

English Place-Names derived from the Compound *wīchām*¹

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THERE are at least twenty-eight place-names in England which derive from Old English *wīchām* (FIG. 16). It is possible that I have failed to track down some examples of this compound which are already known, and it is probable that a few additional ones will come to light during the future progress of the English Place-Name Society's survey of the country; but the twenty-eight names which are discussed here are certainly the majority of those in existence. Of these, twenty-four are situated on, or not more than a mile from, a known Roman road. This is not a normal distribution. In fact, if only half the names in question were on or near Roman roads, one would suspect that the relationship was meaningful; but with twenty-four out of twenty-eight being thus situated it seems necessary to conclude that the connexion with Roman roads is essential to an understanding of these place-names.²

In the following list, which is arranged under counties, the philological evidence is not quoted in every case, but it must be emphasized that it exists, and is the basis of this study. It is not permissible simply to take names from the Ordnance Survey maps. Childswickham, Worcestershire, for instance, is not a name

¹ It is pleasant to acknowledge the generous help which I have received from Dr. J. N. L. Myres, who has been tireless in his search for relevant archaeological details, and his exposure of the weaker arguments in the first two drafts of this article. Thanks are also due to Professor Kenneth Cameron, for reading a somewhat incoherent first draft and concluding that the material was significant, to my husband for much patient and helpful advice throughout, and to Mrs. Brenda Timmins, who drew the fair copy of both the maps.

² The following abbreviated titles are used throughout this paper:

BCS	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> (ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols., London, 1885-93).
DA map	<i>Map of Britain in the Dark Ages</i> (2 ed., Ordnance Survey, Chessington, 1966).
<i>Elements</i> , I, II	A. H. Smith, <i>English Place-Name Elements</i> , parts I, II (Engl. Place-Name Soc., xxv, xxvi, Cambridge, 1956).
Hawkes	S. C. Hawkes and G. C. Dunning, 'Soldiers and settlers in Britain, fourth to fifth century', <i>Med. Archaeol.</i> , v (1961), 1-70.
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> .
KCD	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i> (ed. J. M. Kemble, 6 vols., London, 1839-48).
Margary	I. D. Margary, <i>Roman Roads in Britain</i> (2 vols., London, 1955-7).
Meaney	Audrey Meaney, <i>A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites</i> (London, 1964).
O.S. map	Ordnance Survey 1-in. map.
<i>PN Ca</i>	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely</i> (Engl. Place-Name Soc., xix, Cambridge, 1943).
<i>PN Herts</i>	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire</i> (Engl. Place-Name Soc., xv, Cambridge, 1938).
RB map	<i>Map of Roman Britain</i> (3 ed., Ordnance Survey, Chessington, 1956).
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i> (for the county in question).

in *wichām*, and while the modern form Wycombe can sometimes be traced back to *wīchām*, it can also have other origins. Wickham Hill, Hertfordshire, which is a very tempting specimen, has been omitted from the map (FIG. 16) and from all the statistics in this article, as there are no early spellings available on which a sound etymology could be based (*v. p. 90*).

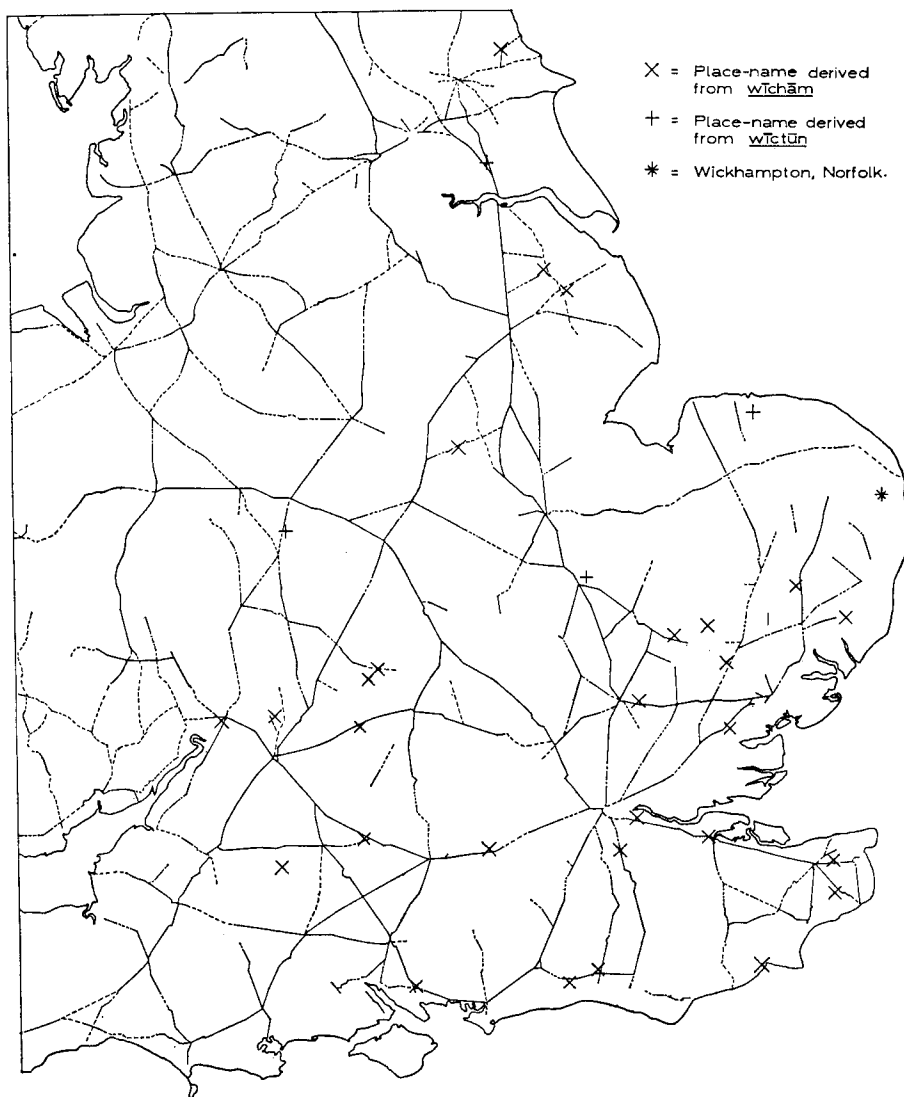


FIG. 16
 DISTRIBUTION-MAP SHOWING PLACE-NAMES DERIVED
 FROM *WICHĀM* AND *WICTŪN*

LIST OF NAMES DERIVED FROM *WICHAM*

BERKSHIRE

1. *Wickham*: Welford parish, W. of Speen, O.S. map 158. The church is immediately S. of Margary 41b, and the modern settlement straddles the road about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W. of the junction with Margary 53. *VCH Berks.*, I, 219, says 'Roman coins have been found in the village and many fragments of Roman pottery in making a pond near the Rectory'. There is Roman pottery in Newbury Museum from an earth-work said by Harold Peake to have been near the church (*ex inf.* Mr. C. E. Stevens). There was a large Anglo-Saxon inhumation-cemetery in the neighbouring parish of East Shefford.
2. *Wickham Bushes*: Easthampstead parish, S. of Bracknell, O.S. map 169. About $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N. of Margary 4a. An adjoining piece of land is called 'The Town'. For excavations here in the 19th century see *VCH Berks.*, I, 206. There were traces of houses, associated with Roman pottery and coins. RB map does not mark this. Mr. C. E. Stevens tells me 'it is one of those rather queer villages which occasionally turn up on sandy soil'.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

