coalpit (V) Ground, 2 fur. WSW.

EYNESHAM.

Eynsham is about 5m. WNW. of Oxford.

Charter.

K.714 is either the original, or a copy, of the foundation charter of the monastery at Eynsham (*Egnesham*). It certainly is at least based on a Saxon document of about the reputed date of the foundation, A.D. 1005. It gives a list of the properties transferred to the monastery, and surveys of the bounds of some of them. They are:—

Egnesham. Eynsham.

Sceaptun. Shipton-on-Cherwell. Five hides.

Micclantun. Mickleton (Glouc.).

Burtun. Five hides.

Marana Clive. Cleeve Prior ? (Worc.).¹

¹ The identification with Cleeve Prior depends on whether the *Marana Clif* of this charter is identical with the *Mearnan Clif* of B.537 K.304. The latter was according to B.537 granted by Ethelred, king of Mercia, to a certain Cuthulf. It seems to have been finally the property of the Priory at Worcester, and to have been so at a date much later than the date of this grant to Eynsham. I cannot find any record of the transfer (though such may exist), and therefore I have some doubt as to the identification.

Beonetlege. (Bentley, Warw. ?). Two hides. Woodland.
Erdintune. Erdington, Warw. ? Ten hides.
Aescaeron. Esher, Surrey. Twenty hides.
Bictun (read *Dictun*). Ditton, Surrey.
Rameslege. ?

Survey of Eynsham.

1. *Aerest of Rugan Lace on Buggan Broc :*

‘First from Rough¹ Lake (slow stream) to Bugga’s Brook.’

The Rough Lake is that backwater of the Thames which enters the river just below the lock (OM1) $\frac{1}{4}$ m. E. of Pinkhill Farm (OM1), after passing round the N. end of a large eyot. *Buggan Broc* is now Limb Brook (OM1) which forms for about a mile the S. By. of the parish.

2. *Andlang etc. on Tilgares Dic :*

‘Along the Brook to Tilgar’s Dyke.’

This must have run along that part of the S. By. which runs almost due N. and S. $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Foxley Farm. (OM1).

3. *Of etc. onweard Stige :*

A very unusual expression. Means probably ‘On up the Path.’

The Path may be represented at the present day by the bridle road which runs past Newfield Barn. (OM1). It does run slightly uphill in this part.

4. *Of etc. on Winburge Stoc :*

‘From the Uphill Path to Winburg’s Stockaded Enclosure.’²

5. *Of etc. to Thrim Acon :*

‘From the Stockaded Enclosure to the Three Oaktrees.’

6. *Andlang Weges on thaet Gemaertreow :*

‘Along the Way to the Tree on the Balk.’

7. *Thonne andlang Weges on tha Portstraet :*

‘Then along the Way to the Street (made road) to the Town (Market ?).’

This brings the survey to a determinable point, for the *Portstraet* is almost certainly the Witney–Bladon road, a

¹ ‘Rough’ seems a curious term to apply to a brook. *Ruh* is a very common attribute in the charters. It is applied to all sorts of objects: trees, barrows (very frequently), quarries, dykes, hills, enclosures, hedges, hollows, leas (frequently), meadows, swamps, slades, ways and wicks. No doubt its meaning is sometimes ‘rugged’; but I think that in most of the cases cited above it means that the object referred to is noticeable for rough vegetation, such as bushes, coarse grass, etc.

² *Stoc* is the original form of the modern place-name Stoke. Ekblom (*Pl. N. Wilts.*) casts doubt on its having any reference to a staked or stockaded enclosure. But, if it has not that meaning, it is impossible to say what it does mean.

continuation E. of the Windrush of the Burford-Witney ridgeway. (See chapter on ancient highways.)

The *Weg* of 7 would be along the line of the road which runs N. from the modern Witney-Oxford road along the W. edge of Eynsham Park (OM1) to meet the *Portstraet*.

The *Gemaer Treow* of 6 was probably at the SW. angle of the parish By. within a few yards of Hill Houses. (OM1).

Traces of the *Weg* of 6 are still apparent on the By. W. of Hill Houses in the shape of what appears to be the line of an old track running along a hedgerow on the By. about 1 fur. S. of Salutation Farm. (OM1).

The Three Oaks of 5 may have stood where the S. By. makes a bend about 3 fur. NNE. of Field Barn (OM1), and Winburg's Enclosure of 4 may have been at the sharp angle in the By. just where the railway crosses it a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Newfield Barn. (OM1).

8. *Of etc. on Swana Crofte :*

'From the Street to Herdsmen's Croft.'

This may have been at the NW. angle of the parish a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. of the crossroads in North Leigh village.

9. *Thanon on Haethfeld on tha Ealdan Dic :*

'Then to the Open Heath to the Old Dyke.'

This Heath was probably an extensive area on the N. By., on the N. edge of Eynsham Park. (OM1).

The Old Dyke was probably on the By. as it crossed the Heath.

10. *Thanon rihte on Maerbroc :*

'Then straight to Boundary Brook.'

The Heath of the last landmark and the Dyke must have extended all along the N. By. as far as Freeland (OM1). Just E. of Freeland the By. meets the head of a brook which it follows right down to the Evenlode river. This is the *Maerbroc* of 9.

11. *Andlang Broces innon Bladene :*

'Along the Brook to the Bladen (river).'

The Bladen is the Evenlode¹ which the By. meets at the mouth of *Maerbroc* at Eynsham Paper Mill. (OM1).

¹ This is a curious instance of a river having changed its name. In the charters the Evenlode is mentioned several times, but always under the name *Bladene*. The modern name of the river is derived from Evenlode (*Eowangelad*) the village near Moreton-in-the-Marsh near its source. Evenlode itself got its name from a *gelad* or artificial channel of the Evenlode quite near its source. An exactly similar transfer of name has happened in the case of the Enborne, the large tributary of the Kennett in N. Hampshire. The old name of the stream was *Alor-burna*, 'alderbourne.' The modern is derived from the village of Enborne, also near its source,

12. *Andlang Bladen into Temese :*

‘ Along the Bladen (Evenlode) to the Thames.’

The By. follows what is now a minor channel of the Evenlode to a point on the Thames just $\frac{1}{2}$ m. ENE. of the hamlet of Swinford. (OM1).

Field Names.

Measured from Eynsham railway station (OM1) :—Bitterall Lane, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. : Monks Wood, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE.

From Swinford Bridge (OM1) :—Merry Down Ham (V), $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SSW. : Bunjay, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by W. : Wrothy, $5\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S.

From the church at Eynsham (OM1) :—Chatterholt, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ENE.

From Newfield Barn (OM1) :—Great Hill Ground, 3 fur. NNW. : Claddins, 2 fur. W. by N.

From Eynsham Hall (OM1) :—Rumoor, 4 fur. W.

GARSINGTON.

Garsington is $4\frac{3}{4}$ m. ESE. of Oxford.

Field Names.

Measured from Northfield Farm (OM1) :—Swansey Closes, 3 fur. SSW. : Dunstead Mead, 4 fur. ENE. (‘ Cattle Steading on the Hill ’) : Comb Well and Elve Field, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by S. : Brook Furlong (V), 3 fur. ESE.

From Kiln Farm (OM1) :—Partway Field, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. NNE. : Comberwell Field, 4 fur. N. by E. : Barry Croft, 1 fur. E. : Bridge Brook, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE. by E. : Adwells Close, 3 fur. E. by S.

From City Farm (OM1) :—Elwell Field, 3 fur. W. by S. : Priestwell Field, 2 fur. W. : Priesthill, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WNW. : Long Down, immed. N.

From Great Leys Farm (OM1) :—Bury Meadow, 3 fur. NW. : Hawling Ley, 3 fur. W. : Motterills, 3 fur. SW. by W. : Humble Brook, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSE. (old name of Baldon Brook).

From the church at Garsington (OM1) :—Long Furlong, 4 fur. N. : Staggering Field, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE. : Blindwell or Blindell Field, 4 fur. ENE. : Bury Hill, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W.

From Southend Farm (OM1) :—Ball Stile Close, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. N. : Blindwell Butts (V), $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NNE. : Clifton Wells, 3 fur. SSE. : Pidwell or Pitwell Field, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SW. (probably the name of the small stream which flows S. from Southend Farm) : Marsh or March Crouch (V), 4 fur. SW.

HAILEY.

Hailey is about 2m. N. of Witney.

It is probably included in the grants recorded in the Witney charters. (q.v.)

Field Names.

- Measured from University Farm (OM1):—Chastill, 2 fur. W. by N. : Venney (V) End Close, immed. ENE. : Sparrowhawk, 1 fur. ENE. : Chastill (V) Ground, 3 fur. SSW. : Great and Little Chashill (V) Ditch Piece, 2 fur. SW. by W.
- From the crossroads at Delly End (OM1):—Lamburns Ground, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. WNW. : Delly Breach (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N. : Mob Hayes, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by E.
- From the church at Hailey (OM1):—Giernals, 2 fur. W. by N. : Blackmore Breach (V), 3 fur. WSW. : The Lankett (V), 1 fur. E. by N. : Hartshorn Close, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. ESE.
- From Shakenoak Farm (OM1):—Great Ground (V), $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. N. by W.
- From Common Leys Barn (OM1):—Great Blackpit Assarts (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NE. : Navelands, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E. by S. : The Handkerchief Ground, 4 fur. ESE. : Gigley Ground, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. : Hickrall, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S. by W.
- From the crossroads at New Yatt (OM1):—Corkhill Ground, 3 fur. W. by N. : Hailey Heath, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SSE.
- From Swanhill Farm (OM1):—Parrocks Ditch (V), 2 fur. N. : Hemplands, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. : Swanhill Little Barn, 1 fur. NNE. : Paunch Hill 2 fur. E. by N.
- From Charity Barn (OM1):—Long Rusley, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNW. : Copythorn (V) Ground, 1 fur. NNW.

HORSPATH.

Horspath is about $3\frac{3}{4}$ m. E. by S. from Oxford.

It is included in the Cuddesdon charter. (See notes on Cuddesdon.)

Field Names.

- Measured from Bullingdon Green (OM1):—Harrow Ground, immed. N. : Great and Little Pearl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ENE. : Upper and Lower Charley, 3 fur. E. : Bag Copse, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. ESE. : Dicksey's Furlong (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE. : Moor (V) Furlong, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE. : Wheat Furlong, 3 fur. SE. by S. : Long Sheer (V) Furlong, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S. by E. : Stoney Furlong, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S.

From the church at Horspath (OM1):—Acre Mead Hill, 5 fur. NE. : Hackfields Close, 3 fur. NE. : Costard (V) Furlong, 3 fur. E. : Gateley Way Furlong, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ESE. : Coomb Close, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ESE. : Forty Furlong, 2 fur. S. : Long Lands, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by E. : Leys Furlong, 4 fur. S. : Revel Mead, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. : Winding Furlong, 3 fur. S. : Dunstead Furlong, 3 fur. S. by W. : Moor Hades (V) Furlong, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SW. by S.

From Hill Farm (OM1):—Blacklands (V), $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NNW. : Grote Mead, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNW. : Grove Furlong, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NNE. : Sand Pot Furlong, 3 fur. NNE. : Flockawell, 3 fur. NE. by N. : Breach (V) Furlong, 4 fur. E. by N. : Fenney Furlong, 3 fur. slightly S. of E. : Clipps Hill, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SE. : Swillows Furlong, 3 fur. SE. : Peterley, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SE. : Five Oaks, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S. by E. : Golder Hill, 2 fur. S. : Corner Coles, 3 fur. S. : Windmill Hill, 3 fur. slightly W. of S. : West Combe, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. by W. : Hare Hedge, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW. : Soane Bottom Furlong, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. SSW. : Mays Hill Mead, immed. SW. : Lynches (V) Field, 1 fur. W. : Brook Furlong, 3 fur. W. : Plat's Sideland (V), 4 fur. W. : Long Mouse Hill, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W.

MINSTER LOVELL.

Minster Lovell is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Witney.

Field Names.

Measured from Manor Farm (OM1):—Cocks Moor Hill, $5\frac{1}{4}$ fur. NE. : Warren Hill, 5 fur. ENE. : Cowleys, 5 fur. E. : Tub Mead, 4 fur. E. : Harbor Hill, 2 fur. SE. by S. : Hunger Hill (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSE. : Short Lands, 3 fur. S. by W. : The Gonses, 6 fur. S. by W. : Long Turnwall, 5 fur. SSE. : The Fullers, 6 fur. SSE. : The Ham (V), 3 fur. WSW. : Wash (V) Mead, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WSW. by W.

From Little Minster (OM1):—Lifeless, 4 fur. E. by N. : Rack Close, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N. : Broad Ham (V), 2 fur. E. by S. : Filmer Mead, $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. : Pike Lane, immed. S.

From Starveall Farm (OM1):—Shyless Field, $5\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Great and Little Lays, 5 fur. ESE. : Great and Little Sideland (V), 3 fur. NW. : The Long Lankett (V), immed. NNW. : The Lankett, immed. SSE. : Burn Ground, immed. S. : The Patch, immed. E. : Tackley Hole, 4 fur. N. : Squitch (V) Field, 4 fur. N. by E. : Slat Field, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE. : Great Pool Field, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NE. by E. : Sunday Close, 3 fur. ESE. : Beckley Field, 4 fur. ESE.

From Ringwood Farm (OM1) :—Bangory Hill, $4\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SW. by W. : Postern, 3 fur. W. by S. : Born Ground Plantation, 2 fur. S. by E. : Lower Pig Rooting, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW. : The Ridings (V), 2 fur. W.

NEWNHAM MURREN.

Newnham Murren is $\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. of Wallingford (Berks).

Charter.

B.1176, K.526 is a charter whereby King Edgar grants to Aelgifu ten hides at *Niwanham* at the reputed date A.D. 966.

It has sometimes been identified with Nuneham Courtenay, to which, as the survey shows, it cannot belong.

Birch identifies it with Newnham Murren ; and, as far as can be seen, he is right.

Survey.

The survey is either an original, or the copy of an original of the Saxon age.

The parish of Newnham is remarkable for its shape. Its length from W. to E. is six miles, whereas its breadth averages between three and four furlongs. It extends from the Thames right up to the summit ridge of the Chilterns and for quite a long distance down the eastern slope of that range.

It may be taken as practically certain that the E. part of the parish was very thinly populated in Saxon times, as indeed it is at the present day. The result topographically speaking would be that the old names in the thinly populated part would be apt to disappear, a fact which may account for the impossibility of determining with anything approaching certainty some of the landmarks in the old survey.

1. (*Of ?*) *Cattan Ege into Niwanham* :

‘ From Cat Island to Newnham.’

It is rare for the village centre of a community to appear in a survey of its bounds, for the village tended naturally to stand somewhere near the centre of the lands of the community. But it was the situation of the best arable land which determined the site of the village centre, and in the case of Newnham this would certainly lie near the Thames. This first landmark is at the W. end of the N. By. At that point a watercourse runs parallel with the Thames on the E. side of it, and the island would be the land between the water-

course and the river.¹ From the island the survey passes along the N. By. to *Niwanham*, the actual village of Newnham, which is on that By.

Before attempting any further determinations of landmarks it will be best to give the rest of the survey.

2. *Of tham Haethnan Birigelsan up andlang Dic innan Maer Wege :*

‘From the Heathen Burial Place up along the Dyke to the Boundary Way.’

3. *Up andlang Maer Wege thaet up on Wearddune thaer thaet Cristel Mael stod :*

‘Up along the Boundary Way and then up on Watch Hill where the Crucifix Stood.’

4. *Of than up on the Readan Slo oth thaere Ealdan Byrig :*

‘Thence up to the Red Slough as far as the Old Camp.’

5. *Of etc. on thaet Crundel thaer se Haga utiligeth :*

‘From the Red Slough to the Quarry outside which the Game Enclosure lies.’

6. *Of etc. innan Mid Slaede :*

‘From the Quarry to the Middle Slade.’

7. *Andlang Mid Slaedes on tha Graegan Hane :*

‘Along the Middle Slade to the Grey Stone.’

8. *Of etc. andlang Hearp Dene on Cealfa Leage neothe wearde :*

‘From the Grey Stone along Harp Dean to Calf Lea going downhill.’

9. *Of etc. a be Hagen and be than Ealdan Wege in on th’ Bec :*

‘From Calf Lea always by the Game Enclosure and by the Old Way to the Intermittent Stream.’

10. *Siththan andlang Beces on Taemese :*

‘After that along the Intermittent Stream to the Thames.’

11. *Andlang Ea on Cattan Ege :*

‘Along the River to Cat Island.’

The first thing to be noticed is that the word *up* occurs in 2, 3, and 4. Therefore the By. is at those points ascending the W. slope of the Chilterns. On the other hand the wording of 8 implies that it is at that point beginning to descend that slope. Those conclusions are sound enough ; but the ways of

¹ On the Berkshire side of the Thames opposite to the park at Nuneham Courtenay are numerous watercourses of this kind ; and the charters and also the field names show that the lands between them and the river were called *ig’s*, ‘islands,’ in former days.

Saxon surveyors having been such as they were, it would not be safe to argue positively a silentio that 5, 6, and 7 are not on a slope.

It is, to say the least of it, curious that Grim's Ditch (OM1) which forms quite half of the S. By. of the parish is never cited as a landmark. But such unexpected omissions occur now and again in other surveys of other charters.

It must be stated emphatically that such determinations of these landmarks as will now be given are tentative and uncertain.

The Heathen Burial Place of 2 is, as is sometimes the case with that common landmark in the charters, not determinable as regards site. The Dyke would run along the N. By. E. of the village.¹

The *Maerweg* is represented at the present day by the road which runs for several miles along the N. By.

Of the site of the Crucifix of 3 it can only be said that there is a certain amount of probability that it was at a crossroads ; and, if so, it may have stood where the *Maerweg* crosses the Icknield Way $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of Blenheim Farm. (OM1). The *Wearddun* would be the rise at that point.

The Red Slough of 4 is not determinable, but, as the By. is approaching the summit ridge of the Chilterns, there is what seems to be the remains of a camp in the N. part of Mongewell Wood. (OM1). This camp abuts on Grim's Ditch. It may be the *Eald Burh* of the survey. It is true that it does not actually impinge on the N. By. of the parish ; but it is possible that on this upland, where there would be little, if any cultivation, boundaries were more vague than on arable land.

It seems most probable that the land surveyed did not extend beyond the summit ridge of the Chilterns, perhaps because that part of the parish which lies E. of the ridge was timber land, a form of property sometimes surveyed with a grant and sometimes omitted from the survey. It is noticeable that the Chiltern ridgeway at the summit of the ridge is at this point still called Timbers Lane.

¹ The dykes of the charters, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, are as a rule ordinary ditches made to mark the boundaries of lands. It is rarely the case that they refer to any great prehistoric dyke such as the Grim's Dyke in this parish. A ditch was the most convenient form of boundary mark in the days before live hedges were planted. It is noticeable that even at the present day, where both a ditch and hedge form a boundary, it is the ditch which is the actual boundary of the property.

If this is so, then the *Crundel* of 5 is probably represented by the old chalkpit (OM6) which lies close to where this lane crosses the line of Grim's Ditch. (OM1). What is further important is that this landmark 5 mentions that a *Haga*, i.e. extensive woodland, lay beyond the *Crundel*, which supports the conjecture already made with regard to the nature of that part of the modern parish which lies E. of the summit ridge.

On the above assumption the survey now turns back along the S. By. of the parish.

The *Mid Slaed* of 6 would probably be a small valley. It is possibly the depression which the S. By. traverses as it passes through Mongewell Wood. (OM1).

Minute examination of the ground might reveal the site of the Grey Stone of 7. It does not appear on the map.

Hearp Dene, a name probably derived from the shape of the valley, may be the large valley which the S. By. passes along as it descends E. from Mongewell Wood. (OM1).

The *Haga* of 9 must have been extensive woodland on the S. By. between Mongewell Wood (OM1) and the Icknield Way. (OM1). The *Eald Weg* is probably represented by the track which still passes along the line of the Grim's Ditch W. of the Icknield Way.

The *Baec* of 9 is the small stream which enters the Thames at the N. end of the grounds of Mongewell House. (OM1).

10 takes the By. up the Thames to Cat Island where the survey began.

NUNEHAM COURTENAY.

Nuneham Courtenay is about 5m. SSE. of Oxford.

Field Names.

Measured from Lower Farm (OM1):—Lousy Lot, immed. W. : Elbow Dunstan, immed. E. : Stock Bush, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Hookell Field, 4 fur. E. by N. (name derived from the *Hoc Hyl* of the Sandford charter, 'Hook Hill') : Ray Meadow, $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S., on bank of Thames (*Aet thaere Ea*, 'at the River') : Long Lyde (V) Longston Meadow and Dolsworth Field, $5\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by E. : Five Ash Field, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE.

From Nineveh Farm (OM1):—Picket (V) Ground, 3 fur. N. by W. : Lower Great Ground (V), 3 fur. N. : The Pinnacle, immed. NE. : North Furlong (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. by N. : Harlan Furlong, 3 fur. SSW. : Maida Hill, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SSW.

From Upper Farm (OM1):—Broad Moor (V) Leys (V), $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WSW. : Frogmoor, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. W.

PISHILL.

Pishill is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. SE. of Watlington.

Field Names.

Measured from the church (OM1) :—Well Field, immed. E. :
Ramsmore (V) $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SSE. : Kebble Furlong (V) 6 fur.
SSE.

PYRTON.

Pyrtton is 1m. N. of Watlington.

Field Names.

Measured from South Farm (OM1) in Clare :—The Drewells,
2 fur. NNE. : Moor Hill (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNW.

From Golder Manor (OM1) :—Pot Ash, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW. : Flax
Field, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SE.

READ ORA.

It is necessary to give the Saxon form of this name because it does not appear to have survived on the modern map. The actual place must have been somewhere near Watlington, probably on the Chilterns ; but it seems almost certain that the survey attached to its charter comprehends much more than the land-unit of *Read Ora*, whatever that was. A possible explanation of the large area of the land included in the survey is contained in the charter B.547, K.311 a document which, if the dates can be trusted, is more than a century later than the charter of *Read Ora*. In this later charter the lands of Worcester monastery in this region are described as attached to the church at *Read Ora*, and so the lands included in this earlier survey may be all the lands which the monastery at Worcester held in this region at that earlier date.

Charter.

B.216, K.123 is a charter whereby Offa, 'rex Anglorum,' grants to the church at Worcester forty hides 'in loco qui nuncupatur *Readanoran*'. The reputed date of the grant is A.D. 774.

That the extant document is, at least, a copy of a genuine document of the Saxon age is certain ; and there is, as a fact, no intrinsic evidence which would forbid the possibility of that original having been of the reputed date of the grant. The extent of the grant, forty hides, shows that it included several land-units (parishes).

Survey.

Parts of the survey are soluble with fair certainty. The rest of it is so uncertain that any solution of it which may be attempted must be put forward with diffidence. It will therefore be well to give the whole survey before attempting to explain it.

1. *Andlang Englunga Dene swa waeter wile yrnān in Haethenan Byrigels :*

‘Along¹ Dean as the water is wont to run to the Heathen Burialplace.’

2. *A be Wyrwtalan in Barfodslaed :*

‘All along the Foot of the Slope to (Barfod’s ?) Slade.’

3. *And swa on Timberslaed in Stepacnolles Scydd on Hanslaedes Heafdan :*

‘And so to Timber Slade to the Bend in Step Knoll to the Head of Cock (?) Slade.’²

4. *Th’ innan Grenan Weg :*

‘Then to the Green Way.’

5. *Thanon innan Healde (read Ealdan ?) Maeres Hlinc in Stanora Lege :*

‘Then to the Lynch of the Old Boundary to the Lea of Stone Slope (Stonor).’

6. *Th’ in Stanmaeres Hlinc on Catedenes Heafdan :*

‘Then to the Lynch of the Stone Balk (Pond ?) to the Head of Cat Dean.’

7. *Th’ in Holemeres Hlinc inna Stanbeorh :*

‘Then to the Lynch of the Hollow Pond to Stone Barrow.’

8. *And swa in Smalan Aesc :*

‘And so to the Small Ashtree.’

9. *In thone Mapoltre on west healf Assundene :*

‘To the Maple Tree on the west side of Assa’s (?) Dean.’

10. *From etc. in Edles Pyt :*

‘From the Maple Tree to Edel’s Pit.’

¹ I cannot translate the term *Englunga*; but I suspect that the term *enge*, ‘narrow,’ is a component of it.

² *Scydd* is a word which has puzzled the lexicographers. BT. suggest tentatively ‘alluvial ground,’ which is hardly a possible meaning here. Clark Hall in his lexicon, quoting Earle, suggests a ‘twist in a hillside.’ Nothing that I have come across in other charters throws any light of the meaning; and therefore I have adopted the one suggested by Earle as being at least possible.

11. *Th' in Draegmeres Hlinc :*
'Then to¹ Pond's Lynch.'
12. *Swa in Rugawic in Deopan Hamsteale on Hremhryc :*
'So to the Rough Dairy Farmstead to the Deep Shedding
with a house attached to it to Ravens' Ridge.'
13. *Th' in thone fulan Slo to Sigordene :*
'Then to the Foul Slough to Victory² Dean.'
14. *Swa in Badan Dene in Clacces Wadlond :*
'So to Bada's Dean to Clace's Wood Land.'
15. *And swa into Lufan Mere :*
'And so to Lufa's Pond.'
16. *Thaer ut on thaene Feld on Grottes Graf :*
Ought possibly to be taken with the previous landmark.
'Where it enters the Open Country to Grot's Grove.'
17. *Th' in Ceorla Pytte to thaere Fleotan :*
'Then to Churls' (Farmers') Pit to the Stream (Mere).'³
18. *Th' on Crawan Thorn on thonee Haeth on Hweolrithig :*
'Then to Crow Thorn to the Heath to Wheel Brook.'⁴
19. *Swa on Morpyt on Senthylle in Hroppan Broc :*
'So to the Pit on the Moor (Swamp) to . . . Hill to
(Noisy ?)⁵ Brook.'
20. *A be Broce on tha Ealdan Dic :*
'Right along the Brook to the Old Dyke.'
21. *Th' on Crypsan Hylle on Scyttan Mere :*
'Then to (Crypsa's ?) Hill to Shot Pond.'
22. *Th' on Scyttan Dune :*
'Then to Shot Hill.'

¹ *Draeg* is the first element of the Saxon forms of the very common place names Draycot and Drayton. Yet, though it is so common, no one has yet discovered its meaning.

² As it stands the name is not very convincing; but that is the only known translation of the term.

³ BT., not having noticed the indiscriminate way in which Saxon surveyors treat strong and weak forms of oblique cases, treat this as a word distinct from *fleet* which usually is used of the water of an estuary. But they and other authors of lexicons also assume that this word can mean stream. I am myself inclined to think that when used of inland waters it means an extent of shallow water which diminished or vanished in dry weather. That would suggest to the mind a resemblance to the advance and ebb of water in a tidal estuary.

⁴ For *hweol* see notes on Cuxham.

⁵ May be a personal name *Hroppa*.

23. *Swa on Smalan Broc to Cnihtabryge :*

‘ So to Narrow Brook to (Youths’ ? Servants’ ?) Bridge.’¹

24. *And swa to Winecalea on thaene Haethena Byregels in Colnaran :*

‘ And so to Wineca’s Lea to the Heathen Burial Place to
’

This is one of the most puzzling and tantalising surveys in the whole series of the extant Saxon land charters. Its vocabulary contains some terms not found elsewhere and quite indeterminable in meaning. But the most tantalising feature of it is that, though the two extremities of the extensive grant are determinable, the area included between them is a matter of the greatest uncertainty.

To anyone who knows the Saxon charters and what is at the present day the very heavily wooded area which must come within the grant the absence of any landmark implying the presence of woodland areas must seem very remarkable. Throughout the large series of extant charters the surveys of grants in or bordering on forests or heavily wooded areas almost invariably contain some landmark or landmarks which imply their presence. The term *haga*, which means originally a peculiary strong form of fence run round woodland to keep wild animals and the domestic swine which were pastured in it off the crops, and which came evidently to be applied to the woodland itself, is the most significant of this class of landmarks. It is well known that in the Saxon period the large woodland areas of this country contained wild animals, and, if woodlands so extensive as those of the Chilterns at the present day existed at the time at which this grant was made it is inconceivable that they should not have contained wild animals and perhaps still more inconceivable that they should not have been used for swine pasture, especially if they consisted, as the Chiltern woods now do, mainly of beech, a tree peculiary valuable for the purpose of pasturing swine. Moreover the importance of swine breeding to the Saxon agriculturist is made quite evident from the charters, especially from those of Kent, a region peculiary rich in woodlands. But, if such an industry had been carried on in this Chiltern region, it would have been absolutely necessary to construct *haga*’s.

¹ The translation of *cniht* as it is used in the charters is uncertain. I am convinced that it has some technical meaning not given in the lexicons ; but I cannot say what it is.

Summing up, the evidence of this charter, a charter recording a grant which, whatever its exact bounds, does include an area which contains at the present day several thousand acres of woodland, makes it probable that the extensive woodland of the Chilterns of modern times has been to at least a large extent artificially created, and that the area included at any rate in this charter¹ was in former days, where not cultivated, rough and apparently more or less open pasture land. The evidence in the charters with regard to the Cotswolds is not so significant; but it does not imply in any case the presence of extensive woodland on that range, though there are extensive woodlands on it at the present day.

In attempting to determine the bounds of this grant it will be well to take the landmarks in groups, dealing first with those the positions of which can be satisfactorily determined.

At the W. end of the grant the key landmarks are 18 *Hweolrithig*, and 23 *Cnihtabryg*. The *Rithig* is the stream mentioned twice in the Cuxham survey,—the stream which flows through Cuxham village. The point referred to in the present charter is where it crosses the Cuxham–Watlington By. just E. of Cuxham village.

The *Haeth* of 18 was probably on the Watlington By. about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of the town.

The *Cnihtabryg* of 23 is clearly marked on the modern map. The names Knightsbridge Farm (OM1), Knightsbridge Lane (OM6), and the field name Knightsbridge Mead Close all occur in the NW. corner of Shirburn parish. The bridge of the survey was almost certainly where Knightsbridge Lane (OM6) crosses a stream about 3 fur. S. by W. of Knightsbridge Farm. (OM1).

So far it seems clear that the modern parishes of Watlington and Shirburn were included in the grant.

An attempt must now be made to determine the landmarks between 18 and 23. They, taken in order, are: *Morpyt*, *Senthyl*, *Hroppan Broc*, *Eald Dic*, *Crypsan Hyl*, *Scyttan Mere*, *Scyttan Dun*, *Smal Broc*.

The general question here is whether the grant did or did not include Pyrton. On the whole it is fairly certain that it did not. The particular negative reasons against its inclusion would take too long to state; but one general reason may be mentioned.

¹ Further S. is Newnham Murren, *q.v.*, there was heavy woodland.

The grant, whatever its detailed bounds, is of very large area, an area which, if much of the arable land at the foot of the Chilterns were included, would certainly amount to more than 40 hides. That renders it almost certain that a large part of it must have been on the necessarily thinly cultivated region on the top of the Chiltern range where the soil is very thin, and where the number of family arable holdings (hides) must have been small.

It seems therefore that the landmarks cited above must be sought for on the By. of the S. part of Pyrton, thus excluding that land-unit from the grant.

Starting from *Hweolrithig* the *Morpyt* was probably where the N. By. of Watlington meets the E. By. of Cuxham about a furlong NE. of Cuxham village. *Senthyl* was the rising ground which the N. By. of Watlington passes over about $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE. of Mill Farm. (OM1). *Hroppan Broc* was the brook coming from Pyrton village which the E. part of the N. By. of Watlington follows for about 400 yds. The *Eald Dic* probably ran for a long distance down the N. part of the E. By. of Watlington. *Crypsan Hyl* was probably on the Watlington By. where it beings to ascend the slope of the Chilterns to the NE. of the town. *Scyttan Mere* was probably some artificially made pond on the same slope.¹

Scyttan Dun was the summit ridge of the Chilterns where the By. of Watlington abuts on Shotridge Wood. (OM1). The name of the wood is probably reminiscent of the old name of the hill.

Here the survey takes a long leap from the top of the hill right down to the point where a stream which flows through the park of Shirburn issues from the park on the parish By. 3 fur. NW. by W. of the castle. This is the *Smal Broc*, it forms the By. as far as *Cnihta Bricg*. It is of course possible that some landmarks between 22 and 23 have dropped out of the extant copy of the charter.

It will now be well to take from the survey another group of identifiable landmarks. They are 5 to 9. Taken in order they are: *Stanora Leah*, *Stanmaeres Hlinc*, *Catedenes Heafod*, *Holemeres Hlinc*, *Stanbeorh*, *Smal Aesc*, *Mapoltreow on west healf Assundene*.

Of these *Stanora* survives in the name of Stonor $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. NNW. of Henley, and *Assundene* in that of Upper Assendon close to Stonor.

¹ Such *mere's*, commonly called dewponds, but really rainwater ponds, are mentioned in some charters of the drier regions of Hampshire.

Whatever doubt there may be with regard to other parts of the bounds of the grant, there is no question that in this part of it they are following the county By. ; but, when it is a question of determining the exact position of the individual landmarks then some doubt arises.

Stanora Leah was in the N. part of Stonor parish, the point indicated being where the N. By. of Stonor meets the Co. By. about 300 yds. N. of Hollandridge. (OM1). *Stanmaeres Hlinc* was probably a little E. of the last, where the C. By. is running SE. along a slope. *Catedene* is almost certainly the deep valley along which the Co. By. runs past Rolls Farm. (OM1). The point indicated was probably just N. of the farm. *Holemaeres Hlinc* was probably some way further down this valley, perhaps near Balham's Farm. (OM1). It may have been further E. along the By. on the N. edge of Balham's Wood. (OM1). *Stanbeorh* was either a barrow on the hill on the E. side of Stonor Park (OM1), or perhaps the hill itself, though the meaning 'hill' is rarely, if ever, to be given to *beorh* as used in the charters. The *Aesc* was possibly where the Co. By. meets the Stonor-Henley road about 3 fur. S. of Stonor village.

As Watlington is included in the grant (see previous landmarks) it may be taken as that the detached part of the parish S. and SW. of the last point was in the grant. Therefore the Maple Tree was probably on the S. By. of this detached piece, W., as stated in the survey, of the bottom of the Assendon valley.

It now remains to link up these two groups of landmarks on the N. and on the S.

Between *Cnihtabricg* and *Stanora Leah* are the following landmarks : 24. *Winecalea*, *Haethene Byrgels*, *Colnara* ; 1. *Englunga Dene*, *Haethene Byrgels* ; 2. *Wyrtwala*, *Barfodslaed* ; 3. *Timberslaed*, *Stepacnolles Scydd*, *Hanslaedes Heafod* ; 4. *Grene Weg* ; 5. *Ealdan Maeres Hlinc*.

Winecaleah must have been in the NW. part of Shirburn parish abutting on the W. By. near Knightsbridge Farm (OM1), and the Heathen Burial Place must have been near the N. end of that W. By.¹ *Colnara* is a curious term which has probably got corrupted in copying. But whatever it means, it seems to

¹ Heathen Burial Places are frequent landmarks in Saxon charters. It is evident that they differed from *beorh's* and *hlaew's*, and in no traceable instance are they associated with a tumulus of any kind. It is unlikely, though perhaps just possible, that the Saxons regarded any ancient collection of graves as belonging to a pagan race ; but it is more probable that they were Saxon graves of the time anterior to the conversion of the race to Christianity.

indicate a landmark at the NW. corner of Shirburn parish, a long $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Knightsbridge Farm. (OM1).¹

From this *Colnara* (*sic*) the N. By. of Pyrton runs off ENE. along a little valley, which is probably the *Englunga Dene* of the charter. It is the valley described as that down which the 'water is wont to run.' Modern drainage has made the stream in the valley perennial. The second Heathen Burial Place was probably at or near the flat NE. angle of Shirburn parish By. about 3 fur. N. of Model Farm. (OM1). The survey now runs down the E. or NE. By. of Shirburn. The *Wyrwtala* was almost certainly the foot of the slope of the Chilterns on this NE. By. of Shirburn, W. and WNW. of Lower Field Farm. (OM1). A furlong SW. of that farm is a hollow which is probably the *Barfodslaed* of the charter. The By. passes later up a valley of the Chilterns to the N. of Shirburn Hill (OM1), which is the *Timberslaed* of the charter. The By. passes then in a way over the neck connecting Shirburn Hill with the main Chiltern ridge, and Shirburn Hill is probably the *Stepacnol* of the charter. The *Scydd*, or bend in the hill mentioned in the same landmark is no doubt the twist in the ridge joining Shirburn Hill to the main ridge. *Hanslaed* was the name of the valley on the other side of the Chiltern ridge at this point. In passing along the S. edge of Cowleaze Wood (OM1) the By. touches the head of that slade,—as described in the charter. Passing S. of Cowleaze Wood the By. runs for some distance along a line of track which will be the modern representative of the *Grene Weg*. The *Ealdan Maeres Hlinc* was probably on the somewhat steep slope down which the By. passes about 3 fur. NNE. of Northend. (OM1).

It will be noticed that while the survey is traversing the cultivable lowlands at the foot of the Chilterns the landmarks are on the whole much closer together than when it is traversing the much less fertile lands on the range itself. That is a common characteristic of the charters. The productive cultivable land called for stricter definition than uncultivated, or thinly cultivated, parts of a grant.

¹ To the NW. of this point, in the neighbouring parish of Pyrton, is a place with the curious name Clare. Alexander, *Pl. N. Oxon.*, gives certain 13th and 14th cent. forms of the name: *Cleor*, *Cleyore*, *Clayor*, *Clayore*. He assumes, probably rightly, that the second element in the name is the Saxon *ora*, 'bank' or 'slope.' I think that there can be little doubt that the *Colnara* of this landmark is a still earlier form of the name, but an example which has got corrupted in the text, and that the proper form should be *Colan ora*, 'Cola's Slope,' Cola being quite a common personal name in Saxon times.

It is now necessary to turn to the unfilled gap in the S. part of the survey. This extends from landmark 9, the Mapletree at Assendon, to the *Hweolrithig* of 18. The landmarks are as follows: 10. *Edles Pyt*; 11. *Draegmeres Hlinc*; 12. *Rugawic, Deop Hamsteall* and *Hremhrycg*; 13. *Ful Slo, Sigordene*; 14. *Badan Dene, Clacces Wadlond*; 15. *Lufan Mere*; 16. *Feld Grottes Graf*; 17. *Ceorla Pyt, Fleot*; 18. *Crawan Thorn*.

The landmarks of this part of the survey all but defeat modern investigation. The question, taken in its largest form, is whether the modern parishes of Swyncombe, Britwell Salome, and Britwell Prior are or are not included in the grant. Pishill almost certainly is, and, as to the others, it seems probable that Swyncombe is too, and the two Britwells are not. But it must be admitted that all this is uncertain. When it comes to the determination of individual landmarks there are many difficulties and hardly any clues. From the bottom of the valley of Assendon the SW. boundaries of the detached part of Watlington and of Pishill follow a branch ridgeway which runs to the summit ridge of the Chilterns where the main ridgeway of that range runs. But the By. leaves the branch ridgeway at Russell's Water Common. (OM1). It is possible that this ridge along which the branch ridgeway runs is the *Hremhrycg* of 12. But the surveyors have taken four landmarks between the S. end of the detached part of Watlington in the Assendon valley before they mention *Hremhrycg*. It is also possible that *Hremhrycg* is the summit ridge of the Chilterns at the point where the Watlington crosses it; and, if so, then the grant does not include Swyncombe. But in the survey two valleys or hollows, *Sigordene* and *Badandene* appear as landmarks. Now the SW. By. of Watlington does not traverse or pass near anything of the nature of a valley or hollow, and it would seem therefore that the *Hremhrycg* of the survey is near the top of the branch ridge on Russell's Water Common (OM1) where the S. By. of Swyncombe goes off SW. from the SW. By. of Pishill. This S. By. of Swyncombe *does*, after leaving this point pass over two hollows, of which the first, that a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. of the hamlet of Russell's Water would be the *Sigordene* of 13, and the second would be one of the three heads of the great valley which runs from here right down to Henley. These valley heads lie NNE., E., and SSE. of Park Corner. (OM1).

The landmarks up to *Badandene* are uncertain enough. Those which follow are quite indeterminable. The *Feld* of 16 may possibly be the open upland in the SW. part of Swyncombe round about Ewelme Park Farm. (OM1).

Thus, so far as can be judged from this very difficult survey, the grant included the modern parishes of Swyncombe, Watlington, Shirburn, Stonor and Pishill.¹

SANDFORD.

Sandford is about 3m. S. of Oxford.

Charter.

There are two charters of Sandford.

By K.793 King Edward grants to Godwin at the reputed date A.D. 1050 four hides 'in communi terra.'

By K.800 the same king grants the same four hides 'in communi terra' to the monastery at Abingdon at the reputed date A.D. 1054.

This expression 'in communi terra' is very puzzling; It is common land, i.e. land in common occupation in some sense or other, for it is called *gemaene land* in the titles of both of the surveys attached to the charters. No other grant in this form appears in the charters. It may be that 'common' is used in an unusual sense, and refers to hides which were the common holding of one family as distinct from that mysterious domain land. But the survey includes the whole of Sandford as a land unit. That may possibly be due to the 'common' land having abutted on all the boundaries of the land unit.

Surveys.

The surveys go back to originals of the Saxon age. The second is almost certainly a copy of the first. The variants are merely the kind of slips a copyist of the period was apt to make.

The text here given is that of the survey of K.793. Any variants in K.800 are noted in brackets.

1. *Aerest of Stibbucwere (Stubbucwere) :*

'First to the (Fish) Weir of the Small Tree-stump.'

This was where the S. By. of Sandford meets the Thames a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. below Sandford lock. (OM1).

2. *Swa north aefter thare Temese be healfan Streame (Streme) into Sandfordes Laece :*

'So following the Thames midstream to Sandford (Slow-flowing) Brook.'

¹ I have attacked the questions raised by this survey many times in the last few years, and this is the best I can make of them. It is admittedly not a very good best; and therefore it might repay some local archaeologist to make a study of it with a view to arriving at more convincing solutions of its difficulties, especially those concerned with the S. By. of the grant.

This defines the whole of the W. By. of the parish. *Sandfordes Laec(e ?)* is the stream which enters the Thames 3 fur. above the lock and forms the whole of the N. By. of the parish.

3. *Swa andlang thaere Lace into Santforda (Sandforda) :*

‘So along the Brook to Sandford (village).’

This carries the N. By. along the brook as far as the village, which is close to it.

4. *Of etc. est (east) andlang thaere Laece (Lace) up to Fernniges (Fernniges) Heafdon :*

‘From Sandford along the Brook up to the Headland of a Ploughland where Ferns grow.’

This carries the survey east along the N. By. to some point probably near Blackbird Leys Farm (OM1), where the Headland was, and where the By. left the stream. At the present day the stream runs along the E. part of the N. By. in what is obviously an artificial channel.

5. *Up thurh thone Mor east into thaere Straet :*

‘Up through the Wet Ground east to the Street (made road).’

The Wet Ground must have been N. of Sandford Brake. (OM1). The Straet is the Roman road to Dorchester which forms the E. By. of the parish, running along the E. edge of Sandford Brake. (OM1).

6. *And swa suth andlang thaere Straet into Bealdunheama (Bealdanhema) Gemaere :*

‘And so south along the Street to the Boundary of (Toot) Baldon.’

This carries the By. down the Roman road to the Baldon By. which it meets 100 yds. S. of the SE. corner of Sandford Brake. (OM1).

7. *And swa west andlang Gemaeres on suthewerde (suthewearde) Hockylle :*

‘And so west along the Boundary (or Balk) to the south side of Hook Hill.’

The name of the hill survives in a curiously corrupted form in that of the field name Hookell, the name of the field in Nuneham parish which abuts on the Sandford By. just E. of the Oxford-Henley road. The hill was evidently the rising ground N. of the Sandford By. at the point where that road crosses it.

8. *Of etc. swa west on gerithe eft on Stybbucwere (Stubucwere) :*

‘From Hook Hill straight back to the Weir of the Small Treestump.’

See landmark 1.

SHIFFORD.

Shifford is about 5m. S. by E. of Witney.

Charter.

K.714 is a copy of the foundation charter of Eynsham monastery. For general notes on it see Eynsham.

It gives a list of the properties of the monastery, among which is *Scyppforda*.

Survey.

The survey is either an original, or a copy of an original, of the Saxon age.

1. *Aerest of Temese on Ceomina Lace :*

'First from the Thames to Slow Stream.'¹

A cross reference to this stream in the Chimney survey shows that it was the brook which forms the W. end of the S. By. of Shifford, entering the Thames a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. due S. of Shifford church. (OM1).

2. *Of etc. on thone Weg :*

'From the Slow Stream to the Way.'

3. *Andlang Weges on Cynlafes Stan :*

'Along the Way to Cynlaf's Stone.'

4. *Of etc. andlang Weges on Kentwines Treow :*

'From the Stone along the Way to Kentwin's Tree.'

5. *Of etc. andlang Weges on tha Lace :*

'From the Tree along the Way to the Slow Stream.'

6. *Andlang Lace eeft on Sumerford :*

'Along the Slow Stream once more to Summer Ford.'

(Note added) : *and II weras other bufan thaere lade other beneothan :*

'And two weirs (fishtraps) one above the side channel (of the river), and the other below it.'

The parish is at the present day surrounded on its W., N. and E. sides by artificial waterdykes, and on its S. side by the Thames. But the 'ways' of the old survey are explicable.

¹ *Ceomina* is a curious and uncertain term. The only thing that is certain about it is that it is an element in the name of the neighbouring parish of Chimney. In a charter of 1069 relating to Bampton, in which a survey of Chimney is given, this stream is called *Ceoman Lace*. In an Exeter charter K.940 the actual place Chimney is called *Ceommenige*. Alexander, *Pl. N. Oxon.*, thinks *Ceommene* is a stream name. Ekwall, *English River Names*, does not appear to reckon it as such. There is no common term or personal name to which it bears any resemblance, so, *faute de mieux*, it looks as if Alexander was right.