1. *West Wickham*: village and parish, NW. of Haverhill, O.S. map 148. A little less than 1 mile N. of Margary 24. This place is mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon charter of 974 (BCS 1305), in which the bounds of the neighbouring parish of West Wrating run *oð wichammes gemære*. The *-mm-* of *wichammes* could be taken to indicate that the final element is *hamm*, 'river-meadow', not *hām*, 'village', cf. West Wickham, Kent (p. 90). The site is not particularly appropriate to *hamm*, however, and I am taking this, and the Old English form in *-mm-* for the Kentish name, to be due to the confusion of these two elements which is occasionally found in Old English texts. This is a somewhat arbitrary decision, but it is important to note that *on Wichamme* in BCS 1268 does not refer to West Wickham; it is identified (*PN Ca*, 244) with Witcham, a name of different origin. RB map marks a minor settlement N. of Horseheath, which is about 1 mile S. of West Wickham. There is a group of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to the SW., of which Meaney's Linton Heath B, which was less than 2 miles from West Wickham, 'may have originated in the late V'.

ESSEX

1. *Wickham Bishops*: village and parish, near Hatfield Peverel, O.S. map 162. The village is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and Wickham Place is $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, SE. of Margary 3b. The spelling *Wicham* occurs in a charter of c. 940 (BCS 737). *VCH Essex*, III, 200, states that the church contains Roman bricks, and RB map marks miscellaneous finds. DA map marks inhumation-burials at Witham, a little more than 2 miles NW., but the account of these in Meaney does not suggest that they were certainly Anglo-Saxon.
2. *Wickham St. Pauls*: village and parish, near Castle Hedingham, O.S. map 149. Very close to the supposed line of Margary 33a, which has an 8-mile gap in this section. *VCH Essex*, III, 200, records that Roman pottery was found 170 yds. NE. of the church in 1956. RB map marks a 'substantial building' at Gestingthorpe, about 1 mile NW., and Hawkes (p. 47, type 1 B, no. 6) records a piece of *laeti* equipment from Gestingthorpe.
3. *Wickham Hall*: NW. of Bishop's Stortford, O.S. map 148. About $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N. of Margary 32. RB map marks a minor settlement, N. of Bishop's Stortford, which appears from the grid reference given in the index to have been about 1 mile from Wickham Hall. Meaney records inhumation-burials about 3 miles NW. in the parish of Furneux Pelham (Herts.).

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1. *Wycomb*: Whittington parish (*Wickham* 1248, *Wikham* 1361), E. of Cheltenham, O.S. map 144. Both O.S. map and RB map mark this as the site of a Romano-British settlement. It is about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile E. of the supposed line of road described by Margary (1, 134) as a branch of 55. Mr. C. E. Stevens tells me that it could certainly have been a *vicus*. There is a group of villas stretching N. and S. of Wycomb, and *laeti* equipment is recorded from two of these, Spoonley Wood and Chedworth (Hawkes, p. 49, type I B, no. 9, and p. 51, type II A, no. 5). DA map marks inhumation-burials about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles SW., at Foxcote.
2. '*Wychem*': a lost name (mentioned A.D. 1263-84) in Hempsted parish, SW. of Gloucester, O.S. map 143. Margary 541 runs through the parish. *JRS*, xxxix (1949), 107, records a small settlement in Hempsted with occupation into the 4th century.

HAMPSHIRE

1. *Wickham*: parish and village north of Fareham, O.S. map 180. At or very near the supposed junction of Margary 420 and 421. There are cremation- and inhumation-cemeteries near the coast, about 3 miles S., and a large inhumation-cemetery at Droxford, a little less than 5 miles NE.

HERTFORDSHIRE

A possible instance is *Wickham Hill*, W. of Bishop's Stortford, between Braughing and Puckeridge, O.S. map 148. This is the site of a settlement classified by RB map as 'lesser walled town'. Cf. *JRS*, XL (1950), 102, '... Braughing, Hertfordshire ... The actual Roman site is $\frac{1}{2}$ -mile to the south on Wickham Hill', and *VCH Herts.*, IV, 151, 'Wickhams Field, in which the station [i.e. the railway station] is built is rich in coins ... bones, pottery and coins are still [i.e. in 1914] constantly found'. Five Roman roads join about here, cf. Margary, I, 172, '... just beyond which, at Wickham Hill near Braughing ... station, lay the Roman settlement which caused this point to become an important road junction'. Unfortunately, no early forms have been found for the name. *PN Herts*, 191, gives only *Wicombs* 1626, and while this is not inconsistent with derivation from *wichām*, it is not sufficient evidence on which to base an etymology. The place has been omitted from the statistics in this article, and from FIG. 16. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles W. of Wickham Hall in Bishop's Stortford (p. 89).

KENT

1. *West Wickham*: south of Beckenham and Bromley, O.S. map 171. The modern suburb straddles Margary 14. The place is mentioned in several Anglo-Saxon charters, in one of which (BCS 1295, A.D. 973) the reference is *be westan wic hammes gemæru*; but, as explained under West Wickham, Cambridgeshire (p. 89), I do not think this conclusive evidence for a final element *hamm*. In *VCH Kent*, III, 174, finds of Roman pottery and roof-tiles are recorded. There is a large group of inhumation-cemeteries to the west, and two pieces of *laeti* equipment are recorded from the adjacent parish of Croydon (Hawkes, pp. 65, 66, types V A, no. 8, and VI, no. 10).
2. *East Wickham*: in Bexley parish, O.S. map 171. About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. of Margary 1c. *VCH Kent*, III, 163, records the finding in 1887 of a Romano-British rubbish-pit and two burials in a field N. of East Wickham Church.

3. *Wickhambreux*: parish and village, E. of Canterbury, O.S. map 173. A short distance N. of the supposed line of Margary 10. Mentioned in a charter of 948 (BCS 869) as *Wic ham*. RB map marks a 'substantial building' E. of Ickham, immediately across the Little Stour from Wickhambreux, and DA map marks an inhumation-cemetery about 1 mile N. There is a wheelmade stamped Frankish pot from Wickhambreux in the Royal Museum, Canterbury (R.M. 4297), which suggests occupation in the 6th or 7th century (*ex inf.* Dr. J. N. L. Myres).
4. *Wickham Bushes*: a hamlet in Lydden parish, NW. of Dover, O.S. map 173. About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W. of the supposed line of Margary 1a. There was an inhumation-cemetery N. of Dover, about 4 miles from Wickham Bushes, which was in use in the late 5th century. The barrow-cemeteries N. of Wickham Bushes appear to be of late date.
5. *Wicham Cottages*: Strood parish. This is given (with a good series of early spellings) in J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), p. 119, but as it is not marked on O.S. map 172, I do not know its exact position. As Strood is immediately W. of Rochester, Wicham must be near Margary 1c. In *VCH Kent*, III, 169, Wickham Cement Works, about 1 mile SW. of Strood, and Wickham Farm are mentioned as places where Roman pottery was found in 1895. Anglo-Saxon remains are common in Strood parish.

LEICESTERSHIRE

1. *Wycomb*: hamlet near Scalford, N. of Melton Mowbray, O.S. map 122. E. Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.n., considered this to derive from *wicum*, dative plural of *wic*. He cited only two spellings, *Wiche* 1086, *Wicham* 1316. A full range of forms is not available, but I have been able to find two more, *Wyham* 1276 (Hundred Rolls) and *Wicham* 1371 (*Inquisitiones post mortem*, London 1802-28, II, 309). The evidence is not conclusive, but I think it is a name in *wichām*, with eccentric spellings in Domesday Book and the Hundred Rolls. The place is about 1 mile S. of Margary 58a, and DA map marks cemeteries (mixed and inhumation) and villages 4 to 6 miles NE., and inhumation-cemeteries near Melton Mowbray, about 3 miles S.

LINCOLNSHIRE

1. *East and West Wykeham*: East Wykeham a hamlet and parish, West Wykeham a lost village in Ludford parish, W. of Louth, O.S. map 105. These are respectively 1 mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S. of Margary 272, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 miles E. of Margary 270. DA map shows a cremation-cemetery at South Willingham, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles SW., and Meaney notes one at Wold Newton, about 3 miles N. The cremation-cemetery at South Elkington, about 5 miles E., was in use in the 5th century (*Archaeol. J.*, CVIII (1952), 25 ff.).
2. *Wykeham*: lost hamlet in Nettleton parish, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. of Caistor, O.S. map 104. About 1 mile W. of Margary 270. RB map marks a 'substantial building' at Claxby, about 1 mile S. There was an Anglo-Saxon inhumation-cemetery in Nettleton parish, and a mixed (apparently early) cemetery at Fonaby, NW. of Caistor. Caistor had late 4th-century fortifications.

OXFORDSHIRE

1. *Wykham*: house and park SW. of Banbury, O.S. map 145. Margary (I, 141) suggests that road 56a continued E. from Lower Lea Farm, passing S. of Banbury. *VCH Oxon.*, I, 331, gives details of discoveries in 1851 which are considered to indicate a house, and RB map marks a 'substantial building'. DA map shows inhu-

mation-burials near Tadmarton and near Milcombe, and thus *c.* 2 to 3 miles from this place and from *Wychem* in South Newington (no. 2).

2. '*Wychem*': a lost place, mentioned *c.* 1250 in South Newington parish, about 3 miles south of the road by which Wykham in Banbury is situated. *VCH Oxon.*, 1, 309, mentions a Roman house SE. of Wiggington Church, which would be about in South Newington parish. RB map shows a villa.
3. '*Wicham*': a lost place in Hailey parish, N. of Witney, O.S. map 145. This is mentioned in the bounds of Witney (which include Curbridge, Hailey and Crawley) in two Anglo-Saxon charters, BCS 1230 (A.D. 969) and KCD 775 (A.D. 1044). It was a short distance south of Akeman Street (Margary 16b), near Wilcote. The map in *VCH Oxon.*, 1, between pp. 266–7, marks a 'village' about here, and the site is discussed, *ibid.*, p. 344. RB map shows a 'minor settlement'. For the recent discoveries of *laeti* equipment and post-Roman occupation about a mile south, see Appendix II, pp. 99 ff.

SUFFOLK

1. *Wickham Skeith*: parish and village NE. of Stowmarket, O.S. map 136. About 1 mile W. of Margary 3d. RB map shows a 'minor settlement' on the line of the road in the adjacent parish of Stoke Ash. DA map shows a cremation-cemetery at Finningham, about 2 miles W.
2. *Wickham Market*: village and parish NE. of Woodbridge, O.S. map 150. Margary (1, 235) mentions the place as a point on road 340. A single inhumation-burial is recorded in Meaney, and there was a cremation-cemetery at Rendlesham, between 2 and 3 miles SE.
3. *Wickhambrook* (*Wicham* 1086): parish and village SW. of Bury St. Edmunds, N. of Clare, O.S. map 149. This is not near a known Roman road. *VCH Suffolk*, 1, 320, records some Roman finds here, but nothing that suggests a settlement. DA map shows nothing.

SUSSEX

1. *Hurst Wickham* and *Clayton Wickham*: adjacent hamlets in Hurstpierpoint and Clayton parishes, north of Brighton, O.S. map 182. These are respectively $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. of Margary 140, very close to the junction with 150. RB map marks a pottery-kiln and villa on the S. side of 140. DA map shows a mixed cemetery at Hassocks, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S. of Clayton Wickham, and Meaney records that Anglo-Saxon cremation-burials were found during the excavation of a Roman cemetery at Hassocks.
2. *Wyckham Farms*: in Steyning parish, O.S. map 182, immediately S. of Margary 140, beside the crossing of the R. Adur. Meaney records a single inhumation-burial at Beeding Hill, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles SE.
3. *Wickham Manor*: in Icklesham parish, O.S. map 184. There is no known Roman road in this area E. of Hastings, and the district is a total blank on DA map.

WILTSHIRE

1. *Wickham Green*: in Urchfont parish, SE. of Devizes, O.S. map 167. There is no Roman road near Urchfont, but two ancient tracks, the Ridgeway and the Lyde-way, cross the parish.

YORKSHIRE, NORTH RIDING

1. *Wykeham*: village and parish SW. of Scarborough, O.S. map 93. Margary (II, 156) says that road 817 turns NE. at the church. Anglo-Saxon remains are fairly common in the area, and at Wykeham itself there were pagan Saxon huts (J. W. Moore, 'An Anglo-Saxon settlement at Wykeham, north Yorkshire', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, pt. 163 (1965), 403-44). Excavation of these huts yielded a small quantity of Roman material, some of which is ascribed by the excavator to the late 4th century.