The nature of this small parish makes it probable that, except for a certain amount of mead land near the river, the whole of it was ploughed land. These ploughlands would have grass balks running along the parish By., and these would be, as balks between ploughlands mostly were, used as tracks. Doubtless these *Weg's* of the charter were tracks along the balks on the parish By.¹ The Stone of 3 and the Tree of 4 are, not unnaturally, unidentifiable. The *Lacu* of 5 and 6 is represented now by the waterdyke which runs down the E. By. Summerford of 6 may have been where a ford is marked on the river close to the hamlet of Shifford.

The *Lad* of the appended note is obviously that side channel of the Thames which leaves the main stream just S. of the hamlet and rejoins the main Thames before it reaches the E. By. of Shifford. The weirs of the same note appear to have been at the places where the side stream leaves and rejoins the river.

SHIPTON-ON-CHERWELL.

Shipton-on-Cherwell is about 7m. N. by W. of Oxford on the Oxford-Banbury road.

Charter.

K. 714 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to Ethelmaer as representing the monastery of Eynsham, of which he was presumably abbot, lands at various places, including five

¹ These roads along the balks of ploughlands are a special feature of Saxon agriculture. Their *raison-d'être* may be easily explained. Each group of strips of ploughland, called 'furlong' in the later field-names, would contain strips belonging perhaps to as many as 20 or 30 members of the village community. It was necessary to have some means of access to the strips so that one holder need not have to pass over the land of another in order to get at his plot in the furlong. That access could be provided for by leaving a grass balk of some breadth round each group of strips, along which each owner could pass. Thus the balk became a track as well as a boundary of the furlong. The balk is the *maere* or *gemaere* of the charters; and anyone who knows the charters will know how frequent is the reference to a *maerweg*, 'way along a balk.' With the Enclosure Acts of a century or a century and a half ago these holdings in strips of arable were consolidated in such a way that a holder in the parish got in exchange for strips scattered all over it a continuous block of ploughland, so that it was not necessary for him, except in rare cases, to have some special means of access to his land provided for him. Thus the ways along the balks, and the balks themselves, tended to disappear. The ways have not entirely disappeared. Where a local road in a parish tends to turn at right angles it may be safely assumed that it has developed along a series of former balks. Many farm tracks also are survivals of old *maerweg's*. In some parishes the name 'mere,' *maere*, is still applied to such roads. But many of these old ways along the balks have disappeared as evidently in this case of Shifford.

hides at *Sceaptun*. The whole charter is either the foundation charter of Eynsham monastery, or a confirmation of it. The reputed date of it is A.D. 1005.

There can be no real question that the extant copy is either an original or the copy of an original charter of the Saxon age,—probably of the reputed date 1005.¹

Survey.

1. *Of Craswylle on Humbran :*

The *Craswylle* of the extant copy of the charter is obviously the error of a copyist who has read *Caerswylle*, 'Spring of the Watercress,' for *Cearwylle*, and the erroneous form has passed by metathesis into *Craswylle*. The mistake was a natural one if the document he was copying was blurred, for *Caerswyl* is a very common name in Saxon topographical nomenclature.

The survey starts from the Cherwell on the S. By. of the parish immediately S. of the church, and goes W. along the S. By. which in this part is a small brook, the *Humbra*. It forms the By. for more than $\frac{1}{2}$ m.²

2. *Andlang Humbran on thaet Slaed :*

'Along the Humber to the Slade.'

The Slade was on the S. By. just E. of the Banbury road, the hollow in which the Humber flows. Just W. of the road is a field called The Slade.

3. *Thanon on tha Straet :*

'Then to the Street (Made Road).'

This is the Oxford-Banbury road, a great ridgeway. (See chapter on highways.) The application of the term *straet* to it at this point shows that a section of it, possibly a very short one, had been 'made' in Roman times. This road is called *Portstraet* in the Cutslow and Whitehill (Tackley) charters.

¹ Further details of this charter will be found in the notes relating to Eynsham.

² To the average user of the modern map the name Humber will merely recall the great Yorkshire estuary. But, as a fact, *Humbra* was quite a common stream name in England. In the Saxon charters it occurs in B.112, K.49. of N. Wootton, Som. : in a Suffolk charter B.480, K.272. : and in a charter of Harwell, Berks., K.1273. Ekwall, *River Names of England*, p. 202, cites numerous other examples of the name in various counties. His suggestions as to the origin of the name are very unconvincing. It is possibly a name which, like some other stream names in England, is not attributable to a Celtic or Germanic source, but has come down from pre-Celtic times. After all if, as is notoriously the case, the Saxons borrowed stream names from a race which they to some extent exterminated, why should not the Celts have borrowed such names from a race which, according to their principles of settlement, they neither exterminated nor wished to exterminate.

4. *Of etc. on Brade Wyllon on thone Ealdan Garan :*

'From the Street to the Broad Springs to the Old Gore.'

The Springs were evidently on the S. By. about 1 fur. N. of Campsfield Farm (OM1) in Thrupp parish. The field on the By. at this point is called Spring Ground. The Old Gore, a triangular piece of ploughland, was probably at the re-entering angle of the parish By. about 400 yds. WNW. of Campsfield Farm. (OM1).

5. *Of etc. andlang thaes Wuduweges on tha Hehstraete :*

'From the Old Gore along the Wood Way to the High Street (Made Road).'

The Wood Way ran along the line of modern road which forms the W. end of the S. By. The High Street was on the line of the road which forms the S. part of the W. By. It is a branch ridgeway which leaves the main Oxford ridgeway at Sturdy's Castle Inn. (OM1). It had evidently been made in this part in Roman times.

6. *Of etc. on thone Weg the scyth to Bladene :*

'From the Street to the Way which runs to Bladon.'

The Way which runs to Bladon was obviously a track leading to Bladon near Woodstock. It is that part of the *Heah Straet* which forms the N. part of the W. By. of the parish. It left the *Heah Straet* about half way down the W. By., and went off SSW. It is still represented by a continuous line of road or track to Bladon. The *Heah Straet* on its way S. left Bladon slightly to the W. to pass over the ridge of the hill at Bladon Heath.¹

7. *Thonne andlang Weges to tham Hagan :*

'Then along the Track to the Game Enclosure.'

The survey passes along the line of road referred to above to the NW. corner of the parish where was the *Haga*. The use of this term implies that there was extensive woodland in that part in those days, though there is none now.

8. *Of etc. to Bicanbyrig :*

'From the Game Enclosure to Bica's Camp.'

The Camp has vanished. It must have been at the W. end of the N. By. it probably gave its name to an extensive stretch of open country (*feld*) from which Campsfield Farm (OM1) has derived its name.

9. *Of etc. on tha Ealdan Dic :*

'From Bica's Camp to the Old Dyke.'

The Old Dyke ran along the W. part of the N. By.

¹ See Road 3 in the chapter on highways.

10. *Of etc. on thone Weg :*

‘From the Dyke to the Track.’

The *Weg* is now represented, in so far as it is represented at all, by a bridle road which just touches the re-entering angle of the parish By. about 1 fur. W. of the Banbury road. The old track followed the By., for the By. is described in the next landmark as running along it. The modern bridle road has been artificially straightened.

11. *Andlang Weges to Withigleas Gemaero :*

‘Along the Track to the Balks at Willow Lea.’

Willow Lea was on the N. By. W. of the Banbury road. It was probably a lea of Tackley. But there seems to have been ploughland on the Shipton side of the By. The names of Weaveley Farm (OM1, in Tackley), and Weaveley Copse (OM6) on the Tackley-Shipton By. may be corrupted forms of the old name.

12. *Andlang Mores on Langan Hlaew :*

‘Along the Wet Ground to Long (Tall ?) Low (tumulus).’

The Wet Ground was on the N. By. just W. of the Banbury road. The tumulus must have stood on the N. By. within at most a few yards of the Banbury road. Its position is definitely determined by a cross reference in the charter of Whitehill in Tackley.

13. *Of etc. andlang Weges to tham Coldan (read Ealdan) Cristes-maele on Cyrwylle :*

‘From the Long Low along the Way to the Old (?) Crucifix to the Cherwell.’

The *Weg* is represented by the modern road which forms the E. part of the N. By. The Cross was probably on the hill immediately above the Cherwell.

14. *Eft on Humbran :*

‘Once more to the Humber.’

See 1. The Cherwell forms the whole of the E. By. of the parish.

Field Names.

Measured from Shipton Slade Farm (OM1) :—Campsfield, 4 fur.

SW. : Spring Ground, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. : Dirt Hill, 3 fur. SSE. :

Little Walton, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE. : Hogstye, 4 fur. SE. by E. :

The Slade, 5 fur. SE. by E. (See charter.)

From the church at Shipton (OM1) :—Pilford, 2 fur. ENE.

Probably ‘ford of the pool’ (in the Cherwell).

SHIRBURN.

Shirburn is 1m. NNE. of Watlington.
Shirburn is included in the *Read Ora* charter.

Field Names.

Measured from Shirburn Castle (OM1):—The Lee (V) 2 fur.
W. in the park : Middle Way Ground, 3 fur. SSE.

From Knightsbridge Farm (OM1):—Spear (V) Bottom, 4 fur.
NW. by W. : Knightsbridge Mead (V) Close, immed. W. :
The Linings, immed. S. : Rod Eyot (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NW. by N. :
Hampen (V) Meadow, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. : Sundridge Close, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur.
NNE. : Sundridge Meadow, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NE.

SOUTH WESTON.

South Weston is $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. by E. of Watlington.

Field Names.

The tithe award was made before the Enclosure Acts were applied to the parish, and therefore illustrates in a very interesting way the topography of an English village community at a time when a system of farming which had come down from Saxon times was still in existence.¹

Measured from the rectory (OM1):—Butts (V) shooting (V) on Orchard, 1 fur. S. : Little Well Green Furlong (V), $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by S. : Whitlington Furlong, 2 fur. S. by W. : Upper Mare (V) Furlong (V), 3 fur. SSW. : Broad Mead Furlong (V), 3 fur. WSW. : Catsbrain (V) Furlong (V), 3 fur. W. by S. : Dakleys Furlong (V), $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. : Long Danch Furlong (V), $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. by N. : Short Danch (V) Furlong (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NW. : Abingdon Way Furlong (V), 4 fur. NW. The way seems to have vanished. Long Lank (V) Furlong (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNW.

From the church (OM1):—Lampit (V) Furlong (V), $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. N. : Long Lince (V) Furlong (V), $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. N. : Saltway Furlong (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. It is known that the monastery at Worcester got its lands in this neighbourhood supplied with salt from Droitwich, though the actual line of the main saltway to this district is not known. This road was evidently that which runs to Weston from the NE. It would be a branch of the main saltway. Postcombe

¹ Amongst other tithe awards of the same nature which I have come across in the course of the examination of many hundreds of such awards are those of North Moreton, Cholsey and Stevenon in Berkshire, and Tredington near Shipston-on-Stour in Worcestershire.

Furlong (V), 3 fur. NNE. : Adwell Furlong (V), 3 fur. slightly W. of due N. : Millway Furlong (V), 2 fur. N. by W. : Long Ban (V) Furlong (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. by W.

STANDLAKE.

Standlake is about 5m. SSE. of Witney.

Field Names.

Measured from the site of the British Village (OM1) :—Alders Hedge, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. : Berry Batts, 6 fur. W. : Ram Pit Furlong (V), $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. : Catsbrain (V) Furlong, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. WNW. : Crow Cross Butts (V), $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. W. : Whittington Hill, $4\frac{3}{4}$ fur. NW. : Costall, 3 fur. NNW. : Broad Wall Furlong, 2 fur. S. by W. : Harrington, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW. : Upper Earnest, 3 fur. SSW. : Leys, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW. : Marsh Furlong, 6 fur. SW. by S.

From Manor Farm (OM1) :—Whit Ox Furlong, 2 fur. W. : Aldworth, 1 fur. W. by N.

SWYNCOMBE.

Swyncombe is 2m. S. by W. of Watlington.

It is possibly included in the *Read Ora* charter.

Field Names.

Measured from the church (OM1) :—Randlesbury Field, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. by E. : Lower Slay (V), 3 fur. N. by E. : Upper Slay (V), $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE.

From Ewelme park Farm (OM1) :—Buckridge and Well Piece, 3 fur. WSW. : Ickniel Way, 2 fur. W. : Great Ground (V), $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. ESE.

From Park Corner Farm (OM1) :—Digberry Field, $3\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. : Ware Field, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. ESE. : The Hatch (V), $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Hatch Field, 3 fur. E. by N. : Further Slab, 2 fur. NNE.

From Coates Farm (OM1) :—Eaton Field, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. : Great Latchmore, immed. NE. : French Lands, possibly land where French Grass was formerly grown, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE.

From Russell's Water (OM1) :—Piddlepits (V) Close, 2 fur. WNW. : Flitwell Close, 3 fur. SW. by S. : Appleby Close, immed. NNW.

TACKLEY.

Tackley is about 9m. N. of Oxford.

Charter.

B.709 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to St. Frideswide's monastery, Oxford, certain lands, *inter alia* three hides at *Wihthull* or *Withull* at the reputed date A.D. 1004. The question of the date of this document is very difficult to determine. The forms of words indicate that this extant document is of a date long posterior to the Conquest. The script of the document would determine the actual date at which it was written; but the question is whether the matter of the document originates at that date or whether it was copied from an earlier document. That can only be determined by the spellings of certain terms in the surveys attached to it.¹

¹ The induction is founded on a collection of between 50,000 and 60,000 examples of the spellings of certain terms common in the Saxon charters during the centuries which succeed the Conquest, i.e. from 1050 to 1550. These spellings were taken from several thousands of documents the dates of which are assured. The collection shows that certain spellings were usual in certain ages, and others in others; and the general result is that, given a sufficient number of examples in an undated document, it is possible to tell to within half a century at what date either the document or, what is more common and more important, the document on which it was founded, was drawn up. To one who deals with the Saxon charters a knowledge, which may be obtained from the script, that the extant document was written at such and such a date is of minor importance. What he wants to know whether the document contains intrinsic evidence of its having been copied from an earlier document, and if so, the date of the document from which it was copied.

The very rapid changes through which the English language passed in the centuries immediately succeeding the Conquest render it most unlikely, if not impossible, that any compiler of a document after about 1200–1250 could have successfully forged *ab initio* an Anglo-Saxon document. He might have copied it; and that this was done the Winchester charters show; but if the script was damaged, he would be certain to make mistakes, as the Winchester copyists did. He might even have translated well known and easily recognizable terms into the forms used in his own day; but, if he did so, he would probably leave others he could not transform in the forms in which he found them. In the first case a Saxon original is indicated with certainty; in the later with probability. But when all the terms are in the forms used at a certain age any assumption of a Saxon original is at least unwarranted.

On the basis of spelling the charter points clearly to its being an original, or founded on an original, of the 14th cent. (1300–1400).

The forms of words which are most decisive of the date are 'dyke,' a form which does not appear till the first half of the 14th cent., and 'heued,' which does not appear later than 1399. Of the other forms of which statistics have been taken, and of which examples occur in this document, the following spellings predominate in that 14th cent.: 'don,' 'well,' 'mor(e),' 'brok(e),' 'hull,' 'wey,' 'acre,' and, from 1350–1400, 'low.' By predominant is meant that of the various ways of spelling these respective words in the 14th cent., these forms found in this document form more than 50 per cent. of the whole. Others which are very common, supplying in the 14th century 20–50 per cent. of the instances, are: 'lond,' 'law,' 'le,' and 'brigg(e).'

There is no evidence that the document is a copy of a Saxon original.

Survey.

The survey shows that the land granted is that S. part of the parish of Tackley which lies E. of the Banbury road and S. of the Akeman Street, where two farms called White Hill exist at the present day.

1. *That is fro old Hensislade ofre the Cliff into Stony Londy Wey :*
'That is from old Slade over the Steep Slope to the Stony Way of the Ploughland.'

The survey beings on the S. By. of Tackley where that By. leaves the Cherwell about 3 fur. due W. of Bletchingdon station. (OM1). Part of the name *Hensislade* survives in that of Enslow, the hamlet at Bletchingdon station. The first part of the name is probably a personal name ; but its identity is not determinable.

The *Cliff* is the very steep bank on the W. side of the Cherwell at this point. The *Stony Wey* was on the line of a lane which runs W. from the river along the S. By. of the parish. It is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Shipton Survey.

2. *Fro the Wey into the Long Lowe :*
'From the Way to the Long Tumulus.'

The long (or tall) tumulus is also mentioned in the Shipton survey. The cross reference makes it clear that it stood close to the Banbury road on the S. By. of the parish.

3. *Fro the Lowe into the Portstrete :*
'From the Low to the Street (Made Road) leading to the town (or market ?).'

The *Portstrete* is the Oxford-Banbury road, a ridgeway. It is called by the same name in the Cutslow charter. In the Shipton charter it is called *Stract*. The *Port* is probably Oxford.

4. *From the Strete into Charewell :*
'From the Street to the Cherwell.'

It is almost certain that a landmark has been omitted after landmark 3, one referring to the Akeman Street. As this would be a *strete* it may be the case that the scribe having written that term in 3 overlooked its repetition in the next landmark, and passed on to the next but one. It is almost certain that the By. of the grant passed along the Akeman Street to the Cherwell.

5. *So aftir Strem til it shutt eft into Hensislade :*
'And so along stream till it comes again to Slade.'
The Cherwell forms the S. part of the E. By. of Tackley.

Field Names.

- Measured from the church :—Glover Leys (V), 4 fur. W. by S. :
 Whitelands, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. : Parsons Picks (V), $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. :
 Costell Ground, 3 fur. ESE. : Tacknell, 3 fur. N. by E. :
 The Lizard Ground, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. NW. by W.
- From Sturdy's Castle Inn :—Hutt Field, 2 fur. NNE. : Snakes
 Furlong (V), 2 fur. NE. : Great Redlands, 3 fur. NNE.
- From Old Mansleys Farm :—Wootton Balk, 4 fur. SW. :
 Pinks Hurdle, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NW. : Garlands Piece Furlong (V),
 4 fur. N. by W. : Grattons Ground, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N.
- From Wood Farm (OM1) :—Swilly Hole, immed. WNW. :
 Hanging Brake, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE.
- From Northbrook Bridge (OM1) :—Fieldharder, 4 fur. W. :
 Homerharder, 4 fur. W. by S. : Sweeting Tree, 4 fur.
 WSW. : Cliff End, 3 fur. W. : Bond Land, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. W. by
 N. : Handkerchief Piece, 3 fur. W. by N.
- From the crossroads in Nethercott (OM1) :—Haydes (V) Close,
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. by N. : Dean Furlong, 1 fur. N. by E. : Short
 Broads, 2 fur. N. by E. : Long Blechmore, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE. :
 Dibdane Furlong, 2 fur. E. by N. : Allgrove, 3 fur. ESE. :
 Ashwell Hill, 4 fur. ESE. : Ashwell Slade, 5 fur. ESE. :
 Further Lints Brake, 5 fur. SE. : Winter Furlong, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fur.
 SSE. : King's Weir Furlong, 6 fur. SE.
- From the NE. corner of Tackley Wood (OM1) :—Beechtree
 Butts (V), 4 fur. W. : Milestone Furlong, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. by S. :
 Long Down, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Lower Brockley, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. :
 Upper Brockley, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. : Sixty Low, 3 fur. ESE. :
 Rousham Hedge, 4 fur. E. by N. : Hybrink Spring, $4\frac{1}{2}$
 fur. E. by N. : Long Mallewell, $6\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. : The Lasmoor,
 $5\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E. : Turfham, 7 fur. slightly S. of E. : The Ham
 (V), $8\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by S.
- The name Mearways, *Maerweg*, 'road running along the balk
 of a ploughland,' is common in the parish.
- When the Tithe Award was made the open field system was
 existent in the E. part of the parish.

TADMARTON.

Tadmarton is about 4m. SW. of Banbury.

Charters.

There are four charters of Tadmarton which present difficulties which are greater than those which usually confront the would-be solver of the questions which the average Saxon charter presents.

It will be well, before attempting to deal with those difficulties, to give those features of their text on which any discussion must be based.

First Charter.

B.964, K.1195, is a charter whereby King Edwy grants to the thegn Byrhtnoth ten hides of land at *Tademertun* at the reputed date A.D. 956.

Survey.

1. *Aerest of Coppan* (read *Eowan*)¹ *Wyllan Broc* :
'First from the Brook of the Yewtree² Spring.'
2. *Thonne on*³ *tha Blacan Wyllan* :
'Then to the Black Spring.'
3. *Th'* etc. *on thone Heafod Aecer* :
'Then from the Black Spring to the Strip on the Headland of a Ploughland.'
4. *Of* etc. *andlang Gemaeres on Hesel Burh middewearde* :
'From the Strip of Ploughland to the middle (of the side) of the Camp of the Hazeltrees.'
5. *Of* etc. *on Haesl Ford* :
'From the Camp of the Hazeltrees to the Ford of the Hazeltrees.'
6. *Andlang streames on thone Ealdan Ford* :
'Along stream to the Old Ford.'
7. *Of* etc. *a be Gemaere th' on tha Straet* :
'From the Ford always by the Boundary (Balk) to the Made Road.'
8. *Of* etc. *on thone Laeg Acer* :
'From the Made Road to the Strip of Ploughland.'
9. *Of* etc. *a be Maere th' on thone Hrigc Weg* :
'From the Strip of Ploughland always by the Boundary (Balk) to the Ridgeway.'

¹ The reading is taken from the text of the third of the four charters in which there is a reference to the same brook under the name as here amended.

² I give here what may be called the ordinary interpretation of the word *cow*. At the same time I have the strong suspicion that in this name and in the old form of the name of Evenlode near Moreton-in-the-Marsh, which I believe to be *Eowangelad*, the *cow* is a west midland form of *ea*, 'river,' which appears in the SW. counties in the forms *yo* or *yeo*. As the suspicion is not capable of proof, it may be groundless.

³ Birch omits *on* from his text, but inserts it in a note as a MS. reading. The 'on' reading is unquestionably correct. Birch has a habit of preferring inferior readings of MSS. of the charters.

10. *Of etc. be Gemaere th' on tha Ealdan Dic :*
'From the Ridgeway by the Boundary (Balk) to the Old Dyke.'
11. *Andlang Dices on Lang Dices Brigce :*
'Along the Dyke to the Bridge of the Long (sic) Dyke.'¹
12. *Of etc. on gean stream th' on Gres* (read *Caers*)² *Wyllan Broc :*
'From the Bridge up stream to the Brook of the Watercress Spring.'
13. *Of etc. on Fule Wyllan :*
'From the Brook to Foul Spring.'
14. *Of etc. be Gemaere on Searpannesse :*
'From the Spring by the Boundary (Balk) to Sharp Ridge End.'
15. *A be Gemaere th' on thone Steort :*
'Always by the Boundary (Balk) to the Tongue of Land.'
16. *Of etc. on tha Straet :*
'From the Tongue of Land to the Made Road.'
17. *Andlang Streate on Hunburghe Leagh :*
'Along the Made Road to Hunburh's Lea.'
18. *Of etc. th' eft on Eoppan*³ (read *Eowan*) *Wyllan Broc :*
'From the Lea to the Brook of Yewtree (?) Spring.'