DISCUSSION

In all the examples of Wickham, Wykeham, and Wycomb listed above, I believe the second element to be *hām*, which is usually translated 'village'. I reject some evidence that in two of the names it might be *hamm*, 'land in a river-bend, river-meadow', perhaps 'enclosure'. This point is discussed on p. 89. Assuming this to be sound, we have a compound in which the final element means 'village' and the defining element is the word *wīc*. Considerable difficulty arises over the precise meaning of *wīc*. This is, of course, a very common word in English place-names, occurring in all parts of the country as a simplex name, and as a final element. The meanings which can be ascribed to it have recently been enumerated by E. Ekwall in *Old English wīc in Place-Names* (Lund, 1964). In literary texts, Ekwall recognized six meanings: (1) town, port, (2) street, (3) village, (4) abode, dwelling-place, quarters, home, (5) night quarters, camp, (6) dairy-farm. In place-names, he recognized four categories of meaning: (1) town, port, harbour, (2) salt-works, (3) street, (4) dwelling, dependent farm. In origin *wīc* is a Germanic loan-word from Latin *vicus*. This fact has not been given much prominence by place-name authorities when endeavouring to define its meaning, but it may be relevant to the compound *wīchām*.

A meaning which seems immediately tempting for our purpose is 'street'. I think, however, that this should be firmly rejected. In the few literary texts in which it occurs, the reference seems to me to be to a street or alley in a town, which is a different thing from a Roman road running across the countryside; and in place-names Ekwall claimed only two examples, Aldwych and Outwich, both in London. The word regularly used in place-names for a Roman road is *stræt*, a loan-word from Latin *strata*. This occurs frequently in charter-bounds, and in numerous place-names such as Streatham, Stratton, Stretton, Stratford, Streetly. If *wīc* signified a Roman road, one would expect to find it used in this sense in boundaries, and compounded with a fairly wide range of second elements in place-names situated on the roads. But this does not happen, and I believe that the explanation of this compound must be sought on different lines.

If *wīc* does not mean 'Roman road', there is no philological connexion between the term *wīchām* and the situation of these places on or near Roman roads. There is, rather, an independent connexion between the roads and the object known to the Anglo-Saxons as a *wīchām*. One obvious possibility is that *wīchām* was a term used for a Romano-British habitation-site, and with this in mind, I have noted in the 'list of names' (pp. 89 ff.) such evidence as I have been able to find for the occurrence of Roman sites near these place-names. It must be

left to archaeologists to decide whether the degree of coincidence is significant. Once it has been established that most names from *wichām* are beside Roman roads, it becomes very difficult to decide whether association with Roman finds is meaningful. It seems, however, that after due allowance has been made for the tendency of Roman sites other than villas to be near Roman roads, the degree of correspondence is higher than would result from chance.

In eleven instances (Wickham Bushes in Berkshire, West Wickham in Cambridgeshire, Wickham Hall in Essex, Wycomb in Gloucestershire, Wickhambreux in Kent, Wykeham south of Caistor in Lincolnshire, Wykham, *Wychem* and *Wicham* in Oxfordshire, Wickham Skeith in Suffolk and Hurst and Clayton Wickham in Sussex) there are known Roman habitation-sites exactly coinciding with the place-name, or not more than a mile away. Four of these eleven sites (those associated with West Wickham in Cambridgeshire, Wickham Hall in Essex, Wycomb in Gloucestershire and *Wicham* in Oxfordshire) are classified by the RB map as 'minor settlements', and Wickham Bushes in Berkshire would doubtless have been so classified if it had not been omitted from the map. In six other instances (Wickham-in-Welford in Berkshire, West Wickham, East Wickham and Wicham Cottages in Kent, Wickham St. Pauls and Wickham Bishops in Essex) there are records of Roman material which are likely to be significant of habitation. It seems that one could make out a case for association with actual Romano-British habitation in more than half of the twenty-eight examples of *wichām*.

If it be accepted that, in a high proportion of occurrences, this place-name is connected with Romano-British settlements, then the first element of the compound may be scarcely removed in meaning from the Latin word *vicus*, of which it is a derivative. It cannot, however, be asserted that 'Romano-British village' is a common meaning of *wic* in English place-names. If it is to be admitted as one of the meanings, it must be restricted to place-names which can be shown to belong to the early stages of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The possible connexion between *wic* and Roman sites has never been stressed (though it is mentioned by A. H. Smith³), because the later sense developments of *wic* were much more varied than those of other loan-words, such as *stræt* and *ceaster*, so that it seemed necessary to treat it primarily as a term for an Anglo-Saxon habitation-site. It must certainly be so treated in most of its numerous occurrences, and if a direct connexion with *vicus* is to be postulated in the compound *wichām*, it will help if the place-names derived from it can be shown to be of early date.

The grounds for claiming that *wichām* is an early place-name are partly geographical. There are five examples in Kent, four on the south coast, east of Southampton, two in south Berkshire, six in the territory said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have been conquered by Wessex in the campaigns of 552, 571 and 577, seven in Essex and the southern portion of East Anglia, one in Leicestershire, two on the Lincolnshire Wolds, and a single Northumbrian example, which is a short distance inland from Scarborough. There is no example in the north-west, the south-west or the west midlands. The distribution of the Wessex

³ *Elements*, II, 257.

group may afford a clue to the date at which the compound went out of use. It is well represented in the part of Wessex settled before the end of the 6th century, but does not occur in the south-west, colonized in the 7th century. This suggests that a place-name *wichām* was not likely to come into existence later than 600.

A terminal date of *c.* 600 accords very well with the fact that *wichām* does not occur in any literary text. Other compounds in *wic-* (see Appendix I, p. 98 f.), though less well represented in place-names, do occur in literary sources. This is good evidence for *wichām* being an archaic term, coined to describe a phenomenon not likely to be found after the 6th century. The second part of the compound, the word *hām*, is generally considered to be an early place-name element. It would be unwise to press this too far, as an archaic term can survive longer as part of a compound than on its own; but it is an additional reason for the assumption that *wichām* probably had a more limited period of use than the compounds *wictūn*, *wicstōw*, *wicsteall* (*v.* p. 99).

In the light of the evidence so far assembled, it seems reasonable to suggest that, in the compound *wichām*, *wic* means 'Roman *vicus*', and that later, specialized, meanings, such as 'salt-works' and 'dairy-farm', should be left out of account. This raises the difficult question of what the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlers would understand by the term *vicus*. It was to the Romans an administrative term, being applied to the smallest unit of self-government in the Roman provinces. The places accorded this status varied greatly. The *civitas* capitals ranked as either single *vici* or groups of *vici* (depending on size), the small town of Durobrivae (Water Newton) was a *vicus*, and so were the civil settlements of traders and retired soldiers which grew up outside Roman forts.⁴ The term may have been adopted by the Anglo-Saxons in circumstances which permitted a fairly precise understanding of the Roman usage. It used to be thought that the English came after 450 to a country where Roman institutions and the Latin language had fallen into decay; and that the loan-words from Latin which they used for Roman remains, in particular *ceaster* and *stræt*, had been acquired on the continent before the migration to Britain.⁵ Recently, however, clear archaeological evidence has been assembled for the presence of a considerable number of Germanic people in Britain at the end of the Roman period. This raises the interesting possibility that the Latin equivalents of *ceaster*, *stræt* and *wic* were familiar to Saxon mercenaries in the late 4th century, and the Old English derivatives were passed on by them to their descendants, not just as 'archaeological' terms, but as words for institutions the origin and nature of which was remembered. It is possible, then, that the people who coined the term *wichām* were familiar with the term *vicus* as it was used in Roman Britain.

It would probably be impossible to say, on the existing evidence, whether a significant proportion of the Roman sites which occur near *wichām* place-names could have been *vici* in the Roman period. Mr. C. E. Stevens informs me that the site at Wycomb in Gloucestershire could, and Dr. Myres points out that in some

⁴ Sheppard Frere, *Britannia* (London, 1967), p. 209; Peter Salway, *The Frontier People of Roman Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 190-1.

⁵ *Elements*, 1, 86, *s.v.* *ceaster*.

instances, where I have looked for Roman sites exactly coinciding with the position of a *wichām* place-name, a *vicus* could have been found by looking a little farther away. He suggests that the first Berkshire name (Wickham in Welford) could refer to the settlement at Speen, about 4 miles away, that Wicham in Strood, Kent, could refer to Rochester, and Wykeham in Nettleton, Lincolnshire, to Caistor-on-the Wolds. *Wyham* near Gloucester could also be explained in this way. On the whole, however, the evidence suggests that the name was associated with the most modest type of Romano-British village recognized by the modern archaeologist. Five sites of the 'minor settlement' category are listed above, but only once, in the badly documented Wickham Hill in Hertfordshire (p. 90), do we rise to the dignity of 'lesser walled town'. Examples occur near Gloucester and Rochester, but this is not typical, and the name is conspicuously absent from the vicinity of most of the grander sites of Roman Britain.

If (in spite of the extremely modest nature of most of the Roman sites) *wichām* were to be interpreted as meaning, in every case, 'settlement associated with a Roman *vicus*', there would be two possible theories about the nature of the association. The reference could be to a *vicus* which was still inhabited when English-speaking people first arrived in the area. The possibility of coexistence near these sites of British people and the Anglo-Saxon invaders gains support from the relationship of some of the places to Anglo-Saxon pagan cemeteries. Such information as I have been able to assemble about this is included in the notes on individual names. Twenty of the twenty-eight places are within five miles of a known burial-site; and neither the cemeteries nor this type of place-name are sufficiently numerous or evenly distributed throughout the country for this result to be ascribed to chance. The association of Anglo-Saxon cremations and Roman burials at Hassocks, near Clayton Wickham, Sussex, may be significant, and the proximity of four of these names to places which have produced equipment belonging to Germanic mercenaries of the late Roman period seems especially so. Alternatively, *wichām* could be interpreted as 'village near (or on) the site of a defunct Roman *vicus*'. In this case, the name would probably arise from the presence of Roman building-remains, such as heavy stone foundations, or traces of paved or cobbled streets. The two senses (and other possible variants) are not mutually exclusive. There is, however, another possibility, which would not involve the necessity of finding a Roman *vicus*, in the precise, technical, sense, at all these sites. This is that *wichām* was a technical term for a type of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, so called from the general connexion of the institution with *vici*, but not implying a precise relationship in every instance.

In his discussion of *wichām*⁶ the late A. H. Smith suggested that the term was an appellative, and it is of considerable importance for the present discussion to try to establish whether or not this is so. An appellative is a different phenomenon from an *ad hoc* compound, like Streatham, coined to describe a particular village. Such a name as Streatham may recur a great many times, but it is likely that each occurrence is due to a separate recognition by the people of the surrounding countryside that the convenient distinguishing feature of this particular *hām* is its

⁶ *Elements*, II, 263.

proximity to a particular *stræt*. An appellative, on the other hand, is a ready-made term for a recognized type of settlement, and if *wichām* be, in fact, an appellative, the people who gave this name were recognizing that the place belonged to a known category of village, not merely stating a particular *hām* was associated with a particular *vicus*. Examples of Old English compound appellatives used as place-names are *plegstōw*, 'sport-place', and *beretūn*, *berewic*, 'barley-farm, grange'; but the failure of *wichām* to appear in any written record makes it difficult to demonstrate conclusively that it falls into this category.

The main reason for believing *wichām* to be an appellative is that compounds with *wic* as first element are not numerous, and *wichām*, with twenty-eight examples, heavily outnumbers all the others put together. There must have been many settlements and natural features which were near a *wic*, either in the early sense of Roman *vicus*,⁷ or in one of the later senses such as 'dairy-farm' or 'salt-works',⁸ and many other compounds could have been formed with *wic* as the defining element. In fact, it is doubtful whether more than a dozen could be found, excluding the examples of *wicstōw* and *wictūn* (certainly appellatives, since they occur in that capacity in written sources) discussed in Appendix I (p. 98 f.). This seems to me fairly conclusive. Also, if *wichām* only meant 'village near a Roman *vicus*', the second element might have varied. There is some danger of a contradiction here, as I have already claimed that the use of *hām* in this compound shows it to be of early date. Nevertheless there were a number of other words for a village (such as *word* and *tūn*) available to the earliest English settlers, and, while the early date at which these names arose would lead naturally to a preponderance of *hām*, there is no reason why it should have been so overwhelmingly popular for this purpose.

The evidence seems to me to suggest that in the earliest period at which English place-names arose there was a type of settlement called a *wichām*, which occurred close to Roman roads and usually near small Romano-British settlements, and which derived its name from a connexion with the *vici* of Roman Britain. It is tempting to suggest that these places might have been settlements of Germanic *laeti*, employed at the end of the Roman period to give protection to a neighbouring village or group of villas. Careful study, however, of the archaeological evidence for *laeti* set out in Hawkes, pp. 1-70, leads to the conclusion that, while there is some correspondence between these place-names and the find-sites listed there, it is hardly sufficient to indicate that such was the nature of the *wichām*. The buckles and belt-fittings characteristic of *laeti* have been found near four instances of the place-name, Wickham St. Pauls (Essex), Wycomb (Gloucestershire), West Wickham (Kent), and *Wicham* (Oxfordshire). This is not negligible, but it is not enough to enable one to conclude that here is the solution to the place-name. There is a teasing similarity in the distribution-patterns of names from *wichām* and find-sites of *laeti* equipment, as can be seen by comparing the map (FIG. 16) with Hawkes, figs. 4 and 9, but the precise correspondences are not many,

⁷ Two names which deserve mention are Weekley, near Kettering, Northamptonshire, which means 'wood or clearing associated with a *wic*', and is adjacent to a Roman settlement; and Wickford, Essex, where a Roman farm-site has recently been discovered on the line of a suspected Roman road (*Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, II (1966), 96).