Second Charter.

B.965, K.453 is a charter whereby King Edwy grants to the thegn Brihtric five hides of land at *Tademaertun* at the reputed date A.D. 956.

Survey.

1. *Aerest of Eadwardes Mylne th' on tha Ealdan Dic :*
'First from Edward's Mill to the Old Dyke.'
2. *Of etc. on Maer Broc :*
'From the Dyke to Boundary Brook.'

¹ I have given, and translated, Birch's reading, which is obviously wrong, the copyist having evidently written *andlang Dices* twice by mistake. Birch notes another MS. reading *on Landgares Brigce*; but *Landgar* is not a known term, and is not recorded as a proper name. My impression is that the copyist's mistake has consisted in the insertion of a second *lang*, and that the landmark (translated) was 'Along the Dyke to the Bridge over the Dyke.'

² *Caers* is another example of a MS. reading which Birch has rejected for a reading of inferior trustworthiness.

³ The *Eoppan* of this landmark suggests how the mistake noted in reference to landmark 1 arose. In copying that landmark the scribe mistook an E. for a C., and in both a W in Saxon script for a PP.

3. *Of etc. on th' Eastre Sic :*

'From the Boundary Brook to the More Easterly Water-course.'

4. *Of etc. on Maer Stan :*

'From the Watercourse to the Boundary Stone.'

5. *Of etc. on thane Ealdan Garan :*

'From the Boundary Stone to the Old Gore (triangular piece of ploughland).'

6. *Of etc. a be Heafdan th' on thone Broc :*

'From the Gore always by the Headland of a Ploughland to the Brook.'

7. *Of etc. ongean stream th' on th' Riscbed :*

'From the Brook up stream to the Bed of Rushes.'

8. *Of etc. th' on thone Weg :*

'From the Bed of Rushes to the Track.'

9. *Th' suth andlang Weges th' on th' Slaed :*

'Then south along the Track to the Slade (valley hollow).'

10. *Of etc. up on tha Ecge :*

'From the Slade up to the Ridge Edge.'

11. *Th' andlang Ecge on Heort Wyllan :*

'Then along the Ridge Edge to the Spring of the Deer.'

12. *Of etc. on tha Ealdan Styge :*

'From the Spring of the Deer to the Uphill Path.'

13. *Th' andlang Styge on thone Maer Pyt :*

'Then along the Uphill Path to the Pit on the Boundary.'

14. *Of etc. on Wilbaldes Ecge :*

'From the Pit to Wilbald's Ridge Edge.'

15. *Of etc. th' eft on Eadwardes Mylne :*

'From Wilbald's Ridge Edge once more to Edward's Mill.'

Third Charter.

B.966, K.448 is a charter whereby King Edwy grants to the 'princeps' Beorhtnoth five hides of land at *Tadmertun* at the reputed date A.D. 956.

Survey.

1. *Aerest on Halkford* (read *Eald Ford* ?) :

'First to the Ford of the Hollow (or Old Ford ?).'

2. *Th' andlang Wo Burnan :*

'Then along the Twisting (Crooked) Bourne.'

3. *Th' on Eowanwelles Stream :*
'Then to the Stream of the Yew (?) Spring.'
4. *Th' up ongean stream on Sandford :*
'Then up against stream to Sand Ford.'
5. *Of etc. a be Genaere th' on tha Heaford Stoccas :*
'From Sand Ford always by the Boundary (Balk) to the Stakes at the Headland of a Ploughland.'
6. *Of etc. on thone Maer Stan :*
'From the Stakes to the Boundary Stone.'
7. *Of etc. a be Gemaere th' on Landgares¹ Bricge :*
'From the Stone always by the Boundary (Balk) to
. . . . Bridge.'

Fourth Charter.

B.967, K.442 is a charter whereby King Edwy grants to the Abbey at Abingdon twenty hides at *Tadmaerton* at the reputed date A.D. 956.

Surveys.

There are three surveys attached to the charter, copies of the three surveys of the three previous charters. Thus it would be superfluous to print them.

The surveys of the first three charters are at least copies of surveys of the Saxon age, even if the extant copies of them do not go back to that period.

The surveys of the last charter are difficult to date. They are, as has been said, copies of the earlier surveys, but certain peculiar spellings in them, e.g. *gemaerrees* for *gemaeres*, *hidyn* for *hidan*, suggest that they were made in post-Conquest times by a scribe who was copying as conscientiously as he could documents in a language he only half understood.

The first general question with regard to these charters is that of their reputed date. The date of all four is given as 956. If this is to be accepted, then the king in one and the same year granted these lands to private individuals, and then, after at most a few months, transferred them to the abbey at Abingdon. It is certain that the lands came eventually into the possession of that abbey.

The 20 hides grant of the fourth charter is obviously formed by the sum of the hidage of the preceding grants,—10 plus 5

¹ This may be the bridge of landmark 11 of the first charter. But as there is not any personal name Landgar known, and as there is no common term with which it may be associated, it is impossible to emend what is almost certainly an error in the text.

plus 5 ; and it follows from that that those three grants are of three separate parcels of the land now within the parish of Tadmarton.¹ That means that some of their bounds do not coincide with the bounds of the modern parish. That they did survive in the form of the bounds of tithings of the parish is probable ; but no extant document relating to those divisions of the parish appears to survive.

¹ The problem presented by these four grants at Tadmarton is puzzling.

In this year 956 King Edwy grants three separate parcels of land at Tadmarton to three individuals, and then, according to B.967, K.442 *in the same year*, grants these three parcels *en bloc* to the abbey of Abingdon. Had they been transferred to the abbey by the previous grantees then the process followed would have been that found elsewhere in the charters where, for some reason which cannot be positively explained, a grant is made to an individual who forthwith passes it on to some religious foundation. But here the final grant is made by the king.

The grant of B.964 is made '*cum consensu meorum sapientium archontumque*,' which means presumably the witan. In B.965 there is no reference to anything which can be identified with the witan, but the list of witnesses to the document is identical with that of B.964. In B.966 there is also no reference to consent of the witan, but the list of witnesses is larger, and does not correspond with the lists of B.964 and 965. This implies that the grants of B.964 and 965 were made at one and the same time, but that of B.966 on a different occasion.

In B. 967, the grant to Abingdon, there is again no reference to the witan ; but the extraordinary feature of it is that the list of witnesses is the same as in B.964 and 965, and the variety of expressions, '*impressi*,' '*confirmavi*,' etc., are identical in the case of each witness.

The first question is whether the reputed dates of these documents are trustworthy. Of B.964, 965 and 966 it may be said that there is reason to suppose that the dates attached to them are genuine.

The year 956 is remarkable for the number of grants made in it. Birch prints 1354 copies of charters the dates of which are spread roughly speaking over about four centuries. Some of these are duplicates, and a large number have nothing to do with grants of land. Yet of this collection no less than 57 charters recording grants of land belong to this one year. Of these 57, 11 are grants to religious houses, 29 to thegns, and 17 to other private individuals, some of whom may be thegns. The most noticeable feature of the grants of this year is the number made to thegns. There is therefore little reason to suspect the reputed dates of the charters B.964, 965 and 966.

The statistics of the grants recorded to thegns are interesting because significant of the circumstances of the times :

Date.	No. of grants.
Up to 867.	0
868-921	8
925-939	14
940-949	48
950-955	10
956	29
957-959	22
960-969	30
970-975	6
After 975	0

Speaking generally B.964 relates to a land unit of which Tadmarton was the village centre, and B.966 to one of which the village centre was Lower Tadmarton. That means that the former seems to have included the N. part of the parish, and the latter the E. part. If so, then B.965 must refer to the S. and SW. parts of the modern parish.

When it comes to a question of determining the individual landmarks of these charters, certainty is only attainable in the case of a few of them, probability in the case of a few more, and, as far as the rest are concerned, possibility so remote that it is not worth while printing such guesses as might be made with regard to their identity.

The survey of B.964, being one of a grant of 10 hides, should include something like half the area of the parish which was, as B.967 shows, 20 hides. But this estimate can only be approximate, because the acreage per hide in the upland area of the SW. part of the parish would certainly be larger than in the lowland of the N. part.

The first few landmarks are determinable with certainty.

Footnote continued.

It may be said incidentally that it may safely be assumed that, even in cases where the fact is not expressly asserted or traceable, the lands which are the subjects of these grants to thegns came eventually into the possession of religious houses, for it is only in the cartularies of those houses that they would have survived. It is also the case that the extant records show that many of the lands granted to thegns had previously been granted to religious houses.

To return to B.967, which professes to record the grant of the three parcels of land at Tadmarton to Abingdon in the same year in which they had been granted to three individuals.

It is, to say the least of it, most unlikely that exactly the same witnesses should have been present both when the earlier grants B.964 and 965 were made and also when this later grant, B.967, was drawn up. Nor is it likely that the earlier grants B.964 and 965 were made and *on the same occasion* annulled by the re-grant recorded in B.967, all the more so as B.967 includes the land granted by B.966, to which document the list of witnesses is not the same as the identical lists of B.964, 965 and 967.

It seems fairly certain that B.967 does not really date from the year 956, in other words that that date is a forgery. It further seems that, as far as the surveys and the lists of witnesses are concerned B.967 was copied from B.964 and 965, and to these were added (a) the survey of B.966, (b) a new assignment of the lands to Abingdon. Though the date may be a forgery the fact that Tadmarton was granted to Abingdon by someone, whether King Edwy or another, is probably genuine. It is also probable that the monks of Abingdon tried to strengthen their title by antedating the grant, —why, it is not possible to suggest.

It has already been pointed out that the survey of B.967 does contain certain forms of words which can only have been written by a copyist of a date much later than 956.

Landmark 1, *Coppan* (really *Eowan*), *Wyllan Broc* is, as comparison with landmark 3 of B.966 shows, the brook which forms the W. part of the N. By. of the parish, and the starting point of the survey is the NW. angle of the parish By., about a furlong SW. of Lower Lea Farm. (OM1). The *Blaec Wyl* of 2 is a spring which rises at that angle in the N. By. which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ENE. of the same farm. The *Heafod Aecer* of 3 was on the N. By. at an angle in it between the Black Spring and the road running N. to Shutford. The *Haesel Burh* of 4 was undoubtedly the camp (OM1) on the N. By. immediately E. of the Shutford road. The wording of the survey implies that the By. passed through the camp, and that is what the modern N. By. of Tadmarton does.

Haesel Ford survives in the name of Hazelford Mill (OM6) where the N. By. meets the large brook at the NE. corner of the parish.

The position of the *Eald Ford* is uncertain; but it was probably at the Fulling Mill (OM6) on the stream above-mentioned, and about 5 furlongs WNW. of Broughton Castle. (OM1).

If, as seems to be the case, B.966 is a survey of the bounds of a land unit of Lower Tadmarton, then the present survey must take a line between the villages of Tadmarton and Lower Tadmarton. As is, and must always be, the case with an old By. running along a line not marked by any modern By., the determination of individual landmarks can be little more than tentative. Landmark 12, the *Eald Dic*, and 13, the bridge called either *Dices Bricg* or *Landgares Bricg*, occur in the survey of B.966, and are therefore on the common By. of the two grants. As regards these the most probable conjecture is that the *Dic* is now represented by the mill stream at Lower Tadmarton, and that the By. met it just at the W. edge of Lower Tadmarton, and then went up it to the bridge, which must have been further W.

If this be so, then landmarks 7-11, the *Straet* (*sic*), the *Laeg Aecer*, and the *Hricgweg* must have been somewhere on a line between the Fulling Mill (OM6) and the W. edge of Lower Tadmarton. (9 and 11 merely show that the By. is passing along the balks of ploughlands.)

The identity of the Ridgeway is fairly certain. It ran more or less along the line of the farm road which runs E. along the comb of a ridge, leaving the Shutford road about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Lower Tadmarton. It is also fairly certain that the '*Straet*' of the text is a copyist's error for '*Steort*.' There is neither

any road nor possible line of road except the ridgeway in this angle of the parish whereas the land NE. of Lower Tadmarton which lies between two streams is just what the Saxons called a *steort*. The *Laeg Aecer* was certainly a strip of ploughland ; but its position is not, naturally, determinable.

14 takes the By. up stream, i.e. up *Eowan Wylls Broc* from Lower Tadmarton. The *Caerswyllan Broc* of 15 would seem to be the brook which enters *Eowan Wyllan Broc* from the S. about 3 fur. W. of Lower Tadmarton.

19, the *Stræet*, is the next identifiable landmark. This was almost certainly the great Cotswold ridgeway. From Wigginton Heath (OM1) the modern line of the ridgeway runs NNW. ; but the old ridgeway would keep strictly to the watershed which runs from Wigginton Heath N. along the W. By. of Tadmarton parish for the best part of $\frac{3}{4}$ m. The By. of the survey must have met it about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of the tumuli (OM1) which stand close to that W. By. about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Wigginton Heath. (OM1).

It is noticeable that 16 does not take the By. *along* the *Caerswyllan Broc* but *from* it to the Foul Spring, or Stream. That stream is possibly the northernmost of the streams which form the headwaters of the brook, the one which comes down the hollow $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NE. of Ushercombe Barn. (OM6). The Sharp Ness of 17 would be the ridge end S. of this stream and E. of the barn, and the *Steort* of 18 the land S. of this between two head streams of the *Caerswyllan Broc*.

Hunburge Leah of 20 was in the NW. angle of the parish, and evidently extended N. into East Shutford parish where Upper and Lower Lea Farms (OM1) are names reminiscent of its existence.

The survey of B.966.

That the Halhford of 1 is the *Eald Ford* of 6 of B.964 seems almost certain. The *Halh-* is therefore a copyist's error. This is indicated by its being on the *Woh Burna* which the next two landmarks clearly show to have been the stream on which Hazelford Mill (OM6) and the Fulling Mill (OM6) stand, and over which the Old Ford ran. At the Old Ford the By. of B.964 turned S. from the present By. of the parish. Thus the *Woh Burna* of 2 is now Sor Brook (OM1), which forms the NE. By. of the parish and runs along the S. edge of the grounds of Broughton Castle. (OM1). The previous charter has clearly shown that *Eowan Wylls Broc* of 3 is the large brook which runs through the villages of Tadmarton and Lower Tadmarton and finally forms part of the E. By. of the parish.

It is this last section of it to which landmark 3 refers. Sandford of 4 was of course on this brook, and was presumably where the By. left it at a point about 5 fur. N. by E. of the house called The Highlands. (OM1). Landmarks 5 and 6, the Headstocks and the Boundary Stone, are not determinable. The former may have been at the SE. angle of the parish about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. of The Highlands (OM1), and the latter, which is also a landmark of B.966, must have been somewhere S. of Lower Tadmarton village. It has already been suggested that the bridge of 7 was on the brook to the W. of Lower Tadmarton.

It is noticeable that the survey is incomplete, i.e. is not brought back to its starting point. This is doubtless due to the extant copy of the charter having been one made at Abingdon, which monastery had of course the survey of B.964, a survey which defined the rest of the By. of B.966. Similar omissions under similar circumstances are found in the Wiltshire charters of Burbeck and Broad Chalke.

Survey of B.965.

It has been already said that this grant was in the S. and SW. parts of the parish. That seems a trustworthy conclusion. But, though the first five landmarks may be approximately determined, after that the survey, though it must presumably follow largely the present S. By. and the S. part of the W. By. of the parish, is not traceable.

The *Eald Dic* of 2 is no doubt that of B.964, i.e. the mill stream W. of Lower Tadmarton. That being so, Edward's Mill of 1 was probably up the stream where *Caerswyllan Broc* enters it a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Lower Tadmarton. The *Maer Broc* of 3 would appear to be the brook which enters the *Eowan Wylls Broc* from the S. at Lower Tadmarton village, and the More Easterly Watercourse of 4 the small stream which enters the *Maer Broc* from the E. about a furlong S. of the village. Also the *Maer Stan* of 5 is no doubt that of 6 of B.966, and, as has been said, it seems to have stood somewhere S. of the village. It may have stood where the S. By. of the parish makes a double bend $\frac{1}{2}$ m. SW. of The Highlands. (OM1). After this the course of the By. becomes so highly conjectural that the only excuse for attempting to define it here is that what is said may help some future inquirer who may get into his hands evidence not apparently attainable at the present time to give an accurate definition of the bounds of the grant.

The Headland of 7 may have been at the more northerly of the bends in the By. referred to in relation to the last landmark.

If the preceding identifications are correct, then the *Broc* of 8 can only be the stream which rises at a spring (OM6) marked on the S. By. slightly E. of due S. of Lower Tadmarton. The By. goes up this stream as defined in 9 and the Rushbed of 10 would be at the head of the stream. It is possible that there is an error in the orientation of 12; but, whether that be the case or not, it is not possible to identify the last six landmarks of the survey.

WHITCHURCH.

Whitchurch is about 5½m. WNW. of Reading.

Charter.

K.1307 is a charter whereby King Ethelred grants to Leofric ten hides 'in villa quae famose a ruricolis *Hwityrce* dicitur in provincia Oxnafordnensi sita juxta ripam fluminis *Tamesis*,' at the reputed date A.D. 1012.

Survey.

The survey presents such difficulties with regard to the determination of its landmarks that, were not the locality of the grant so clearly defined in the body of the charter, it might be suspected that it dealt with some other than the Oxfordshire Whitchurch.

That it is at least founded on a survey of the Saxon age is certain.

1. *Primitus of Blecces Forda on Temese* :
'First from Blecc's Ford to (?) the Thames.'
2. *Andlang Gemaere on thaet Suthre Staeth* :
'Along the Boundary (Balk ?) to the More Southerly Landing-Place.'
3. *Of etc. andlang Gemaere on Ceacca Wylles* (read *Waeles*) *Heafde* :
'From the More Southerly Landing-Place to the Head of the Spring of the (Pitchers ?).'
4. *Of etc. andlang Gemaere on Beamster Mere* :
'From the Head of the Reach of the (Pitchers ?) along the Boundary (Balk ?) to (Tree . . . ? ? ?) Pond.'
5. *Of etc. andlang Gemaere on Headdan Stigle* :
'From the (Tree . . . ? ? ?) Pond to (Headda's ?) Stile.'
6. *Of etc. andlang Gemaere on Leofrune Gemaere* :
'From (Haedda's ?) Stile along the Boundary (Balk ?) to Leofrun's Boundary.'

7. *Of etc. andlang Gemaere eft on Bleccan Ford :*

The first peculiarity, and difficulty, presented by this survey is the repetition of *andlang Gemaere* in six out of its seven landmarks. The analogy of numberless other surveys would make this imply that the boundary, other than the Thames, passed along a continuous series of balks of ploughlands. There is no *absolute* reason why that should not have been the case ; but the thing is, to say the least of it, improbable.

Landmark 1 presents the next difficulty. *On*, on the analogy of other surveys, should mean 'to.' If so, then the Ford was not on the Thames. But it is almost certain that it was.

The next difficulty is with regard to landmark 2. In 1 the By. has reached the Thames. Yet in 2 it passes along a Balk to a landing-place which cannot have been anywhere but on that river. There is however the possibility that the reference may be to the By. running round a small detached part of the parish S. of the Thames about $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. below Whitchurch Bridge ; and in that case *gemaere* is used in the sense of the general By. of the grant.

It will be seen that any elucidation of the landmarks of the charter can be no more than tentative.

1. It is fairly certain that the survey begins at the SE. angle of the parish By., or near it. It probably begins at it, as there is no stream on the parish By. other than the Thames over which there could be a ford even in the wide Saxon use of that term. It is therefore to be suspected that 1 implies a ford on the Thames at the SE. corner of the parish, about 3 fur. ESE. of Hardwick House. (OM1). It is to be suspected that a scribe has written *on* where he should have written *andlang*.

2. If the *andlang Gemaere* of this landmark is right, then it would seem that it can only refer to the parish By. passing round that detached piece of the parish S. of the river to which reference has been already made ; and the 'More Southerly Landing-Place' should, if the surveyors had been as precise as other Saxon surveyors, have been where the By. of this detached piece comes back to the river just 3 fur. below Whitchurch Bridge. But it may have been where Whitchurch Bridge now stands.

3. In the charter of Basildon (B.100 K.45) on the opposite side of the Thames the first landmark of its survey is *Caeccam Wael*, 'Caecca's Pool,' which was a pool or Reach in the Thames where the E. By. of Basildon abuts on that river.

It is highly probable that this *Caecca* is the *Ceacca* of the Whitchurch survey.

The application of *wael* to a part of a river in this charter is a unique use of the term as far as the Saxon charters are concerned; and the local circumstances suggest that 'reach' would be the right translation of it, and that it was applied to either a peculiarly deep or peculiarly placid stretch of the Thames extending from the E. By. of Basildon to the N. By. of Whitchurch, i.e. for the best part of a mile.

That the *wael* of the Basildon charter is correct may be assumed because there is no spring or stream (*wyl*) at that part of its By. to which references could be made.

That the *wyl* of the Whitchurch charter is an error may be assumed because there is no stream or spring at the W. end of the N. By. of Whitchurch to which it could apply. It is almost certain that it is a mistake for *wael*.

Thus the 'head of *Caecca's Wael*' would be where the N. By. of Whitchurch leaves the Thames at the S. end of Hartslock Wood. (OM6). Just above this point are certain eyots which might be taken to form the head of this reach of the river.

Landmarks 4 and 5 are indeterminable, unless the Pond of 4 is represented at the present day by Tinepit Pond near where the road from Cray's Pond (OM1) crosses the N. By.

Leofrune Gemaere may be the Mapledurham By. There were two abbesses of that name, one, as is supposed, in the tenth century, who was an abbess of Reading, and another who was living in 992 and was head of some Berkshire religious foundation.

Field Names.

From the crossroads at Whitchurch Gate (OM1):—Hitch, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. W. by S. : The Gravels, 2 fur. SSW. : Great Hitch, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. S. by W. : Great Ground (V), $1\frac{1}{4}$ fur. S. by E. : Little Hitch, 2 fur. S. by E. : Picked (V) Ground, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Long Ground, 3 fur. E. by N.

From Bozedown House (OM1):—The Linches (V), $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SW. : Great Binditch, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fur. ENE. : Great Hammersley, 2 fur. E. by S.

From Path Hill (OM1):—Bozedeane Field, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SW. : Moorend (V), $6\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW. : Beck Tithes, 4 fur. S. by W.¹ : Beck Tithes, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. SSW. : Blackmore Field, 2 fur. NW. by W. : Well Ground, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNW. : Whiteleaf, 3 fur. N. by E. : Redleaf, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N.

¹ Possibly a reference to the Abbey of Bee, which held the tithes.

From Hardwick House (OM1) :—Gathams, 2 fur. W. by N. : Keeps Hill, 2 fur. NW. : Vetch Close, 3 fur. N. by E. : Maypole Ground, 2 fur. NNE. : Warren Hill, immed. ENE. : Culmoor Field, $1\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E. by S. : Great Mead, 2 fur. SE. : Little Mead, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SE. by E.

WITNEY.

Witney is on the Windrush in West Oxfordshire.

Charters.

B.1230, K.556 is a charter whereby King Edgar grants thirty hides *aet Wyttannige (aet Witanigae)* to the thegn Aelfhelm at the reputed date A.D. 969.

Survey.

The survey does not appear to be the original survey of the grant because some of the mistakes in it would not be likely to be made by a Saxon scribe ; but it is undoubtedly a copy founded either directly or indirectly on a survey of the Saxon age. It shows that the grant includes Curbridge, Crawley, and Hailey as well as Witney.

1. *Aerest of Hafoces Hlewe on Wenrisc on tha Withig Rewe on Hnut Clyf :*

‘First from Hawk’s Low (tumulus) to the Windrush to the Row of Willowtrees to Nut (Tree) Cliff (steep slope).’

Hafoces Hlaew is a landmark of the other Witney charter. It is the tumulus (OM1) which stands close to the Windrush at the northernmost point of Curbridge parish 3 fur. WNW. of New Mill. (OM1). The field to the S. of it is called Hawksley.

The survey passes NW. up the Crawley By. Therefore *Hnut Clyf* is the steep slope between the tumulus and the Windrush.

2. *Of etc. on Hean Leage :*

‘From the Cliff to High Lea.’

The name of the Lea survives in the field name Henley Knap Copse which is on the W. By. of Crawley just S. of where the Akeman Street crosses that By.

3. *Th’ on Lungan (read Longan) Leage Weg :*

‘Then to Long Lea Way.’

This was on the line of the road which forms part of the W. By. of Crawley, for about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of the Roman road, and then turns NW.

4. *Andlang Weges thonne on Swon Leage* (read *Spon Leage*) :¹
 'Along the Way then to Plank² Lea.'

The name of the Lea survives in that of Spoonley Copse, a wood which stood formerly on the By. about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. WNW. of Chasewood Farm. (OM1).

5. *Thonne on Swon* (read *Spon*) *Weg* :
 'Then to Plank Way.'

This was the road which forms the N. part of the W. By.

6. *Andlang Weges th' hit sticath on northe weardum Cynges Steorte* :

'Along the Way till it ascends north of the King's Tongue of land.'

It is possible that this is the sharp pointed angle at the N. end of the parish.

7. *Thanon on Suga* (? *Sucgan*) *Rode* :

'Then to Hedgesparrows' Ride (through a wood).'

This is now represented by the line of road which forms the whole of the N. By. of Crawley parish. It also forms the W. part of the N. By. of Hailey. The modern road is quite straight, but it follows no doubt the general line of the old track.

8. *Andlang Rode on Huntene Weg* :

'Along the 'Ride' to Hunters' Way.'

The road from Delly end to Wilcote, which forms part of the E. part of the N. By. of Wilcote is on the line of this old road.

The name of the road may be due to its having been in Wychwood Forest.

9. *Andlang Weges th' hit sticath aet (on ?) Wicham* :

'Along the Way until it ascends at (to ?) the House of the Dairy Farm.'

The wording of the landmark implies that the *Wic-ham* was where the Hailey N. By. leaves the line of road $\frac{3}{4}$ m. SW. of Wilcote village.

The determination of the next few landmarks is so conjectural that not much reliance can be placed on it.

10. *Thanon a be Wyrtwalee on Oflling Aecer* :

'Then always by the Hillfoot to the Strip of Ploughland of the Oflling Family.'

¹ Apart from the survival of the name in the form Spoonley, *Swon* has no meaning which can be attached to a lea.

² The plank may have been a plank bridge over the small stream which runs down the By.

From the previous landmark the By. runs up the foot of a side slope of a valley which may be the *Wyrtwale* mentioned. The *Aecer* would be at that angle of the parish By. which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. SE. of the village of Ramsden.

11. *Thonon on Ealdan Weg :*

‘Then to the Old Track.’

This may be represented at the present day by the footpath which runs down SSE. a furlong E. of the house called The Hayes. (OM1).

12. *Andlang Weges on Cycgan Stan :*

‘Along the Way to Cycga’s Stone.’

This may have been at the angle in the parish By. a long $\frac{1}{4}$ m. WSW. of Wilcote village.

13. *Of etc. on thane Grenan Weg :*

‘From the Stone to the Green Way.’

This seems to be represented by the track which at the present day runs down the N. part of the E. By. of Hailey along the W. edge of Holly Grove (OM6) past Shakenoak Farm (OM1) to an angle in the parish By. about 1 fur. SSE. of the farm.

14. *Andlang Weges thonne on Yccenes Feld :*

‘Along the Way then to (Yccen’s ?) Open Land.’¹

This *Feld* may have been the land lying SW. of Shakenoak Farm. (OM1).

15. *Of etc. on tha Hege Rewe :*

‘From (Yccen’s ?) Open Land to the Row of Trees (Shelter Belt).’

16. *Andlang etc. on Met Sinc :*

‘Along the Row of Trees to’

15 is indeterminable ; and 16 both indeterminable and untranslatable.

17. *Andlang Met Sinces on Ecgerdes Hel ufeweardne :*

‘Along to Ecgerd’s Hollow on its upper side.’

The Hollow may be that a short $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of the westernmost angle of Cogges Wood. (OM6). The Hailey By. does pass it on its upper side.

¹ *Feld* in the charters and -field in modern place names are somewhat technical terms meaning open spaces on the fringe of forest land where the timber is beginning to thin out. This was presumably on the fringe of Wychwood Forest.

18. *Aefter Wyrtwalan on Wenric :*

The Wyrtwala may be the foot of the slope along which the Witney By. runs just NW. of Newland. (OM1). The reference to the Windrush is to that point on the river where the W. By. of Witney meets it.

19. *Andlang Wenricces on Fulan Yge eastewardne :*

‘Along the Windrush to Miry Island on its east side.’

This takes the survey down the Windrush for about a furlong to an eyot now called Langel Common (OM6) about $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. due. E. of the N. end of the market place. As described in the survey the By. passes E. of the eyot.

20. *Thonon aefter Gemaere on Tidreding Ford :*

‘Then, after passing along a Balk to Tidreding Ford.’

21. *Thanon on Occan Slaew :*

‘Then to Occa’s’¹

22. *Thanon on Wittan Mor suthewearthne :*

‘Then to the south side of Witta’s Swampy Ground.’

(Witta is evidently identical with the Witta of *Wittanig*, Witney.)

23. *Thonon on Colwullan Broc :*

‘Then to the Brook of the Spring (at the place) where Charcoal is made.’

This brings the survey to a landmark of the Ducklington charter, the brook, still called Colwell Brook (OM6), which runs SE. about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. E. of Curbridge village, and, when it abuts on the Ducklington By., turns ENE. and forms part of the N. By. of that parish for nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ m.

The landmarks 20–22 must therefore be on the By. of that projecting part of Curbridge parish which runs down SE. between the two channels of the Windrush as far as Ducklington village.

The *Gemaere* of 20 is not identifiable. The Ford of the same landmark must have been on the Windrush not far below *Ful Ig*, though its actual site is not now identifiable.

¹ *Slaew* means ‘slow,’ ‘sluggish,’ and may of course be applied to a stream. It is also the origin of a river name in Hants, not mentioned in Ekwall’s *River Names of England*. It may be the name of one of the backwaters of the Windrush; but perhaps it is more probable that some modern copyist has read a Saxon ‘w’ for a Saxon ‘p,’ the letters having been much alike, and thus the word ought to be *Slaep*, which is the second element in the Place-name Islip in Oxon, and means a slippery place on a road just as it descends to a river.

It may be strongly suspected that the *Occan Slaep* (*sic*) was on that E. branch of the Windrush which forms the E. By. of the projecting part of Curbridge. *Wittan Moor* is almost certainly the wet land between the two branches of the Windrush, which lies, generally speaking, N. of Ducklington village. The By. passes S. of it, as described in landmark 22.

24. *Of etc. on tha Ealdan Dic :*

‘From the Brook to the Old Dyke.’

The Dyke must have run along the SE. By. of Curbridge to the N. of Coursehill Farm. (OM1).

25. *Of etc. on Fugel Sled :*

‘From the Dyke to Bird Slade.’

This is a landmark of the Ducklington charter. It was probably the hollow about 1 fur. N. of the SE. angle of Curbridge parish through which the stream which comes down from Curbridge village runs.

26. *Of etc. on tha Stan Bricge :*

‘From the Slade to the Stone Bridge.’

This was probably on the site of the *Stanforda* of the Ducklington charter, i.e. at the SE. angle of the Curbridge By. where it leaves the By. of Ducklington $\frac{1}{2}$ m. WSW. of Coursehill Farm. (OM1). It must be supposed that the bridge had been built in the eleven years which intervened between the reputed dates of the two charters.

27. *Aefter Broce on thane Ealdan Weg :*

‘After the Brook to the Old Way.’

28. *Of etc. on Horninga Maere :*

‘From the Way to the Boundary (Balk ?) of the Hornings.’

29. *Thanon on Waeredan Hlinc sutheweardne :*

‘Then to the ‘Weired’ Lynch on its south side.’

(Probably a lynch the lower side of which was supported by stakes to keep the soil in position.)

30. *Thonan andlang Slaedes on Tycaan Pyt :*

‘Then along the Slade to Tyca’s Pit.’

Called *Hlaewan Slaed* in the other Witney charter, a name almost certainly connected with that of the parish of Lew (*Hlaew*). May have been the stream valley of Norton Ditch, as in the other charter it is implied that the By. ran some distance along it.

31. *Andlang Broces on tha Mythy :*

'Along the Brook to the Crossroads.'

The *Broc* is almost certainly the stream which flows through the moat at Lower Caswell Farm. (OM1).

32. *Of thas Gemython on Ceahhan Mere :*

'From the Crossroads to Ceahha's Pond.'

The Crossroads were at one of the angles of the By. in the S.W. corner of the parish. The Pond may be represented now by Coneygar Pond (OM6) near the S. end of the W. By. of Curbridge.

33. *Thanon on Lythlan (sic) Eorth Beorg :*

'Then to the Little Earthen Barrow (?).'

This has vanished, but it was on the S. part of the W. By. of Curbridge.

34. *Of thaere Byrig¹ on tha Onheafda :*

'From the Camp (?) to the Corner Headland of a Ploughland.'

35. *Of etc. on Cytel Wylle :*

'From the Corner Headland to Kettle² Spring.'

This was almost certainly a spring at the head of a small stream which runs SE. from a point on the W. By. of Curbridge down to that village. The spring is 6 fur. SW. of Curbridge Down Farm.

36. *Of etc. on tha Stret :*

'From the Spring to the Street (Made Road).'

37. *Andlang Strete on Hafoces Hlew :*

'Along the Street to Hawk's Low (Tumulus).'

38. *Of etc. eft on Hnut Clif ther hit aer hit aer aras :*

'From the Low once more to Nuttree Slope where it first began.'

This is the second series of landmarks in this charter which presents the greatest difficulty in respect to their identification.

Of 37 and 38 the sites are certain. See landmark 1.

Nor can there be much doubt that the *Straet* of 36 and 37 is the Witney-Burford road, one of the great ridgeways of the county. It is also fairly certain that the copyist of the survey has in 37 written *andlang* where he ought to have written *of*, 'from.'

¹ This would imply that the *Eorthbeorh* of the previous landmark ought to have been *Eorthburh*, i.e. that the landmark was a camp, not a barrow.

² *Cytel* is in the charters not an uncommon attribute of a spring. It implied evidently a spring where the water bubbled up like boiling water in a kettle.

A Second Charter.

K.775 is a charter whereby King Edward grants to Bishop Aelfwine thirty hides at *Wittanige* at the reputed date 1044.

Survey.

The extant survey rests on a Saxon original ; but the copyist has made a considerable number of errors, possibly due to ignorance, possibly due to the blurred condition of the document he was copying.

1. *Aerest andlang thaes streames on thone Maedham the hyrnth* (read *hyrath*) *into Scylftune* :

‘First along the stream to the Mead Enclosure which belongs to Shilton.’

Curiously enough this *Maedham* survives, a detached part of the parish of Shilton between the two branches of the Windrush $2\frac{3}{4}$ fur. ENE. of Ducklington Mill. (OMI). The survey seems to begin on the Windrush immed. E. of Witney, and comes down the Witney By. along that E. branch of the river to the Shilton mead.¹

2. *And fram Scylftune andlang streames thaet it cymth to tham Mylewere the hyrnth* (read *hyrath*) *into Ducelingdune* :

‘And from Shilton (*sic*) along stream till it comes to the Mill Dam which belongs to Ducklington.’

This takes the By. a short distance up the W. branch of the Windrush to a point opposite the mill (OMI) at Ducklington.

3. *Of etc. ofaer thone Wegean Mor into Hocslew* :

‘From the Dam over the Wet Ground to

Hocslew is the *Occan Slaew* of 21 of the previous charter. (Q.V.)

4. *Thanon on tha Niwan Dic* :

‘Then to the New Dyke.’

The New Dyke takes the place of *Colwyllan Broc* and the *Eald Dic* of 23 and 24 of the previous charter. Evidently the channel of the brook had been artificially straightened in the form in which it is at the present day. So the New Dyke must have formed nearly the whole of the SE. By. of Curbridge.

¹ This is a striking example of a land unit having been allotted a mead 6m. away from its main lands. Shilton is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Witney. Land units which had either no, or insufficient, mead (hayland, always water meadows), of their own were allotted mead usually at the nearest place available. Mead was absolutely essential to the economy of the village community because it was the only source of hay whereon to feed cattle in the winter.

5. *Of etc. on Horninga Maere :*

‘ From the Dyke to the Boundary (or Balk) of the Hornings.’

This is 28 of the other charter. It was on the S. By. of Curbridge.

6. *Of etc. andlang thaes Gemaeres to Hlaewan Slaede :*

From the Horning Balk along the Balk to the Slade of the Low (Tumulus).

This looks as if it might be connected with the name of the parish Lew, which is derived from *Hlaew*. It is the Slade of 30 of the other charter. (See notes on 30 of that charter.)

7. *Of etc. into Dufan Doppe :*

‘ From the Slade to’¹

8. *And swa andlang Gemaeres into Leofstanes Bricge :*

‘ And so along the Balk to Leofstan’s Bridge.’

This bridge can only have been on the brook called Norton Ditch (OM1) which forms the S. part of the W. By. of the parish.

9. *Of etc. into Kytel Aeceras :*

‘ From Leofstan’s Bridge to Kettle Acres (Strips of Ploughland).’

No doubt these *Aeceras* were at the *Cytel Wyl* of 35 of the other charter.

10. *Of etc. innon tha Wudestret :*

‘ From Kettle Acres to the Street (made Road) of the Wood.’

This is certainly the *Straet* of 36 of the other charter, the ridgeway which was on the line of the Witney–Burford road.

11. *Andlang thaere Strete into Hafoces Hlaewe :*

‘ Along the Street to Hawk’s Low (tumulus).’

See 1. of the other charter.

12. *Of etc. innon Waenric :*

‘ From Hawk’s Low to the Windrush.’

See 1 of the other charter.

13. *Of etc. to Swondaene (read Spondaene) :*

‘ From the Windrush to Plank Dean.’

See note on 4 of the other charter. The Dean was the valley which runs N. from the river, and is traversed by the W. By. of Crawley.

14. *Aefter etc. to thaere Haran Apeldran :*

‘ After (Following ?) Plank Dean to the Hoar Appletree.’

¹ The two words omitted are quite untranslatable in any topographical sense. Curiously enough both of them contain roots with the meaning ‘dive’ or ‘dip.’

15. *Of etc. andlang Gemaeres innan Swonlege* (read *Sponlage*) :

‘From the Appletree along the Balk to Plank Lea.’

See notes on 4 of previous charter.

16. *Of etc. upp to tham Heafdam* (read *Heafdan*) :

‘From Plank Lea up to the Headland (of a ploughland).’

This was probably at the extreme NW. angle of the By. of Crawley.

17. *Of etc. andlang Surode* (read *Sucgan Rode* ?) *innan Huntenu Weg* :

‘From the Headland along Hedgesparrow (?) Ride to Hunters’ Way.’

See 7 and 8 of the other charter.

18. *Andlang etc. into Wicham* :

‘Along Hunters’ Way to the House of the Dairy Farm.’

See 9 of the previous charter.

19. *Of etc. a be thare Wyrtruman thae hit cymth on Sceapa Weg* :

‘From the House of the Dairy Farm always by the Foot of the Slope till it comes to Sheep Way.’

The *Wyrtruma* is the *Wyrtwala* of 10 of the other charter.

The *Sceap Weg* may be the *Eald Weg* of 11 of the other charter.

20. *Of etc. andlang Rihtes Gemaeres innan Aecenes Feld* :

It is unnecessary to deal with this landmark, for comparison with the other charter shows that this *Feld* should come after the Stone of the next landmark ; and it is further obvious that the copyist has muddled up the items of the two next landmarks and so produced this false entry.

21. (Restored text) : *Of Sceapa Wege andlang Rihtes Gemaeres on Kicgestan* :

‘From Sheep Way along the Straight Balk to Cyega’s (?) Stone.’

See 12 of previous charter.

22. *Of etc. into Aeceres Felda* :

‘From Cycha’s (?) Stone to¹ Open Country.’

See 14 of the other charter.

23. *Of etc. thaer tha Cnihtas licgath* :

Obviously a word, perhaps *innan*, is omitted before *thaer*.

‘From Open Country to the place where the Servants (Youths ?) lie.’

Somewhere on the E. By. of Hailey. The reference may be to a place of burial.

¹ This is the *Yccenes Feld* of 14 of the other charter. Obviously one of the two forms is a textual error. I am inclined to think that the error is in this charter.

24. *And fram ham the tha Cnihtas licgath on Maetseg :*
 The words *fram the* must be corrupt. For them read *thær*.
 'And from where the Servants lie to Maetseg.'
Maetseg is the *Met Sinc* of 16 of the other charter.
25. *Andlang Metseg into Wenric :*
 'Along Metseg to the Windrush.'

WOOD EATON.

Wood Eaton is about 3m. NNE. of Oxford.

Charter.

B.607, K.340 is a record by King Edward of a grant by Hungith to Wigfrith of five hides of land at *Eatun*. The reputed date is A.D. 904.

The charter records a series of holders of the land. Two bishops of Worcester, Alchun and Waerfrith, held it successively, which means that at that time it was held by the monastery at Worcester. Waerfrith seems to have sold it to the king,¹ who gave it to a certain Hungith, who sold it to Wigfrith. The original charter having been lost Wigfrith got King Edward, Ethelred 'dux' of Mercia, and Ethelflaed 'cum testimonia episcoporum et principum aliquorumque senatorum sibi subjectorum'² to allow a new charter to be drawn up.

There can be no question that this charter, if not an original, is a copy of an original document of the Saxon age. The occurrence of the forms *will* and *welle* suggests that it is a copy.

¹ The text runs '*regi pro recta retributione tradebat*.'

² The persons last mentioned represent probably the witangemot of Mercia. The consent of the witangemot to a grant of land is frequently but not always mentioned. Here the consent is to the making of a new charter. But that merely implies a repetition of the grant. It seems possible, though not certain, that the Saxon kings made grants in two capacities: (1) personal, of land which had come into their own private holding: (2) official, of land which had come into possession of the crown. It is probable, too, that it was for grants from the latter source that the consent of the witangemot was necessary.

I use the term holding with regard to the tenure of land in Saxon times because any other term might perhaps be taken to imply a freehold of the modern type, a form of possession which was certainly not enjoyed by the ordinary holders in a village community, nor by the grantees of *bocland*, i.e. land granted them, like the land in question in this charter, by charter. It is probable, too, that in the early centuries of the Saxon period even the king and crown had not full freehold rights to land, though the gradual increase in the powers of the crown may have led in later times to the king and crown acquiring a tenure very closely resembling the modern freehold. On this last point there can, however, be no certainty until more is known of the origin of domain land. The views put forward hitherto on that question are most unconvincing; but the truth has yet to be discovered.

Birch identifies the grant with Eydon in Northamptonshire which is indeed on the Cherwell ; but the modern form of the name of that place forbids the assumption that it can be derived from an original *Eatun*. Furthermore the mention of a *faga flora*, 'tessellated pavement,' in the survey points to the remains of a Roman villa such as has been shown by excavation to have existed at Wood Eaton.

The nature of some of the landmarks in the survey forbids the probability of their being exactly identifiable at the present day.

Survey.

1. *Th' is thonne aerest from Wifeles Lace :*
'Then first from Beetle's Backwater.'

This is that backwater of the Cherwell which forms the N. part of the W. By. of the parish. At the present day it does not extend quite to the NW. angle of the parish By. ; but it is probable that it did so formerly. Surveys usually begin at cardinal angles in a By.

2. *Th' swa up andlang Rithiges th' hit cymth¹ to Fagan Florian :*
'Then so up along the Streamlet till it comes to the Tessellated Pavement.'²

This is plainly a reference to the pavement of a Roman villa. For many years past, and especially in recent excavations, Roman remains have been found in and near the NE. corner of the parish. No doubt this landmark indicated the NE. angle of the parish By. about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NNW. of the village. The *Rithig* was a streamlet, possibly a very small one, on the N. By. between that NE. angle and the Cherwell.

3. *& thonne swa andlang Slaedes be tham Twam Lytlan Beorgan t.h.c. to Wulfunes Treow Steall Will :*

'And then so along the Slade by the Two Little Barrows till it comes to the Spring at the Cattleshed by Wulfune's Tree.'³

¹ Hereafter in this copy of the survey the words *th' hit cymth* will be abbreviated to *t.h.c.*

² What is undoubtedly the same Saxon term occurs in the form *flaga* (read *faga*) *flora* in the Abingdon cartulary (II, p. 125) where occur the words : '*Esperesholt quae et alio nomine vocatur Flaga Flora.*' The reference is to Sparsholt, Berks ; and the *Flaga* (sic) *Flora* is Fawler in the neighbouring parish of Kingston Lisle.

³ The word *treow* 'tree,' is frequent in the charters, and almost invariably has associated with it a personal name in the possessive case, presumably the name of the owner. This might suggest that *treow* is used with some special meaning. It has been suggested that it means a cross set up by the owner of the land. But the Saxon farmer does not appear to have been the sort of person to set up such emblems of piety on his land. It is more probable that it was a tree which formed a landmark on the boundary of the land of the person whose name is associated with it.

4. *An suna th' swa thwyres ofer th' Furlang :*

'And after that so obliquely over the Furlong (group of strips of ploughland).'

5. *Th' on tha Thyrrnan westwarde thaer se Mycla Thorn stod :*

'Then to the west side of (?) of the Thorn Thicket where the Great Thorntree stood.'

6. *Th' swa on Fugelmere :*

'Then so to the Bird Pond.'

7. *Th' thonne a ondlang Dices oth t.h.c. to Horwyllan :*

'Then always along the Dyke till it comes to Mud Spring.'

8. *Th' swa ondlang Rithies t.h.c. to Cearwyllan :*

'Then so along the Streamlet till it comes to the Cherwell.'

9. *Thonne maereth hit Cervelle seoththan :*

'Then after that the Cherwell forms the boundary.'

After landmark 3 this landmark is the first definitely determinable point. The streamlet is the stream which forms the S. By. between the Oxford road and the Cherwell.