⁸ Cf. the two examples of Witton discussed on p. 98.

and there is a marked tendency for *laeti* equipment to occur near major Roman towns and forts (such as Caerwent, Chichester, Cirencester, Silchester, Richborough, Caistor by Norwich, Colchester, Leicester, St Albans, Dover), which the *wichām* place-names seem to avoid.

The meaning of the term *wichām* must remain unsolved for the moment; but there may be a phenomenon here which would be recognizable by the archaeologist, and some of the sites listed are suitable for excavation, in particular Wickham Bushes in Berkshire, where there are no modern buildings to contend with, and *Wicham* in Oxfordshire, which assumes a new interest in the light of the excavations discussed in Appendix II (pp. 99 ff.).

APPENDIX I

WICTŪN

The compound *wictūn* (Witton and variants) occurs in at least six place-names, and may in some instances be a variant of *wichām*. This is not likely in the case of Witton, Cheshire, or Witton, Worcestershire, as both are near places (Northwich and Droitwich) known as *Wich*; in these two instances the best translation of Witton seems to be 'farm near the place called *Wic*'. The warning against taking names from the modern map applies with even greater force to Witton than to Wickham, as many modern Wittons can be shown by the early spellings to derive from a variant of Wootton, which means 'farm in or near a wood'. Details of the remaining four names are:

Wyton (Huntingdonshire): E. of Huntingdon, O.S. map 134, about 1½ miles N. of Margary 24. *VCH Hunts.*, 1, 269, says 'slight excavation made in the south-east corner of Jubilee Oak Field . . . in 1925, produced coarse tile and potsherds, said to be of Roman date'. DA map shows inhumation-burials and a mixed cemetery in the vicinity.

Wighton (Norfolk): N. of Walsingham, near N. coast of Norfolk, O.S. map 125. There is no known Roman road, but RB map marks a temporary camp. DA map marks cremation- and inhumation-cemeteries in the immediate vicinity.

Witton (Warwickshire): a suburb N. of Birmingham, O.S. map 131. About 1 mile E. of Margary 18b. Attempts have been made to demonstrate the existence of a Roman settlement at Holford, near Witton, where Ryknield Street crosses the Tame, but the evidence is insufficient.

Market Weighton (Yorkshire, East Riding): small town, O.S. map 98. In the angle formed by the convergence of Margary 2e and 29. RB map shows a building at the actual junction, but this is over three miles S. of Market Weighton. DA map shows a line of inhumation-cemeteries along this road. The one at Sancton, which is the next village to the south, was in use in the 5th century.

Mention should also be made of Wickhampton, Norfolk (a village west of Great Yarmouth, O.S. map 126), which could be translated 'farm by a place called Wickham'. It is not near a known Roman road, but its position just west of the Roman fort at Burgh Castle is noteworthy.

All the four names from *wictūn* listed above are associated with Roman roads or Roman remains. *wictūn* is recorded in Old English, apart from place-name spellings. It is used, for instance, in the plural to translate *atria* in the Book of Psalms. As it is very difficult to imagine what the Anglo-Saxon translator would understand by *atria*, this

is not really helpful; but possibly a case could be made for association with a Roman architectural feature. With only four examples, and the complication of the literary use, I do not feel that much can be made of these names, but it has seemed worth marking their positions on FIG. 16.

In Old English literary sources, there are three other compounds of *wic-* which refer to a type of settlement. These are *wicsteall*, *wicstede* and *wicstōw*. The last gave rise to two place-names, Wistow, Huntingdonshire, and Wistow, Yorkshire, East Riding. The sense 'camp' is very well established in the literary references, however, and there is no reason to suggest a special archaeological meaning, though it is tantalizing to note that Roman occupation is attested at Wistow, Huntingdonshire (*VCH Hunts.*, I, 268).

The compound *wichām* seems more likely than these others to have a special reference to Romano-British sites. In spite of its relative frequency in place-names, it is not recorded in literary sources, and this may indicate that it went out of use before the 7th century, having been coined to describe a phenomenon no longer to be observed after that date.

APPENDIX II

WICHĀM BETWEEN RAMSDEN AND WILCOTE, OXFORDSHIRE

Soon after this article was written, I received (by a most remarkable coincidence) an enquiry whether any place-name near Shakenoak Farm in Oxfordshire suggested the previous existence of a very early Saxon settlement. As this is within a mile of the approximate site of the third Oxfordshire example (p. 92), I was able to reply in the affirmative. The enquiry came from Dr. A. R. Hands, and the discoveries which led to it are briefly described on p. 268 of this volume. I am most grateful to him, and to his colleagues, Mr. A. C. Brodribb and Mr. D. R. Walker, for allowing me to refer to them.⁹ They seem to establish that, at least in this one instance, *wichām* refers to a Roman site near an early Saxon settlement; and it is particularly intriguing that the Saxon settlement adjoins the site of a number of other Roman buildings, and that some of the finds indicated the presence of *laeti*. It does not appear possible to equate the *wichām* with the Shakenoak site, but the people living near Shakenoak were presumably responsible for applying this name to the neighbouring village, and (since their site has a long occupation) for passing it on to later generations.

The name *wichām* occurs in the boundaries of two Saxon charters which deal with an estate at Witney. It is important that the course followed by these boundaries should be established as clearly as possible, and the main purpose of this Appendix is to present the two sets of bounds with notes and a map (FIG. 17). The general course of the survey was described correctly by G. B. Grundy in *Saxon Oxfordshire* (Oxford Record Soc., xv, 1933). Grundy did not provide a map, however, and his philological comments are quite unreliable, so a fresh publication is required. The section of the survey which deals with the NE. boundary of Hailey parish is of exceptional archaeological interest. In addition to the *wichām*, there is the phrase *per þa cnihtas licgað*, which (as Dr. Hands and his colleagues have long been aware) seems to refer to some dramatic inhumation-burials found in the course of their excavations.

The two charters to which these boundaries are attached are BCS 1230 (A.D. 969) and KCD 775 (A.D. 1044), both preserved in the *Codex Wintoniensis*, a MS. of the 12th century. The printed versions of the bounds in BCS and KCD are not perfectly accurate, and the texts given here have been copied from the cartulary. Both charters deal with an estate of 30 hides at Witney, obviously identical with the estate of this hidage which the bishop of Winchester owned there at the time of the Domesday Survey. It is assumed

⁹ For a fuller account see, now, A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands, and D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire I: Sites A & D* (privately printed, 1968).

here (as it was by Grundy in 1933) that the parishes of Curbridge, Crawley and Hailey are included with Witney, and that the boundaries describe a block of land corresponding very closely to the area of the four modern parishes combined. Grundy reached this conclusion simply from the topography of the survey. Support is lent to it by the fact that of the four parishes only Witney is mentioned in Domesday Book, and that the other places are closely associated with Witney in medieval records: cf., e.g., the reference of A.D. 1316 in *Feudal Aids*, iv, 162, to the *villa* of Witney with Curbridge, Crawley, Hailey, Caswell (in Curbridge) and Delly (in Hailey), which is the property of the bishop of Winchester.