The question is whether the survey includes the SE. part of the parish. That was originally part of a forest, as the surviving names Great Forest Lands (OM6), Little Forest Lands (OM6) and Forest Farm (OM1) show. That this formed Woodeaton's share of a forest area is also no doubt the case. In the other survey of the land unit (see later) it is certainly included ; but it is quite common for surveys to exclude timber land belonging to the unit, or to give a separate survey of its bounds. It may be the case that, when the present survey was made, the whole area of this forest region was regarded as common to the land units in its neighbourhood and that their rights in it consisted in being allowed to cart so many loads of faggots and timber annually, rights which are frequently recorded, especially in the Kent charters, charters of a region where forest abounded and was easily accessible to a large number of land units in the county.

There is a marked and growing tendency in the later Saxon period towards private as distinct from common right. In the case of arable land the rights were from the beginning private, those of the family which worked it. In the case of the hay land (mead) that was originally not the case, but the total annual crop from the whole mead was divided up among the families holding land in the community. But long before the Saxon period came to an end the mead had been divided in many communities into separate lots, each of which was held

by a family in the community, and from that lot it took all the hay. These lots are referred to in the charters as *maed aeceras*, 'strips of mead.' So far had this change gone that long before the Conquest a 'common' mead was exceptional, as is shown by the fact that, when a mead is common, the fact is expressly stated in the charter. It was the same with large areas of woodland and with the smaller forest areas. A community instead of having common rights over the whole area had allotted to it a certain area of woodland within fixed bounds.

Thus it is possible that the two surveys of the lands of Woodeaton may represent the two stages of rights in woodland, i.e. when the earlier survey was made Wood Eaton had rights in this forest in common with other communities in its neighbourhood, i.e. it had no definite region allotted to it, and therefore there were no bounds of its woodland to record. But, when the second survey was made, it had already been allotted a special section of the forest land having certain bounds which required record.

The forest in the present case is probably represented at the present day by Stow Wood near Beckley and the large woodlands on the low ground N. of Stanton St. John.

The language of landmarks 7 and 8 supports what has been said above. The By. passes from the Muddy Spring along the Streamlet, which suggests that the spring was at the source of the *rithig*, that is to say about 400 yds. SE. of Wood Eaton church. (OM1).

The By. between that spring and landmark 2 is very irregular. The Barrows of 3 were probably where the NE. By. is passing over high ground within the 300 ft. contour. The Pond and the Thortrees were possibly at two angles in the By., one a furlong due N. and the other a furlong due E. of the N. end of the village. The *Furlang* of 4 may have been on the By. just W. of where the modern road running NE. from the village crosses it.¹ The field names of Wood Eaton show that the original arable land of the parish lay NW. of the village. The fact that the By. is described as going *thwyres*, 'obliquely,' across the furlong is a real difficulty for the reason that that implies that part of the furlong was outside the By., i.e. in the lands of Islip. Surveyors display at times lapses in respect to precision. Even if there were, as there evidently

¹ *Furlang* implies ploughed land and is here used of a group of strips (*aeceras*) of plough, just as in field names of later times 'furlong' is used in that sense. But *furlang* is rarely used in this sense in the charters.

was ploughland on both sides of the By. at this point, the ploughland of Wood Eaton would almost certainly be divided from that of Islip by a balk.

The Second Survey.

B.1223 is a survey which Birch took probably from the *Chronicles of Abingdon* (ed. Stevenson, vol. I, p. 270). The grant to which it was attached seems to have been lost. Birch makes the curious mistake of quoting a passage referring to Eaton in Cumnor, Berks, as having reference to Wood Eaton.

That the survey is of genuine Saxon origin is certain. Whether it is the original copy of the survey is another question. The fact that the landmarks chosen by the surveyors differ, with the exception of the Cherwell, wholly from those of the previous survey makes it almost certain that they had not a copy of that survey before them. Probably that survey was at Worcester, whereas the present one was made by Abingdon officials.

As specimens of the work of Saxon surveyors both surveys are of inferior quality. But the defect may be due to careless copying, for in the case of both of them it may be suspected that landmarks have been omitted.

Survey.

1. *Aerest of Cearwyllan on thaes Clifes Ende :*

‘First from the Cherwell to the End of the (Steep) Slope.’

As in the case of the previous survey the surveyors start at the NW. angle of the grant, where the N. By. of the parish leaves the Cherwell a long $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Home Farm. (OM1). The *Clifes Ende* would be the W. slope of the hill which rises on and outside the NE. By. of the parish.

2. *Of etc. on Smalan Aeceras :*

‘From the End of the Slope to the Narrow Strips of Ploughland.’

3. *Of etc. to Eatune :*

This last landmark would be on that part of the By. which lies immediately E. of the village and close to it. It is most unusual for a *tun* to play any part in a survey, for the term was applied to the village centre of the community, which was very rarely on the bounds of the community's lands.

The Narrow Acres must have been on the By. N. of the village.

4. *Of etc. andlang Dude Weges on Langan Mores Ende :*

'From Eaton along Duda's Way to the End of the Long Swamp.'

It is probable that a landmark has been omitted from the extant copy of the survey, one which would have carried it from the village of Eaton to what is now the London-Worcester road. The *Dude Weg* is almost certainly that part of that road which the E. By. follows for nearly 3 fur. along the edge of Otmoor at the E. foot of Druns Hill. (OM1). The *Lang Mor* is Otmoor.

5. *Of etc. on Grenan Beorh :*

'From the End of Long Moor to Green Barrow.'

The Barrow must have been on Lyme Hill (OM6) close to the site of Forest Farm. (OM1).

6. *Th' on Eall (read Eald) Thorn :*

'Then to the Old Thorntree.'

This was possibly on the S. By. due S. of the village.

7. *Th' eft on Cearewylle fornon Cyrices Hleawe :*

'Then again to the Cherwell over against Cyric's (really Barrow) Low.'¹

¹ This *Cyric* or *Ciric*, sometimes written *Cruc*, has nothing to do with *ciric*, a 'church,' which is feminine, whereas this *ciric* is masculine. The masculine term is not cited in the lexicons; but of its existence and meaning there can be no doubt. It is derived from the Celtic *cruc*, 'barrow,' or rather it is the form which the Saxons gave to that term, for it is clear that in some districts its meaning was not known to the Saxon inhabitants. Here, for instance, it is combined with *hlaew*, evidently because the Saxons of Wood Eaton did not know its meaning, and regarded it as a proper term, probably as a personal name. Like other terms and names which the Saxons borrowed from the Celtic without understanding their meaning, it tends to take the most varied forms in the place names of the present day. That there was a tendency to confuse it with the native Saxon term *ciric*, 'church,' is shown by the fact that some of the Churchills of the modern map are derived from it, and that their real meaning is sometimes Barrow Hill. But, as has been already said, it takes various other forms in modern nomenclature.

In a charter of West Monkton, Somerset, (B.62) occur the words: 'and 3 hides on the south side of the Tone (river) at the island near the hill called in the British (Celtic) tongue *Cructan*, but with us *Crycbeorh*.' The latter survives at the present day in the form Creechbarrow, which shows that the word *cryc* was not understood in that region.

To the same term the neighbouring parish of Creech St. Michael owes its name.

In B.112, K.49, a charter of Doultling, Somerset, is a *Crichhulle*, 'Barrow Hill,' which is Church Hill in the modern map.

In K.1309, a charter of Corscombe, Dorset, is reference to a *Micel Cruc*, 'Great Barrow,' which shows that the local inhabitants knew the meaning of the term. The name survives in that of Crook Hill.

In another Corscombe charter, K.1322, the barrow is simply called *Cruc*.

The reference is to the point where the S. By. meets the Cherwell about $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. due N. of Southfield Farm (OM1) in Water Eaton parish. The language of the survey implies that the low or tumulus was W. of the Cherwell, on the detached hill in Water Eaton which rises immediately opposite to the point where the S. By. meets the river.

Field Names.

Measured from Home Farm (OM1):—Lower Furlongs (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NW.: Dunstead (V), 3 fur. W. by N.: Sparzie or Sparsey Fd., 2 fur. W. by S. (The name is derived from the large eyot which lies W. of the Cherwell and E. of Water Eaton.)

From the church at Woodeaton (OM1):—Picked (V) Piece, 2 fur. NNW.: Catsbrain (V), $1\frac{1}{2}$ fur. N. by W.: Upper Breach (V), 2 fur. WSW.: Lower Breach (V), $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. SSW.: Stoakes, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. S. by W.

From Southfield Farm in Water Eaton (OM1):—Upper, Middle, and Lower Ruworth (V), three fields, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NNE.: Almsmoor Meadow, 3 fur. N. by W.

WOOTTON.

Wootton is about 2m. N. by W. of Woodstock.

Charter.

B.1042, K.1219 is a charter whereby King Edgar gives twenty hides at *Wudutune* to the thegn Ethelric at the reputed date A.D. 958.

Birch ascribes this charter wrongly to Wootton, Hants.

Survey.

The survey is an original, or the copy of an original, of the Saxon age.

It only includes that part of the parish which lies between the rivers Glym and Dorn; but the rest of the parish may be the area of woodland referred to in the note at the end of the survey.

1. *Aerest aet Meolforda* (read *Meolcforda*) *upp andlang streames oth Ramma Ford*:

‘First at Milk Ford up along stream as far as Rams’ Ford.’

The name of *Meolcforda* survives in that of Milford Bridge (OM1) where a road crosses the Dorn river a short $\frac{1}{2}$ m. due E. of the village.

2. *Of etc. andlang Ramma Daene to Eadweardes Gemaere :*
 'From the Ford along Rams' Dean to Edward's Boundary.'

The stream is the Dorn. *Rammaforda* was probably where Tittenford Bridge (OM1) now stands.

The survey is taken against the clock, a practice rare with Saxon surveyors.

Rammadene is the valley up which the N. By. passes. *Eadweardes Gemaere* was the N. part of the W. By. Eadward was probably a holder in the neighbouring land-unit of Glympton.

3. *Of etc. to Glim :*
 'From Edward's Boundary to the Glym.'

This carries the survey down the W. By. to the river Glym which it meets about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Glympton village.

4. *Andlang Glim adune on thone stream oth hit cymth to tham stream thae scyt fram Meolcforda :*

'Along the Glym down stream till it comes to the stream which runs from Milk Ford.'

This carries the survey down the S. part of the W. By., and follows the Glym to its junction with the Dorn.

5. *Up andlang thaes streames thaet hit cymth aeft to Meolcforda :*
 'Up along the stream till it comes again to Milk Ford.'

(Note added) : *and ymb thone wudu swa Aelfsige and Aethelricg wurth :*

It is not clear what this note means, though it is quite certain that it refers to woodland belonging to the community of Wootton, woodland which, as has already been said, lay probably on that part of the parish not included in the survey.

Field Names.

Measured from Milford Bridge (OM1) :—Great Ashtree Ground, $4\frac{3}{4}$ fur. NE. by E. : Hansells Piece, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. NE. : Long Ground, $3\frac{3}{4}$ fur. E. by N. : Slough Lane Ground, $3\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E.

From Sturdy's Castle Inn (OM1) :—The Pix, 2 fur. W. : The Langet (V), 5 fur. NNW.

From Upper Dornford Farm (OM1) :—Sideland (V), immed. N. Rowsome Ground, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. by N.

ANCIENT HIGHWAYS OF OXFORDSHIRE.

The student of the Saxon charters must be impressed with the marked persistence with which the tracks used in Saxon times have maintained their line up to the present day. By far the greater part of modern roads go back at least to the Saxon age, and many thousands of miles of them, the ridgeways, have had a continuous existence going back into times long before history began. This may not be always recognised by the modern user of roads, tracks, and footpaths; but, once recognised, the phenomenon may seem quite natural. Men are tenacious of rights of way established by past use; and the diversion of a right of way, whether road or track, passing through cultivated lands is always troublesome and generally expensive.

The majority of the purely local roads in Oxfordshire and other counties originated in Saxon times, products of an agricultural system much more extensive than, and quite different from, any such system as had existed previously in this country.

These local roads of Saxon times often extended to or along the bounds of the lands of village communities (parishes) and joined up with similar roads in neighbouring land units. From these the Saxons evolved lines of through communication formed of successive stretches of these local roads. But these through roads, being quite unmade, and often traversing heavy or even swampy ground, seem never to have served as great through highways. Their main purpose was to afford lines of communication along or over valleys when the weather permitted of their use. As through lines of communication they do not seem to have entered into serious competition with those ridgeways which maintained their predominance as inland trade routes till the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, and even during that century remained in use for certain classes of trade.

It is with the great through highways of Oxfordshire that this chapter mainly deals. The purely local roads mentioned in the charters are of very minor interest save as evidence of what may be called a parochial road system.

Ancient highways are of certain types :

1. Ridgeways, really watershed ways, which avoid the smallest streams, and only cross water when a river breaks through a marked line of ridge which the way is following.

2. Summer Ways, alternatives of the ridgeways, running along the slope or the foot of the ridge traversed by the ridge-way, and used when the upper courses of the streams rising in the ridge run dry, and above all when the land in their neighbourhood is dry and hard.

3. Roman roads.

4. Romanised roads, i.e. roads which in Romano-British times were 'made' in parts, either by metalling bad places, or by straightening out pronounced curves or angles. Roads so treated were always, as far as can be seen, either ridgeways, summer ways, or important saltways leading from Droitwich or from salt factories (salterns) on estuaries.¹

ROAD 1. THE GREAT COTSWOLD RIDGEWAY.

This ridgeway is part of the greatest N. and S. ridgeway in England. As a Cotswold ridgeway it extends from Bath to Warwick, represented throughout nearly its whole length by modern roads or tracks. S. of Bath it communicates with great lines of ridgeways running E. and W., and from near Broadway in Worcestershire with a great ridgeway following eventually the watershed between the Severn and the Trent basins.

The Oxfordshire section of this ridgeway is as follows :— Coming from the S. it enters the county at Neakings (OM1) about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. NW. of Little Compton near Chipping Norton. It has just come from the well-known Four Shire Stone, and that part of it was used as a saltway from Droitwich. After entering the county it runs almost due E., at first along a modern local track, and later along a modern road ($1\frac{1}{4}$ m.)² to a point 3 fur. WNW. of Little Rollright. It then turns ENE. along a main road past the Rollright Stones (OM1), and runs to (3m.) a point about 3 fur. WNW. of Great Rollright, forming for part of this distance the Co. By. It then turns E. and runs along a main road to (3m. 3 fur.) a point on the N. edge of Great Rollright village. Then due N. along a modern road to (4m. 7 fur.) a crossroads near Oatley Hill Farm (OM1), forming the Co. By. for the last $\frac{3}{4}$ m. Then E. by N., modern road, to (8m. 3 fur.) Wigginton Heath (OM1), close to which are two

¹ For further information on types of highways see Grundy, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LXXIV, old series, Vol. XXV, new series. References will be made to Berkshire highways. For full details of them see Grundy, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LXXV, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 118.

² The measurements of distances are calculated from the point at which it enters the county.

camps and several tumuli. Then NW., at first along the W. By. of Tadmarton parish and later along a modern road, to (12m. 3 fur.) White House (OM1) $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Epwell. Then N. by E. along the S. part of Edge Hill (OM1), forming the Co. By. for the last $\frac{1}{2}$ m. till (15m. 1 fur.) it leaves the county about 5 fur. S. of Sun Rising (OM1) on Edge Hill.

ROAD 2. THE OXFORD RIDGEWAY.

This is a branch of the Cotswold ridgeway (road 1); but it will be most easily traced from the Oxford end of it.

From Oxford for $13\frac{1}{2}$ m. it is represented by the modern Oxford-Banbury road which, up to that distance, adheres closely to the Watershed between the Cherwell and the upper Thames basin. This part of the ridgeway is called *portstraet* in the Cutslow charter, *straet* in the charter of Shipton-on-Cherwell, and *portstraet* in the charter of Whitehill in Tackley. These names imply that some stretches of it had been 'made' in Roman times.

At a point $\frac{3}{4}$ m. N. of Brasenose Farm in Steeple Aston parish the ridgeway turns WNW. along modern roadway to (14m. 1 fur.) the village of Duns Tew. Thence due W. along a modern road to (16m. 3 fur.) a road meeting about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of Ledwell. From that point westwards the line of the old ridgeway is only intermittently marked by modern ways. The roadways constructed during the last two centuries have not always followed its line, probably because that part of it had fallen almost out of use before they were constructed. But the line can be followed without difficulty.

From the above mentioned road meeting it must have run due W. through the middle of Great Tew Park (OM1) for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. (17m. 7 fur.) to a line of road which runs W. from cross-roads only a few yards S. of the house at Great Tew Park. Thence it went slightly N. of W. along a modern road to (20m. 5 fur.) the Chipping Norton-Banbury road. Then WSW. along the line of this latter road as far as (21m. 6 fur.) the lodge (OM1) at the W. end of Heythrop Park. (OM1). After that its course is marked by a line of footpath which first runs NNW. and then NW. (to get round the uppermost waters of the river Swyre) to (22m. 4 fur.) Hall Farm (OM1) in Over Norton parish. Thence about due N. over a very narrow watershed to (23m. 7 fur.) about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. SSE. of Great Rollright village. Here the line is marked by farm tracks and a line of hedge. Hence NNE. along a line not marked by any modern track to (24m. 6 fur.) meet a line of modern road at a point nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ m. NNE. of

Dark End. (OM1). Thence NNW. along that line of modern road to (25m. 4 fur.) meet the Cotswold ridgeway $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NE. of Upper Berryfields Farm (OM1) in Hook Norton parish.

To the S. of the Thames at Oxford this ridgeway was continued by one which ran over Cumnor Hill (OM1) and then along the watershed between the Thames and the Ock (Berkshire road 15) to Faringdon, and so eventually to the great ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs.

The question of the age of Oxford as a relatively important centre of population has been much debated. By *relative* importance is implied importance in relation to the general circumstances of population at any period, and in particular to the other centres of population in the immediate neighbourhood. It is practically certain that this relative importance of Oxford goes back into a prehistoric past: that, relative to the places around it, and perhaps to the size of other centres of population in the country at any given period, it was a place of considerable importance.¹

¹ This is not a conjecture. It is as demonstrable as any topographical fact relating to early Britain. Centres of population of this relative importance sprang up at almost every point where important ridgeways crossed rivers; and, what is more, they have maintained their importance to the present day. A list of all the towns in England which owe their origin to this cause would run to great length; but some may be cited from Oxfordshire and the neighbouring counties.

Banbury stands where an important E. and W. ridgeway crosses the Cherwell, and Witney where a ridgeway crosses the Windrush. Abingdon stands where a ridgeway abutted on the Thames and possibly crossed it. Wallingford stands where a ridgeway linking up that of the Berkshire Downs with that of the Chiltern Hills crossed the Thames. Reading is where the true end of the ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs crossed the Thames and went N. Newbury is where a ridgeway which was supplanted by a Roman road largely along its line crossed the Kennett. Marlborough stands where a N. and S. ridgeway crossed the same river. At Salisbury a whole network of ridgeways crossed the Avon. At Winchester a great E. and W. ridgeway crossed the Itchen. Guildford stands where the greatest E. and W. ridgeway of England crossed the Wey.

The list might be extended almost indefinitely in other parts of England. Moreover, as these prehistoric highways continued to be main and much used highways till the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, and even till the time of railways, were used for certain types of trade, these places of population maintained their relative importance till the railways came, and, when they came, their courses were determined by the position of centres of population the origin of which was prehistoric. This sounds romantic; but it is a historical fact.

It is almost certainly not an accident that, when the Romans came to found 'stations' in conquered Britain, some of them were founded at these critical points in the lines of communication existent in Britain before their conquest. It can hardly be accidental that at Winchester, Speen near Newbury, Mildenhall near Marlborough, Old Sarum near Salisbury, Bath, Worcester, etc. the Romans established stations which commanded important points on ridgeways.

A question of purely Oxford topography is the site of the original ford across the Thames. It was almost certainly not at Folly Bridge,¹ for the road from there to the foot of Hinksey Hill is a causeway which was made in Norman times. Moreover a ford at that point would not have led to any ridgeway; and ridgeways when they cross rivers cross them to get at a ridgeway on the other side.

Such circumstantial evidence as is available points to a ford at Ferry (North) Hinksey. The original road from Oxford to Cumnor, i.e. the Oxford end of the Ock-Thames watershed ridgeway, did not run on the line of the present road up Cumnor hill, but E. of it, its old course being marked probably by the bridle path from North Hinksey to Chawley. (OM1). The present road up Cumnor hill is quite modern.² The old road to Faringdon took at first the line just indicated and then apparently went through Cumnor, Eaton, Appleton, past Longworth, Hinton Waldrist, and Buckland, and, shortly after that it coincided with the modern main road as far as Faringdon. As a highway the present road from Cumnor turning to just beyond Buckland is quite modern, though it may have been constructed out of a pre-existing line of unmade tracks. The road to Wantage from Oxford did not go that way. Two centuries ago travellers between those places went up Hinksey Hill, over Boar's Hill (OM1), and so by Cothill (OM1) to join the modern Wantage road about 1m. N. of Frilford village. Besselsleigh was, at that time, reached by a track the line of which still runs up from North Hinksey along a bridle road and then along a green way through the valley between Cumnor Hurst (OM1) and Hen Wood (OM1) in a noticeably straight line.

¹ In dealing with the roads of Berkshire I expressed myself in favour of the view that a ford existed here in Saxon times at any rate, on the ground that there would probably be a line of direct communication between Oxford and Abingdon. But such a ford would have been of little or no use until the road from Folly Bridge to Coldharbour, a causeway, had been constructed; and the construction of such a causeway in pre-Saxon times is most improbable. The Rev. H. E. Salter believes it to have been the work of the Norman family of D'Oyly. Also it is significant that, though the surveys of four or five charters cut right across the possible lines of a direct road between Abingdon and Oxford they only mention one highway, the ridgeway which runs along the comb of Boar's Hill. A road on the line of the road from Coldharbour up Hinksey Hill is mentioned, but it is called *higweg*, 'hayway,' apparently no more than a local track connecting Wootton on the far side of Boar's Hill with its 'maed,' or hay land, which was a detached piece of mead on the eyot behind the site of the present hospital at Coldharbour.

The view I expressed in the paper on the Berkshire roads is not, I think, tenable.

² In 1700 the lines of communication S. from Oxford must have been very different from what they are now.

Further circumstantial evidence in favour of a ford at North Hinksey is the position of the castle at Oxford, which commands what would be the line of the track N. of the river.

The question of the through communication from Oxford eastwards towards London in early days is a difficult one. Travellers in those days took the through tracks or roads which presented the fewest difficulties and the best surface, natural or artificial, regardless of the circuits involved. Probably the shortest practicable road from whatever Oxford was in Roman times to London would be viâ the ridgeway as far as Sturdy's Castle Inn (OM1), and from there by the Akeman Street to the Watling Street, and so to London.

ROAD 3. A BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

This ridgeway seems to have been a link between road 2 and road 4, the ridgeway which comes to Witney from the W. For the greater part of its course it is represented by modern roads or tracks, and the fact that it is called *Hek Straet*, 'High Street,' in the Shipton-on-Cherwell charter implies that it was of sufficient importance in Romano-British times to have been 'made' in that particular part of it. Like the S. end of road 2 it had been 'romanised.'

It branched off SSW. from road 2 and the Akeman Street at Sturdy's Castle Inn (OM1) 8m. N. of Oxford. From there it ran first SSW. and then S. along a line of made road to (1m. 4 fur.) a point 5 furlongs W. of Campsfield Farm (OM1) which is in Thrup parish. It is in this part of its course, which for 3 fur. is quite straight, that it is called *straet* in the Shipton charter. Also in this part it forms the whole of the W. By. of Shipton parish.¹

For some distance S. of this its course can only be traced conjecturally. It is probably marked at first by the boundaries of Thrup and Kidlington which carry it down to (2m. 5 fur.) a point $2\frac{1}{2}$ fur. E. of the church at Bladon. Then along a field hedge to (3m.) the NW. corner of the wood called Bladon Heath. (OM1). It must have gone first S. and then gradually W. through the wood and through Burley Wood (OM1) across the line of the railway to (4m. 1 fur.) the Evenlode at Handborough Mill (OM1); but its course through the woodland has vanished.

From the mill the short side road from the mill to the main road must be nearly on its line, and the footpath running practically from it in a NW. direction to (4m. 6 fur.) the E. end

¹ Ridgeways were often adopted as the boundaries of Saxon land units (parishes).

of Long Handborough village probably represents its track.

From this point the modern road from Long Handborough to Witney is, generally speaking, on the line of the old way ; but the modern road is straight, whereas the ridgeway would adhere more closely to the actual comb of the watershed. The latter may, for instance, have passed near or through North Leigh village, and further on, just N. of Cogges Wood (OM1), its line was probably slightly E. of that of the modern road. Its total length is almost exactly 10m.

ROAD 4. THE WITNEY RIDGEWAY.

This is a continuation W. of road 3. From Witney it went W. along the line of the Burford road. It did not enter that place but passed along the line of road about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of the town, and went on along a line of modern road past Northleach, which it left on the S., to join the great Cotswold ridgeway about 3m. SSE. of Winchcomb in Gloucestershire. It is known from the charters to have been a salt way as far as the neighbourhood of Northleach. It may have been so as far as Witney.

ROAD 5. THE WITHAM RIDGEWAY.

Though this road is in Berkshire, its connection with Oxford is so manifest that the little that can be said about it had better be said.

Through the woods of Witham, Berkshire, W. of Oxford, there runs a short stretch of ancient ridgeway which was undoubtedly a forerunner of that part of the modern Oxford-Witney road between Botley (OM1) and Swinford Bridge. (OM1). It is easily traceable from near Botley along the line of modern tracks which adhere closely to the watershed of Witham Hill. The detailed course can only be followed on OM6.

From Botley Lodge (OM6) of Witham Abbey a track runs WNW. through a belt of woodland. The first quarter of a mile of this is not on the line of the ridgeway ; but after this a modern track follows the line of the old way right to Swinford Bridge where was the old ford from which Swinford gets its name. From the point near Botley Lodge it goes in a wavy line WNW. through the woods till close to the highest point of the hill. Then turns WSW. for about $\frac{1}{4}$ m., and then again WNW., leaving the woods and passing along what is now a broad green way on the N. slope of Beacon Hill (OM1) to Swinford.

That some track went on W. of the river at Swinford is no doubt the case ; but there is not any evidence as to what line it followed.

At the Botley end, if the conjecture already made that the ford over the Thames at Oxford was at North Hinksey be right, then the old ridgeway passed SE. down the slope of the hill between Tilbury Farm (OM1) and Botley Lodge to Botley village, and then followed the line of the lane from Botley to North Hinksey, and so reached the ford.

ROAD 6. A RIDGEWAY RUNNING EASTWARDS FROM OXFORD.

Of the three roads now running eastwards from Oxford after passing Magdalen Bridge there is no trace in the charters of Cowley or Sandford of any highway along the line of that to Henley or that to Cowley.¹

But with the Oxford-London road the case is different. That is mentioned in the Cuddesdon charter, and the greater part of it within the county follows even now the line of an old ridgeway. Two items of comparatively modern evidence may be cited in reference to the part of it near Oxford, where its line is not quite easy to trace.

Ogilby, in his road book of the last quarter of the Seventeenth Century, speaking of the line of communication between London and Oxford, treats it incidentally in connection with that between London and Worcester. He takes the traveller to Worcester as far as Wheatley, and then says that from there the road to Oxford goes over Shotover Hill.

In a map of a little more than a century ago what is now the main Oxford-London road through Headington from a point not far beyond the summit of Headington Hill is called 'The New Road.'

What is clear is that the present main road from just beyond the summit of Headington Hill to the point between Forest Hill and Wheatley where the main Worcester road branches off from it is quite modern.²

¹ I do not wish to imply that this negative evidence is conclusive. But, if any such through roads had existed in Saxon times, it might have been expected that their existence would have been mentioned in one, at least, of the two charters.

² The following is a matter of very local topography. The old road to Barton beyond Headington passed along the line of footpath known as Cuckoo Lane, and the continuation of the path through the grounds of old Headington House. The further line of it is traceable across the grounds of Bury Knowle, just in front of the house. There are also signs of another road to Headington which passed through the grounds of the Manor House just outside the front garden, continued further by a piece of road and footpath passing along the wall of the back garden of old Headington House. This road probably branched off from the former. Both seem to have been done away with when 'the New Road' was made.

Starting from Oxford the old ridgeway went up Headington Hill as far as Cheney Lane, which branches off to the right about halfway up the hill. From that point the old track had two alternative routes the use of which would be dependent on whether the brook which rises near the public house about three furlongs beyond the top of the hill was or was not dry in its upper course. Cheney Lane, which has also the significant name of 'Old Road,' crosses that brook about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NE. of Warneford Asylum. In wet weather when the upper part of the brook was running the line of track used would be along the present London road as far as the public house above-mentioned, and then by some course not now marked by any modern road or track due E. to the foot of Shotover.¹

But when the brook was dry or a mere trickle of water, and the land on either side of it not miry, the line by Cheney Lane and the Old Road would be used; and as the upper part of the brook and the land on either side of it would rarely make passage difficult, this would be the line commonly used by travellers. The line is continued by modern roadway to the foot of Shotover and passes over the summit as a broad green track to the E. end of the hill. Right up to the time of the making of railways this track was, it is known, used by drovers taking cattle to London. Hence its breadth over Shotover, for the drovers of even the beginning of the Nineteenth Century were very jealous of attempted encroachment on the breadth of these driftways, as they fed their cattle on the grassy borders beside the track.²

Having reached the E. end of Shotover hill the old way descends along a line of modern road to Wheatley, and passes through what is the main street of the village, an incidental testimony to the fact that this line of road is the oldest which passes through the place. It joins the modern Oxford-London road at the E. end of the village. Hence for quite a long distance the old ridgeway and the modern main road coincide.

It descends by a long hill to the Thame. In this part of its course it is called *straet*, made road, in the Cuddesdon charter, and the ford by which it crossed the Thame is called *Herepath Ford*, 'Ford of the Highway,' in the same charter.

¹ This track was, like the tracks mentioned in the previous note, probably done away with when the New Road was made.

² I have been told that it would be possible at the present day to go from Shotover to London along grass tracks of the type of that on Shotover hill. Not having the 6" maps for the whole distance, I have not been able to test the truth of the statement.

Beyond the bridge the present Oxford-London road is on its line as far as the inn called The Three Pigeons (OM1) ; but but several miles from that point its course is only intermittently represented by modern roads or tracks.

The road to Thame from The Three Pigeons is on its line for about 5 furlongs ; but after that the course of the old track can only be followed by observing the lie of the watershed which runs N. of, and more or less parallel to the course of the modern London road. The disappearance of the greater part of the old track in this section of its course may be accounted for by the fact that the new road through Tetsworth cut off a considerable bend in the ridgeway.¹

From Rycote Lane Farm (OM1) on the Thame road the ridgeway must have passed first E. and then SE. over Lobbersdown Hill (OM1), and from there to Horsenden Hill (OM1) along the NE. By. of Tetsworth parish.² From the summit of that hill it would run SSW. along the Thame-Tetsworth road called Judd's Lane. (OM6). Near the E. edge of Tetsworth village it must have turned E. along the ridge, along a course not now marked by any track, to an extraordinarily narrow watershed at the point where a road coming down from Thame makes a sharp bend about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. W. of Cop Court. (OM1). From near that point it went SW. along a short line of modern road to join the line of the modern London road which here forms the NE. By. of Adwell parish. That this ridgeway linked up the Oxford district with the great ridgeway of the Chilterns is certain. The last stage of its course to the Chilterns may have been along the line of the modern London road to the top of what is called Stokenchurch Hill where it would meet the Chiltern ridgeway.

ROAD 7. THE CHILTERN RIDGEWAY.

Everyone acquainted with British topography knows the celebrated Icknield Way which runs along the foot of the

¹ The object of the very active road making of especially the latter half of the Eighteenth Century was not merely to substitute made roads for unmade tracks, but also direct lines of way for the indirect and devious courses of the previous tracks. This meant that the new lines of road had in many instances to be carried over cultivated land in private ownership. The owners of course were not backward in making the best terms they could ; but it was possible sometimes for the makers of the new roads to compensate owners by giving them the land on which the old tracks went ; and, as these were infinitely broader as a rule than the new roads the owners gained by the exchange. But it meant sometimes that an old right of way vanished from the map ; and that is what has in all probability happened in the present instance.

² The tendency for parish boundaries to follow lines of ridgeway has already been noticed.

Chilterns for many miles, and can, so it is said, be traced NE. as far as Norfolk. But what is not so well known is that above it, on the comb of the Chiltern ridge, there is a very remarkable ridgeway of which the Icknield Way is the summer way, just as the Icknield way in Berkshire is the summer way of the ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs.

About the course of this ridgeway within the county there can be no doubt.¹ In the Monks Risborough charter B.603, K.1081 which records a grant just N. of the Oxfordshire Co. By. this road is called *Cynges Stræt*, which implies this part of it had been 'made' in Roman times. It also indicates the importance of the road at that period, an importance which the general course and length of the highway would indicate.

It may be said in preface that every yard of the old track within the county is represented by modern ways, made roads for at least ninety per cent. of its course. As that course is very complicated it may be well to give a detailed itinerary of it.

It enters the county on the summit of the ridge S. of Bledlow Cross (OM1) due E. of Chinnor village. Runs S. by W., modern road, to (1½ fur.)² where there is a tumulus (OM1) about 80 yds. W. of the line. Then S. by W., modern road, to (3½ fur.) where there is a tumulus about 200 yds. W. of the line. Then S. by W., modern road, to (6 fur.) crossroads ¼m. NE. of Manor Farm. (OM1). From Bledlow Cross to this point it forms part of the Co. By. Then SW. and later SSW., modern road, to (1m. 4 fur.) Crowell Hill. (OM1). Then SSW. along line of track along E. side of Kington Wood (OM1) to (2m. 3 fur.) the SE. corner of the wood, where it meets once more the Co. By. Thence SSW., modern road, forming the Co. By. to (2m. 7 fur.) Hill Farm. (OM1). Then W. by S., modern road, to (3m. 4 fur.) a point on the shoulder of Beacon Hill. (OM1). Then SW., modern road, to (5m. 5 fur.) Portways (OM1), the name of which, as well as the field name Portway Piece beside the road, indicates its use at least for the purposes of local trade. Then S., modern road, by Christmas Common (OM1) and along the E. edge of Watlington Park (OM1), and later SW. by a track, to (8m. 3 fur.) Coate's Farm. (OM1). Then S., modern road, to (8m. 7 fur.) Cookley Green. (OM1). Then first W. and then SSW.,

¹ It is probable that by the use of the six-inch map it could be followed far to the NE., perhaps into Norfolk; but the material for that investigation is not at my disposal, and also all that is aimed at here is to give its course in Oxfordshire.

² The mileage throughout is measured from Bledlow Cross.

modern road, called Reading Lane¹ (OM6) to (9m. 5 fur.) the lodge at the SE. corner of the grounds of Swyncombe House. (OM1). Then SSE., modern road, to (10m. 2 fur.) crossroads just S. of Park Corner Farm. (OM1). Then SW. by a lane called Huntercombe Lane to (11m. 1 fur.) where that lane meets the Oxford-Henley road. Then W. along the latter road for 1 fur. (11m. 2 fur.). Then WSW., modern road, across Nuffield Common (OM1) to (11m. 7 fur.) the E. end of Nuffield village.

(*Branch Ridgeway.* Here what was probably a most important branch of the ridgeway went down the line of the modern road to (15m. 7 fur.) a crossing of the Thames at Wallingford, beyond which it was continued by a ridgeway (Berks road 43) which ran from Wallingford to the great ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs which it must have joined near Scutchammer Knob. (OM1).)

Main Ridgeway cont. From Nuffield in a general direction S. by W., modern roads, by Ipsden Heath (OM1), Scot's Farm (OM1), and Whitehall (OM1) to (14m. 6 fur.) Checkendon village.

When the ridgeway reaches Checkendon the question arises whether the main line of it went to Goring to make connection with the Berkshire Downs ridgeway, or to Caversham to make connection with the extreme E. end of the same ridgeway (Berks Road 44, p. 137) and with a ridgeway running S. It seems certain that as a line of through communication the latter was by far the more important, and therefore it will be treated as the main line.

From Checkendon it ran S. by E., modern road, to (15m. 4 fur.) within a furlong of Hook End. (OM1). Thence S. by W., line of footpath, to (16m. 1 fur.) the modern main road to Reading. This road is on its line as far as Cane End (OM1) (17m. 1 fur.). Then the old track went E., its line marked partly by modern roads, partly by a footpath, to (18m. 2 fur.) Kidmore End. (OM1). Then S., modern road, through Toker's Green (OM1) to (19m. 7 fur.) Farthingworth Green. (OM1). The SSE., modern road, to (21m. 3 fur.) the Thames at Caversham Bridge. (OM1).²

This ridgeway must have been of great importance as a through line of communication from East Anglia to Wessex.

¹ Name significant as suggesting the ultimate destination of the road.

² Partly from the evidence of place and field names, and to a certain extent from the Saxon charters, it is known that before the Thames was canalised by the making of locks the fords on the part of it above Reading, at any rate, were numerous.

BRANCH RIDGEWAYS OF ROAD 7.¹

ROAD 8. A CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Leaves the main ridgeway at the top of Chinnor Hill (OM1), and runs SE. down the comb of Bledlow Ridge (OM1) along modern road, passing through City. (OM1). Its ridgeway character ends at the end of the ridge (4m. 1 fur.). It was probably never more than a local track.

ROAD 9. A CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Branches off from the main ridgeway at Hill Farm (OM1), at the top of Aston Hill (OM1), where the modern Oxford-London road crosses the main ridgeway. Runs ESE. along the London road to (1m. 4 fur.) Stokenchurch, and then SE. along the Great Marlow road to (7m. 4 fur.) within $\frac{1}{2}$ m. of Great Marlow where its ridgeway character ceases. That it crossed the Thames at Great Marlow is probable.

¹ The prevalence of the ridgeway even in the modern road system of England has not been recognised in literature. A few of the more important ridgeways have been well known, and have been marked on the map. But by far the larger part of the great ridgeways of this country have been hitherto untraced and unknown, and in many cases their very existence has been unsuspected.

But what is still less recognised is that there are hundreds of local ridgeways, perhaps a mile or two long, or, may be, only a few hundred yards long, which survive in the form of modern roads or tracks. Even archaeologists have not realised how invariable was the custom of dwellers in a locality to follow a local watershed if it happened to lead in the direction which they wished to take. Roads and tracks only a few hundred yards long from the farm centre to its outlying lands always took such a line when one was available.

On a somewhat larger scale a ridgeway would almost invariably develop along the comb of any ridge, even if the ridge were quite a short one. At the present day, when drainage has done so much to change old conditions, it is not perhaps easy to recognise that the passage of land near a stream must have been in any but very dry weather always unpleasant and to be avoided, sometimes difficult, and sometimes impossible. The Chiltern branch ridgeways, of which a description follows, emphasise this. Anyone who knows the S. part of the range knows that the question of water supply presents difficulties which cannot perhaps be paralleled elsewhere in England. At the summit water is not reached till at a depth of 600 feet. On the W. wide the slope is steep, and there are practically no valleys. But on the E. side are long valleys the upper parts of which are for several miles entirely devoid of permanent streams. And yet ridgeways still existent in the form of modern roads and tracks developed along the ridges separating these dry valleys. In wet weather the valley bottoms were avoided. If such were the case here, what must have been the case in regions of permanent streams and surface water?

I have mentioned these general facts in order that the emphasis laid on ridgeways in this chapter may not seem suspect by reason of its novelty.

ROAD 10. A CHILTERN SUB-BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Branches off from road 9 at the W. end of Stokenchurch village. Runs S. by E. via Ibstone to near Fingest (3m. 6 fur.) where its ridgeway character gives out. Forms the Co. By. for $\frac{3}{4}$ m. Purely local.

ROAD 11. IMPORTANT CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Leaves the main ridgeway at Christmas Common. (OM1). Goes ESE. to (1m. 3 fur.) Northend. (OM1). Modern road. Then SE., modern road, to (2m. 4 fur.) Turville Heath. (OM1). Then, modern road, winding course, generally SSE., to (4m.) Kimble Farm. (OM1). The E. by S., modern road, to (4m. 3 fur.) the W. side of Gussetts Wood. (OM1). The S., modern road, to Upper Woodend Farm (OM1), and on S. by line of farm road, to Lower Woodend Farm (OM1), and S. for about a furlong, no track to Roundhouse Farm (OM1), and S., modern road, to (5m. 4 fur.) Fawley village. Then SSW., modern road, to (6m. 4 fur.) Crockmore Farm. (OM1). Then SSE., modern lane, to (8m. 4 fur.) Henley.

This was probably an important line of communication in early times leading from the great Chiltern ridgeway and from the Icknield Way across the Thames at Henley to a ridgeway beyond that river which led down into E. Berkshire and Surrey (v. Berks road 58).

ROAD 11A. A CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Leaves main ridgeway at Christmas Common. (OM1). Runs SSE., modern road, as far as (2m. 4 fur.) the neighbourhood of Pishill where its ridgeway character ceases. Local and quite unimportant.

ROAD 12. A CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

This may have been a track of some importance. Leaves the main ridgeway at Park Corner (OM1), and follows the modern road from that place through Nettlebed to Henley as far as (3m.) the village of Bix. Here it must have left the line of the modern road to Henley and run along the ridge to the S. of it. From Bix its line is probably represented by the modern lane which goes in a general S. direction by Brawn's Farm (OM1) and Broad Plat (OM1) to join the road from Greys Green (OM1) to Henley at the E. corner of the park of Greys Court (4m.). Then ESE. along the latter road to (6m. 1 fur.) a crossing of the Thames at Henley. On the other side of the river it was continued by a ridgeway (Berks road 58) into Surrey.

ROAD 13. A CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Leaves the main ridgeway at Checkendon. Runs SW., modern road, to (7 fur.) the E. end of Woodcote village. Then S. and, later, SE. to (1m. 3 fur.) Greenmoor Hill. (OM1). Then SW., partly along modern roads, partly along a field path, to (2m.) Crays Pond. (OM1). Then S. along modern road to Whitchurch to (4m. 3 fur.) the Thames. Whether there was a ford there is not known. In any case this branch ridgeway can hardly have been of more than local importance.

ROAD 14. A CHILTERN BRANCH RIDGEWAY.

Left road 13 at Crays Pond. (OM1). Went due E., modern roads, to (2m. 5 fur.) Goring.

Some might reckon this the true S. end of the main Chiltern ridgeway. No doubt there was a passage of the Thames here which would give communication with three ancient highways, the Roman road from Dorchester, the ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs, and the Berkshire part of the Icknield Way. But if the traveller along the Chiltern ridgeway aimed at going W., as would probably be the case with many users of that track, there was more direct communication with the Berkshire ridgeway and the Icknield way by the ridgeway to and beyond Wallingford.

ROAD 16. THE BANBURY RIDGEWAY.

This leaves the great Cotswold ridgeway at the extreme N. end of Edgehill (OM1), and is represented as far as Banbury by the modern road from Kington (Warwickshire) to Banbury which coincides for the greater part of the distance between Edgehill and Banbury with the modern Banbury-Warwick road.

It begins at Knowle End (OM1) at the N. end of Edgehill, and runs first due E. to (5 fur.) a camp (OM1) near Arlescote. (OM1). Then ESE. to (2m.) a point S. of Warmington village where it joins the modern Warwick road. It then runs SSE. along that road to (7m. 1 fur.) Banbury, where it crossed the Cherwell.

Beyond that it followed the twisting and turning line of the watershed between the Cherwell and the Great Ouse, along the greater part of which lines of modern road run. That it eventually arrived at Northampton is shown by a reference to an ancient road which joins the Cotswold ridgeway a good many miles S. of Banbury. In K.1367 a charter of Adlestrop near

Stow-on-the-Wold this road is called the *Regia Strata de Norhamtun*, which must imply communication with Northampton along the line of the Cotswold and Banbury ridgeways. It was evidently an important line of communication.

ROAD 17. THE ROMAN ROAD FROM TOWCESTER TO
DORCHESTER (OXON) VIA ALCHESTER.

The course of this road has been often described and is clearly marked on the map¹ so that a detailed description of its course would be superfluous. Still something may be added to what has been written in the past concerning it.

There are two references to this road in the Oxfordshire charters. In the Cuddesdon charter B.945, K.437 part of the boundary of the grant is said to follow this road. The reference is to that stretch of the road which forms part of the W. By. of Garsington and also part of the W. By. of Horspath. The road is called *straet*. There is also a mention of a *straet-gelaeto*, 'crossroads,' which was where a track crossed the Roman road at Brasenose Rough (OM1) at the foot of the S. slope of Shotover.

This Roman road forms also the E. By. of Sandford; and in the Sandford charters K.693 and K.800 it is also called *straet*.

It had long been suspected that the road did not end at Dorchester but was carried on to Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), but actual proof of the conjecture was lacking until a solution of the surveys of charters of Brightwell (B.810, K.1154) and Sotwell (B.988) in Berkshire near Wallingford was published.²

In the Brightwell charter there is mention of an *eald straet ford* 'old ford of the street (made road),' a ford on the Thames where the By. between Brightwell and Sotwell abuts on it $\frac{3}{4}$ m. SE. of the church at Dorchester. From this point a minor road, which has at the present day the appearance of being little more than an occupation road, runs S. by W. in an absolutely straight line for exactly 1m. to the top of the ridge on which Brightwell Barrow (OM1) stands. On the horizon summit of the ridge it turns through a slight angle, as Roman roads almost invariably do at such horizon points. In the Sotwell charter this part of it is called *straet*, implying a made

¹ See Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 243.