TEXTS OF THE CHARTERS, WITH COMMENTARY
A. BCS 1230, A.D. 969 (12th)

Ærest of hafoces hlewe¹ on wenrisc² on þa wiðig rewe³ on hnūt clyf.⁴ of þam clyfe on hean leage.⁵ þ' on lungan leage weg.⁶ and lang weg. þonne on spon leage⁷ þonne on spon weg.⁸ andlang weg. þ' hit sticað on norðe weardum cynges steorte.⁹ Ða non on sugarode.¹⁰ and lang rode on huntēna weg.¹¹ andlang weg. þ' hit sticað æt wic ham.¹² Ða non a be wyrt wale¹³ on ofling ecer.¹⁴ þo non on ealdan weg.¹⁵ andlang weg. on cygan stan.¹⁶ of þam stane on þane grenan weg.¹⁷ and lang weg. þonne on yccenes feld.¹⁸ of yccenes feld on Ða hege rewe.¹⁹ andlang hege rewe on met sinc.²⁰ and lang met sinc. on ecgerdes hel ufeweardne²¹ æfter wyrt walan²² on wenric and lang wenricces on fulan yge easteweardne.²³ þo non æfter ge mære²⁴ on tidreding ford.²⁵ Ða non on occan slæp.²⁶ þa non on wittan mor suðe wearðne²⁷ þo non on colwullan broc²⁸ of þam broce on þa ealdan dic.²⁹ of ðere dic on fugel sled³⁰ of þam slede on þa stan bricge.³¹ æfter broc³² on þane ealdan weg³³ of þam wege on horninga mære³⁴ Ða non on wæredan hlinc suðeweardne³⁵ þonan and lang slædes³⁶ on tycan pyt³⁷ and lang broces on Ða mypy³⁸ of þas gemyþon on ceahhan mere.³⁹ Ða non on lythlan eorþ beorg⁴⁰ of þære byrig on þa on heafða⁴¹ of þas on heafdon on cytel wylle⁴² of Ðas wylle on þa stret.⁴³ andlang strete on hafoces hlew of þam hlewe eft on hnūt clif ðer hit ær aras.⁴⁴

Notes on the text

¹ 'first from hawk's tumulus', v. FIG. 17. The name survived as Hawk(e)sley in the Curbridge Tithe Award. There is an interesting account of the tumulus as it was in 1857 in *Archaeologia*, xxxvii (1857), 432. The author of this article, J. Y. Akerman, describes it as a long mound of which nearly half had been removed 'some years ago', at which time several skeletons were laid bare, but no grave-goods found. He himself dug into the remaining half, and found three skeletons, one of which had a small bronze buckle at the waist, which was deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, where it bears the accession no. 1967.802. But this buckle looks medieval, and if so is a surprising object to have been found in such a position. The mound is still visible at N.G.R. SP/337113.

² 'to Windrush', v. FIG. 17.

³ 'to the willow row'.

⁴ 'to slope where nuts grow', the name appears as *Notley Meadow* in a survey of 1551-2.

⁵ 'from the slope to high clearing', v. FIG. 17. The name survived as Henley Knapp in the Crawley Enclosure Award.

⁶ 'then to Langley way', v. FIG. 17. This was probably the road to Langley in Leafield, about 5 miles away.

⁷ 'along the way then to clearing where there are wood-chippings', v. FIG. 17. The name survived as Spoonley Copse in Crawley Enclosure Award. BCS prints *swon leage*, and it is true that the letter in the MS. looks more like *w* than *þ*; study of the *Codex Wintoniensis* suggests, however, that the two letters (which would be very similar in the Old English originals from which the scribes were copying) are so often confused in this MS. that it is permissible to read whichever one is required by the sense.

⁸ 'then to way where there are wood-chippings'.

⁹ 'along the way until it reaches the north part of the king's tongue of land', v. FIG. 17. This is the sharp angle of Crawley parish which juts out into Leafield. It is called 'king's' by a sort of transference because it juts out into the royal territory of Wychwood Forest. In a survey of part of Wychwood Forest made in 1300 (*Archaeologia*, loc. cit. in note 1) it is called *Scharpesterte*.

¹⁰ 'thence to marsh clearing', v. FIG. 17. This name appears as *Sawrode* in the survey of 1300.

¹¹ 'along the clearing to huntsmen's way', v. FIG. 17.

¹² 'along the way until it reaches *wīchām*'. If my interpretation of this survey be correct, *wīchām* should correspond very nearly to the site of the Romano-British village discussed on p. 92. This has been marked on FIG. 17 at the grid reference given in the Index to RB map, but very little is known about the site, and its exact position is uncertain. The account in *VCH Oxon.*, i, 344, suggests that the scatter of finds (which 'seem to suggest a village rather than a house') occurred to the E. of this grid reference.

¹³ 'thence always by the root'. In this instance *wyrtwala* probably means 'edge of the wood'.

¹⁴ 'to *ofling* acre'; *æcer* means 'cultivated land', *ofling* is obscure. The reference is to the northern tip of Hailey parish.

¹⁵ 'thence to old way', probably the road from Delly End to Wilcote, which the parish boundary follows for a short distance.

¹⁶ 'along the way to *cycgan* stone'. This corresponds to *kicgestan* in KCD 775; both the meaning of the first element and the precise whereabouts of the stone are uncertain. Mr. Brodribb tells me that nothing is known of it locally.

¹⁷ 'from the stone to the green way'.

¹⁸ 'along the way then to open land by the *Yccen*', v. FIG. 17. This name is of great interest, as the buildings so far excavated by Dr. Hands and his colleagues lie on either side of the stream which I take to be the *Yccen*. It is a pre-English river-name, which survives (in the modern form Itchen) in Hampshire and Warwickshire. It is unusual in this area for so small a stream to keep its pre-English name in the Old English period, and the survival may be due to a period of coexistence here between Celtic and English speakers.

¹⁹ 'from open land by the *Yccen* to the hedge-row'.

²⁰ 'along the hedge-row to *met sinc*'. The term *met sinc* is obscure. I suggest, very tentatively, that it is a stream-name with the second element Old English *scenc*, found in the River Sence in Leicestershire. If so, the reference is to Madley brook. The contours suggest that this stream once flowed from New Yatt Farm, a good deal to the N. of its present course, v. FIG. 17.

²¹ 'along *met sinc* to the upper part of Ecgheard's hill'.