² The conjecture is clearly stated in Codrington *loc. cit.* The charters were published in Vol. XXVII of the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archæological Journal* as part of a series of papers on the charters of Berkshire which I published in that periodical.

road. It then runs due S. in a straight line for $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. between the adjoining villages of Brightwell and Sotwell. For the whole of the distance from the Thames to this point it forms a parish By. It then continues through Mackney (OM1), crossing the stream to the N. of that place by what was formerly a ford called in the Sotwell charter *Maccaniges Ford*, 'the ford of Macca's Island,' i.e. Mackney. The traces give out, as far as modern tracks are concerned, about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Mackney. This last part of the road is pointing straight on Streatley whose name implies that it was on a Roman road.

ROAD 18. A ROMAN VICINAL WAY ?

In a charter of Ardley a few miles NW. of Bicester (K.1289) is a reference to a road which the surveyors call *Portstraet*. It is the road which forms parts of the W. By. of the parish. The name implies that the surveyors thought that they recognised signs of making at least at that part of the road to which they referred, namely the piece at the S. end of the W. By. of Ardley. It was not a matter on which they were likely to make a mistake.

Whatever may be the origin of this road, it is certainly a remarkable one in two ways. From the S. end of the village of Fritwell which lies NW. of Ardley it runs S. in a straight line for $2\frac{1}{2}$ m., then makes a slight turn WSW. and runs for another 2m. 1 fur. in a dead straight line to a point about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. ESE. of Northbrook (OM1) where it joins another road coming from the N., and also having a noticeably straight course for several miles.¹ These united roads then run for $\frac{3}{4}$ m. S. in an all but straight line and join the Roman road called the Akeman Street within a few yards of the NW. corner of Kirtlington Park. (OM1).

A still more remarkable feature of the road under discussion is that for a great part of its length it runs, and probably originally for its whole length it ran, along the line of a great dyke called Ash Bank Wattle or Aves Ditch. The road appears to run for the most part actually on the dyke. There is a Roman road in N. Wiltshire running on the great Wansdyke. N. of Fritwell the modern road does not display the Roman characteristic of straightness except where it is passing along the E. edge of Aynho Park. (OM1). Nor is there any straightness in its modern continuation S. of the Akeman Street.

¹ This road is called a Roman road in the Ordnance Survey map, on what grounds I do not know, but I should suspect to be on the information of some local antiquary.

That it is a Roman road is possible. That it was a main Roman road of any length is very unlikely. But it may have been a vicinal way leading N. from the Akeman Street. The question of its Roman origin could only be decided definitely by taking a section of it if there exist any part of it where modern road making has not destroyed its ancient character.

ROAD 19. THE AKEMAN STREET. A ROMAN ROAD.

It is not the intent of this chapter to deal in detail with roads which have been adequately described by other writers. The Akeman Street has been described in detail by Codrington.¹

The scheme of the Roman roads of Britain shows that, following a plan which they employed in other provinces of the empire, the Romans ran roads along the frontier of the time being in order to facilitate the rapid movement of troops along that frontier to threatened points. The Akeman Street, the Fosse Way, and that part of the Watling Street which runs down the Welsh border represent different stages in the Roman conquest of the island. The Akeman Street is said to have got its name from a Saxon *aece-mann*, which would mean literally 'ache man' (presumably 'invalid'), referring to the fact that Bath and its healing springs might be reached along this road. Has the name any warranty in Saxon literature?² Or is it an antiquarian invention like certain other names in this part of England?³

The only note which need be added to Codrington's account of the road is that a section of its agger made some years ago in Blenheim Park⁴ disclosed a road unusually elaborate and ingenious in construction, the bed being formed of two layers of rough slabs of the local stone set up edgewise, but at a slight slant, and a surface of the same local stone broken small. The survival of the road in an undamaged condition showed that it could not have been put to much use in post-Roman times.

ROAD 20. THE ICKNIELD WAY.

Much has been written about the course of this road from the Thames at Streatley to its reputed termination in Norfolk. How much of what has been written is scientifically true it

¹ Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, pp. 240-2.

² I have not come across any.

³ e.g. the Isis, and Sinodun Hill near Dorchester.

⁴ By the late Professor Haverfield and myself.

would be impossible to say without a close study of the local records of places along its line. Here the discussion will be confined to its course in Oxfordshire and the immediate neighbourhood. In its course through Berkshire it is frequently mentioned in Saxon charters belonging to that county.

In Oxfordshire only two of the grants recorded in that county pass across its line, those of Newnham Murren and of *Read Ora*; but neither of them make any reference to it by name, or even mention the existence of a road along its line. That suggests that this part of it was not so important as its Berkshire section.

In a charter of Monks Risborough, however, just beyond the Oxford border, in Buckinghamshire, it is mentioned. The reference in the survey of that charter (B.603, K. 1081) runs as follows:—‘Along the Boundary to *Icenhyllte*: along *Icenhyllte* to the Heathen Burialplace.’

The landmark preceding the first of the two landmarks above is the boundary of the parish of Kimble, and the landmark succeeding the second refers to the ridgeway on the top of the Chilterns. The survey is passing along the NE. By. of Risborough, and that By. crosses two roads both of which are called Icknield Way in the ordnance map. The second of the landmarks above quoted takes the By. *along* the way. The By. coming from the NW. does not pass *along* the first of these two Icknield Ways, but does pass for a very short distance along the second. Therefore it must be the second which is called *Icenhyllte* in the charter. This is important in view of what must now be mentioned, that this second way runs close along the foot of the Chilterns, and is in fact a summer way corresponding to the ridgeway on the summit of the range, i.e. a way which wayfarers used when the higher courses of streams were dry, and it was not necessary to climb to the top of the ridge in order to get a line of route unimpeded by wet land. Between Risborough and the Thames the ordnance map applies the name Icknield Way to three different roads: first, to a long straight line of road which runs SW. from Risborough by Longwick Mill (OM1), and then W. of the villages of Bledlow, Chinnor, and Kingston Blount to the Oxford-London road near Aston Rowant, where the line seems to give out: secondly to a line of road, which it calls the Upper Icknield Way, which runs along the hill above Princes Risborough and Saunderton: thirdly to a more or less straight piece of road which runs from (as far as appearance goes) the Oxford-London road at a point about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. E. of Lewknor and then SW. adhering very closely to the footslope of the Chilterns.

Before proceeding further it will be well to clear up the evidence already cited.

This road last mentioned is the same as the *Icenhyllte* of the Risborough charter, i.e. it is part of the summer way of the Chilterns, just as the Icknield Way of Berkshire is the summer way correspondent to the ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs. It may be said without further ado that this is probably the true Icknield Way in Oxfordshire.

As regards the Upper Icknield Way mentioned above as being near Princes Risborough and Saunderton, it is certainly not part of the ridgeway, for that must have crossed the great valley between Risborough and High Wycombe at its watershed which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of this road. If the name is rightly attached to it then it was probably a section of the summerway already mentioned. But the second of the roads, which the ordnance map calls the Lower Icknield Way, is puzzling. It is certainly not a summer way which had been romanised, for it crosses numerous perennial streams. Also it runs almost straight for many miles. That is a characteristic of very modern as well as of Roman roads; but there is no conceivable reason for the making of a modern road along its line because it does not pass through any villages, and a road which does runs parallel with it and at a very short distance from it. In the absence of actual evidence all that can be given here is a personal impression of its *raison-d'être*. In the first place it is ancient. In the second it is almost certainly a piece of road which was actually made in Romano-British times, and that not on the line of a pre-existing trackway, but *de novo*. The object of making it may have been to avoid the ups and downs of the line of the summerway at this part; and it was made, not on the summer way, but as a preferable alternative to part of it, just as in Berkshire the Romans rectified the line of the Berkshire Icknield Way by making a new and straight section of it between Upton and Wantage.

The traces of this piece of road give out apparently, as has been said, at the point where it meets the modern Oxford-London road. But further S. another line of road also called in the ordnance map the Icknield Way runs in a very slightly wavy line from the Oxford-Henley road on Beggarsbush Hill (OM1) S. to a point close to Goring. Though the gap between the northernmost traces of this line of road and the southernmost traces of the road previously discussed is nearly 8 m., yet the general directions of the two roads correspond so much that they may be taken to be parts of one and the same road. But

this southern section has not that straightness which is characteristic of the northern ; there is, in other words, no sign of its having been made, even partially, in Roman times. Still the main question is whether this southern road is part of the summerway of the Chilterns.

It is in the geological formation of the country at the W. side of the Chilterns that the answer to the question is to be sought.

Nearly all the summerways which form alternative routes to the ridgeways are to be found in the chalk districts, for it is on the chalk that the upper parts of streams tend to run dry in the dry season. As far S. as Watlington the belt of chalk at the W. foot of the range is comparatively narrow ; but S. of that it widens out, extending to the Thames. The belts of upper greensand and gault which lie W. of the chalk have not its absorbent character, and the streams which run on them are perennial throughout their course. Hence, while the belt of chalk at the foot of the range is narrow, the summerway clings closely to the footslope of it ; but where the chalk widens out it would be possible for the wayfarer to take a line further from the foot of the Chiltern Ridge, unimpeded by watercourses and their miry neighbourhood, and so avoid those detours round projecting ridges which are so characteristic of summerways which adhere closely to the actual foot of a range. So at this S. end the summer way of the Chilterns took a course at an unusual distance from the summit of the main ridge. Nor, as has been already said, can there be much doubt that this summer way is the real Icknield Way.

As the question of the identity of this part of the Icknield Way is complicated by the fact that the name is applied in the modern map to two different roads, it may be well to give in detail the course of the summer way of the Chilterns from Risborough to Goring, adopting the view that has been expressed that this is the original course of the old track. The description can be followed throughout on the one-inch map.

Beginning at a point about 3 fur. SE. of Monks Risborough village it followed, certainly as far as Saunderton, where it has to get round the head of a perennial stream, the line of the road called in the map the Upper Icknield Way. Hitherto it has been running SW. At a point near Saunderton it turned W. by S. and went along the N. slope of Wain Hill (OM1) on which Bledlow Cross (OM1) stands. So far the distance traversed is about 4m. all along modern lines of road. It then resumes a SW. direction along a modern line of road, the last mile of

which runs close beside the Watlington railway, to (7m. 6 fur.) the foot of Beacon Hill. (OM1). It then goes on SW. past the feet of Shirburn and Watlington Hills (OM1) to (11m. 6 fur.) a point about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W. of Dame Alice Farm. (OM1). This four miles of its course is nearly straight, and is called Icknield Way in the ordnance map. From here its line would appear to have been along a modern line of road in a WSW. direction, past North Farm (OM1), over the immediate foot of Swyncombe Down (OM1), just above the head of the great spring $\frac{1}{2}$ m. SE. of Ewelme, to Gipsies' Corner (OM1) on the modern Oxford-Henley road (15m.). Thence S. by W. along the line of road called Icknield Way in the ordnance map, past Blenheim Farm (OM1) and Icknield Farm (OM1) to (20m. 6 fur.) about 1m. from the bridge at Goring which is probably at the site of the ford where it crossed the Thames.

SOME MINOR ROADS.

ROAD 21. A MINOR ROAD IN BRITWELL BALDWIN.

A *Fildena Weg* is mentioned in the Britwell charter. It may imply what would be now called a switchback way. It was on the line of the road which runs NNW. from Ewelme up the W. By. of Britwell Baldwin.

ROAD 22. MINOR ROAD IN CUXHAM.

Another *Fildena Weg* is mentioned in the Cuxham charter (q.v.). It is now represented by the road called Hyde Lane (OM6) which runs along the W. By. of that parish.

ROAD 23. ROAD IN HAILEY NEAR WITNEY.

In both the Witney charters (q.v.) there is mention of a *Huntena Weg*, 'Hunter's Way.' This was on the line of the road which runs NNE. along the N. By. of Hailey from a point about 300 yds. WNW. of Gigley Farm. (OM1). The name was probably due to the track being either in, or on the bounds of, Wychwood Forest.

ROAD 24. LOCAL ROAD IN SHIPTON-ON-CHERWELL.

A track called *Wuduweg*, 'Way of the Wood' is mentioned in the Shipton charter (q.v.). It is now represented by the road which runs W. from Campsfield Farm (OM1) and forms the W. part of the S. By. of the parish.

ROAD 25. ROAD FROM SHIPTON TO BLADON.

A track called *the Weg the scytt to Bladene* is mentioned in the Shipton charter (q.v.). It branched off from the minor ridgeway (road 3) which leaves the Oxford ridgeway at Sturdy's Castle Inn (OM1) about halfway down the W. By. of Shipton and runs almost due S. It cannot have been ever of more than local importance, and may have been evolved in Saxon times. It is represented throughout its length by modern rights of way. It probably went along a modern line of road to Hensington by Woodstock, and then S. along a line of footpath through the E. end of Blenheim Park direct to Bladon village.

ROAD 26. LOCAL TRACK IN SHIFFORD.

A *Weg*, 'track,' mentioned in the Shifford charter was merely one of the tracks formed along the balks of ploughlands.

ROAD 27. TRACK IN WOODEATON.

Dude Weg, 'Duda's Track,' on the line of the Worcester road where it forms the parish By.

ROAD 28. TRACK IN NEWNHAM MURREN.

Maerweg a track of the same type as road 26, 'Boundary Way.'

ROAD 29. TRACK IN NEWNHAM MURREN.

A track still existent, forming part of the S. By. of the parish, and running along the line of the Grim's Ditch. (OM1).

ROAD 30. A TRACK IN HORSPATH.

A *Maerweg*, 'Boundary Way,' mentioned in the Cuddesdon charter, ran up by Open Brasenose (OM1) up the S. slope of Shotover. Line of the track still exists. Of the same nature as road 28.

ROAD 31. A TRACK IN HORSPATH.

A track called in the Cuddesdon charter the *Hlith Weg*, 'Way of the Slope,' ran along the slope of Shotover Hill, probably along the NW. and N. sides of Horspath Common. (OM1).

VOCABULARY OF FIELD NAMES.

Assarts. Land cleared of timber for the purpose of cultivation.

Ban. ?

Blacklands. (a) generally a name given to poor land : (b) uncultivated land covered with gorse, etc.

Breach. Land newly broken up by the plough.

Butts. Ploughlands where the furrows were shorter than the usual length of the furrow, i.e. less than a furlong.

Catsbrain. Land on which oolite fossils were found.

Chashill. v. Chissel.

Chastill. v. Chissel.

Chissel. Gravel. Saxon *ceosol*.

Coalpit. Charcoal pit.

Copythorn. Pollarded thorn tree. Saxon *coppede thorn*.

Corsicle. Also spelt Cossical. Reference to a geometrical figure of some kind. Implies a field of a certain shape.

Costard. The name of a species of apple. If this field name is derived from it, it may have been applied to fields in which apple trees of that species grew.

Danch. In Northern England means 'nice.' May have been introduced into Oxfordshire by a northern farmer.

Dunstead. A cattle steading on a hill.

French Lands. A certain kind of grass called French Grass was introduced into England, apparently in late mediæval times. So this name may imply a field where that grass was grown. French Grass is a fairly common field name in Dorset.

Furlong. Came to be applied in post-Saxon times to a group of strips of ploughland (acres). In South England each such group had to be left fallow for one year out of three.

Furzen. One of the numerous old adjectives in -en. Implied that furze grew on the land.

Great Ground. Almost certainly a technical name, though its meaning is not clear. In at least fifty per cent. of the parishes of South England this name occurs once, and hardly ever more than once, unless the parish happens to be made up of tithings.

Hades, Haydes. Headland of a ploughland. A strip at each

end of a furlong on which the plough was turned on coming to the end of a furrow. Has no reference to elevation.

Hale. A hollow, perhaps quite small, in a hillside. Saxon *healh*.

Ham. From Saxon *hamm*, 'enclosure.' In modern times has been mistakenly supposed to be applied only to enclosures near rivers and streams. But is found in names of fields not near any stream. The mistake is due to the fact that during Saxon times and later the 'mead' of village communities was going through a process of conversion from common to individual ownership, i.e. instead of the hay on it being cut *en masse* and then distributed in proportionate shares to holders in the parish (community) the mead was cut into lots each of which was assigned to a holder, and from that lot, and that lot only, the holder got his hay. On acquiring a lot a holder, not unnaturally, fenced it in and formed a 'ham' of it; and, as it was mead land which was especially subject to this kind of division, the field name ham came to be especially common near streams, for the only hay land of the country was on what would now be called water meadows.

Hanging. 'On a slope of hillside.'

Hatch. Saxon *haec*. A hatchgate or half-gate. May be a gate in a fence. Sometimes a sluice-gate.

Hatchway. A track on which there is a hatch-gate.

Haws. Saxon *hagas*. Fences of peculiar strength to keep swine and wild animals off cultivated ground.

Hay. Saxon *hege*. Ordinary fence, usually made of hurdles.

Lake. Saxon *lacu*. A slow-flowing stream, or a backwater of a river. Still common with those meanings in Hampshire and, more rarely in other counties. Also used of channels through shallow estuaries.

Lampit. Saxon *lampyt*. Claypit or Marlpit.

Langet or Lanket. A small lynch or shelf of ploughland on a hillside.

Lank. Variant of lynch. See last.

Lee or Ley. Saxon *leah*. Originally uncultivated land used as far as possible for pasture. Now 'pasture.'

Lince. 'Lynch.' See Langet.

Lynch. See Langet.

Lyde. A dell or sunk watercourse.

Mare. Sometimes from Saxon mere, 'pond.' Sometimes from Saxon *maere*, a balk or grass boundary of ploughland.

Mead. Saxon *maed*, 'hayland.' In Saxon times always near a stream.

Moor. Saxon *mor*, more or less waterlogged ground.

Peeks, Picks, Pikes. Fields with at least one very acute angle.

Picked. Adj. corresponding to last.

Picket. Diminutive of Pick. v. above.

Piddle. A small stream.

Pill. Generally means a pool or a small stream.

Rod. A withy. Rod Eyot a very common field name.

Roke. Saxon *aet thaere Ac*, 'at the Oaktree.'

Ruworth. Saxon *ruh wyrth*, 'rough farm or enclosure.'

Sheer. In Gloucestershire a dialect word meaning 'cold.'
But may be suspected to be from Saxon *scearu*, something which divides or is on a boundary.

Shooting. 'Running down to.' Common in Berkshire field names.

Sideland. Land running lengthwise along the side of a hill.

Slay, Sleigh. Sheep run.

Slough. Quagmire.

Spear. Probably a rush, especially a bulrush. Spearbed a common name in the Hampshire Test.

Squitch. A kind of coarse grass.

Venney. Probably fenny or marshy.

INDEX.

—
n refers to notes.

Akeman Street, 110.
 Appleford, Berks, 23.
 Assendon, near Henley, 48.

Bacc, meaning, 11.
 Balks, 35*n*.
 Banbury Ridgeway, 107.
 Bawgey, fn. in Chimney, 13.
 Bentley, Warw., 34.
Bladene, river name, 35 and *n*.

Cadwell Farm and Cadwell Covert,
 Cuxham, 10.

Camp, meaning, 9*n*.
Ceommene, stream name, 13, 54.
 Charters, test of genuineness, ix. *ff*.
 Cherwell, original course, 17.
 Chiltern Branch Ridgeways, 105 *ff*.
 Chiltern Ridgeway, 41, 102.
 Chilterns, woodland on, 42, 46.
Ciric, *Cyric*, meaning, 90.
 Clare, hamlet near Watlington, 50*n*.
 Gleeve Prior, Glouc., 33*n*.
 Colwell Brook, near Witney, 32.
 "Common" Property, 87.
Communis Terra, 52.
 Copythorn, 32*n*.
 Cotswold Ridgeway, 71, 94.
 Cumnor Hill road, 97.
Cytel, meaning, 81*n*.

Ditton, Surrey, 34.
 Domain Land, 6.
Draeg, meaning, 45*n*.
 Dykes as boundaries, 41*n*.

Easington near Watlington, origin of
 name, 11.
Eow, meaning, 64*n*.
 Erdington, Warw., 34.
 Esher, Surrey, 34.
 Evenlode river, change of name, 35*n*.

Faga Flora, meaning, 86*n*.
 Farms before Enclosure Acts, 6 and *n*,
 59 and *n*.

-ferth, stream name element, 27 and *n*.
Fildene, meaning, 7*n*, 10*n*, 26.
Fleot, meaning, 45*n*.
 Folly Bridge, Oxford road, 97*n*.

Grants in Saxon charters, distribution
 of dates, 68*n*.
 Grim's Ditch, 41.

Haga, meaning, 46.
 Hawksley, fn., 76.
 Hazelford Mill, Tadmarton, 70.
 Henley Ridgeways, 106 (*bis*).
Hina Gemaere, meaning, 21*n*.
 Hockmere Cottages, Cowley, 16.
 Hollandtide Bottom, near Benson, 10.
 Hookell Field, fn., Nuneham Courtenay,
 42, 53.
Humbra, Humber, stream name, 56
 and *n*.

Icknield Way, 12, 110 *ff*.
 Ingham, vanished name near Cuxham,
 11.

King's right to land, 85*n*.
 Knightsbridge, Shirburn, 47.

Land Tenure, 1*n*, 85*n*.

Maerweg, meaning, 55*n*.
Marana Clive, 33 and *n*.
 Mead, 12 and *n*, 83 and *n*.
 Mickleton, Glouc., 33.
 Minor Ancient Roads, 114 *ff*.

Oek, meaning, 16.
 Otteney, island, 24.
 Oxford, ancient ford, 97 and *n*.
 Oxford-Besselsleigh road, 97.
 Oxford-Faringdon road, 97.
 Oxford-London road, 22*n*, 100 and *n*.
 Oxford, origin of town, 96.
 Oxford Ridgeway, 95.
 Oxford-Wantage road, 97.
 Oxfordshire Co. By., 17, 24.

Private Property, 87.

Ray, stream name, 4, 42.

Ridgeways, 93, 105*n*.

Rod, meaning, 30*n*.

Romanised Roads, 94.

Roman Road, Alchester to Dorchester, 108.

Roman Vicinal Way, 109.

Ruh, meaning, 34*n*.

Russia, fn., Chimney, 13, 14.

Scydd, meaning, 44*n*.

Sexig, stream name, 2 and *n*.

Shilton, near Witney, 82.

Shotover, road over, 22*n*, 101.

Shotridge Wood, near Watlington, 48.

Slaep, meaning, 4*n*.

Slaew, meaning, 79*n*.

Slaves, 9 and *n*.

Spelling Variations, mediaeval, 61*n*.

Spoonley Copse, Crawley, 77.

Stoc, meaning, 34*n*.

Stonor, near Henley, 48.

Stratford, significance of name, 12.

Summer Ways, 94.

Termination of Genitive, strong and weak, 26*n*, 45*n*.

Thame River, original course, 22.

Timber, 27*n*, 41, 87.

Towns, origin of, 96*n*.

Treow, meaning, 86*n*.

Trill, stream name, 25 and *n*.

Village centre of community, 39.

Wael, meaning, 74–5.

Waerede, meaning, 80.

Wallingford Ridgeway, 104.

Weaveley Farm, Tackley, 58.

Wihthull, charter, 61.

Witangemot and Land Grants, 85*n*.

Witham Ridgeway, 99.

Witney Branch Ridgeway, 98.

Witney Ridgeway, 99.

Woodland, ownership, 9 and *n*, 87.
(*See also* Timber.)

Wychwood Forest, 77.

Wyrtwala, meaning, 29*n*.

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