²² 'along the root'; *wyrtwala* may mean 'slope of the hill' here.

²³ 'to Windrush along the Windrush to the east side of foul island'.

²⁴ 'thence following the boundary'.

²⁵ 'to Tidræd's ford'.

²⁶ 'thence to Occa's slippery place'.

²⁷ 'thence to the southern part of Witta's marsh'; part of the marshy area S. of Witney was evidently named from the same man as Witney.

²⁸ 'thence to cool spring brook', v. FIG. 17. This is the lower course of the stream which is still called Colwell Brook. Coral Spring, situated beside the brook, represents another development of the name, and is probably the original 'cool spring'.

²⁹ 'from the brook to the old ditch', possibly a drainage channel.

³⁰ 'from the ditch to bird valley'.

³¹ 'from the valley to the stone bridge'.

³² 'along the brook', presumably the brook which forms the W. boundary of Ducklington parish.

³³ 'to the old way'.

³⁴ 'from the way to the boundary of the Hornings'. The Hornings were probably settlers from Horner Hundred in Berkshire. The abbot of Abingdon had owned Curbridge before 956 (BCS 972).

³⁵ 'thence to the southern part of *wæredan* slope'; *wæredan* might mean 'provided with weirs'.

³⁶ 'thence along the valley'.

³⁷ 'to Tyca's pit'.

³⁸ 'along the brook to the junction'. This could be a junction of roads or of streams. A stream-junction is likely, but the drainage of this area will have been affected by the two moats at Caswell, and it is not advisable to be too precise in finding this type of landmark.

³⁹ 'from the junction to jackdaw's pond'. There is a small pool called Coneygar Pond on the parish boundary, v. FIG. 17.

⁴⁰ 'thence to small earthwork'. There is nothing marked on O.S. maps.

⁴¹ 'from the earthwork to the headlands', a reference to ploughed land.

⁴² 'from the headlands to kettle spring'; a stream rises on the parish boundary NW. of Curbridge, and its source could be the spring referred to.

⁴³ 'from the spring to the street'; this corresponds to *wudestret* in KCD 775, v. FIG. 17. The term is usually, but not invariably, applied to a Roman road.

⁴⁴ 'along the street to hawk's tumulus, from the tumulus again to nut slope where it started'.

B. KCD 775, A.D. 1044 (12th)

Ærest and lang þæs streames on þone mæd ham þe hyrnð into Scylftune.¹ and fram Scylftune and lang streames þ' hit cymð to ðam mylewere þe hyrnð into duceling dune.² of þam wære ofer þone wegean mor³ into hoc slep.⁴ þanon on ða niwan dic.⁵ of þære dic on horninga mære.⁶ of horninga mære andlang þæs ge mæres to hlæwan slæde⁷ of ðam slæde into dufan doppe.⁸ and swa and lang ge mæres into leofstanes brige.⁹ of leofestanes brige. into kytelaceras.¹⁰ of kytelaceras innon þa wude stret.¹¹ and lang þære strete into hafoces hlæwe.¹² of hafoces hlewæ innon wænríc.¹³ of wenric to spondæne.¹⁴ æfter spondæne to þære haran apeldran.¹⁵ of þære apeldran and lang ge mæres innan sponlege.¹⁶ of sponlege upp to þam heafdam.¹⁷ of ðam heafdan andlang surode¹⁸ innan huntenan weg¹⁹ and lang huntenan wege into wicham.²⁰ of wicham a be þære wyrtuman.²¹ þæt hit cymð on sceapa weg.²² of sceapa wege and lang rihtes ge mæres²³ [innan æcenes feld. of æcenes felda andlang rihtes ge mæres] on kicge stan.²⁴ of kicge stane into æceres felda.²⁵ of æcenes felda þær þa cnihtas licgað.²⁶ and fram ham þe þa cnihtas licgað. on mæt seg. andlang mæt seg into wenric.²⁷

Notes on the text

¹ 'first along the stream to the water-meadow which belongs to Shilton'. Shilton is about 5 miles W. of Witney, but the O.S. 6-in. map shows a detached portion of Shilton parish S. of Witney, and the map accompanying the article in *Archaeologia*, xxxvii (*loc. cit.* in BCS 1230, note 1) shows Shilton Ham S. of Cogges.

² 'and from Shilton along the stream till it comes to the mill-weir which belongs to Ducklington'.

³ 'from the weir over the quaking marsh'.

⁴ 'into Occa's slippery place', *v.* BCS 1230, note 26.

⁵ 'thence to the new ditch', probably a drainage channel.

⁶ 'from the ditch to the boundary of the Hornings', *v.* BCS 1230, note 34.

⁷ 'from the boundary of the Hornings along the boundary to the valley of Lew'. Lew, the name of the parish which adjoins Curbridge on the S., means 'at the tumulus'.

⁸ 'from the valley into *dufan doppe*'. This interesting term is the Old English name of Norton Ditch, *v.* FIG. 17. It means 'a diving water-fowl', and is a fanciful name for a stream which dives underground, or appears to do so.

⁹ 'and so along the boundary into Lēofstān's bridge'.

¹⁰ 'from Lēofstān's bridge into kettle acres'. In the corresponding position, BCS 1230 had 'to the headlands, from the headlands to kettle spring', *v.* BCS 1230, notes 41, 42. The later survey conflates the two features of ploughed land and spring.

¹¹ 'from kettle acres into the wood street', *v.* BCS 1230, note 43.

¹² 'along the street into hawk's tumulus', *v.* BCS 1230, note 1.

¹³ 'from hawk's tumulus into Windrush', *v.* BCS 1230, note 2.

¹⁴ 'from Windrush to valley where there are wood-chippings', *v.* BCS 1230, notes 7, 8. *spondane* refers to the marked valley along the W. boundary of Crawley, *v.* FIG. 17.

¹⁵ 'along wood-chipping valley to the boundary apple-tree'.

¹⁶ 'from the apple-tree along the boundary into Spoonley', *v.* BCS 1230, note 7.

¹⁷ 'from Spoonley up to the headlands'; this implies the presence of cultivated land in the angle called *cynge's steort* in the earlier survey.

¹⁸ 'from the headlands along marsh clearing', *v.* BCS 1230, note 10.

¹⁹ 'into huntsmen's way', *v.* BCS 1230, note 11.

²⁰ 'along huntsmen's way into *wīchām*', *v.* BCS 1230, note 12.

²¹ 'from *wīchām* always by the root', *v.* BCS 1230, note 13; *wyrtruma* has the same meaning as *wyrtwala*.

²² 'until it comes to the way of the sheep'.

²³ 'from sheep way straight along the boundary'.

²⁴ 'to *kice* stone', *v.* BCS 1230, note 16. The scribe's attention has wandered at the end of this set of bounds and he has given *æcenes feld* before, as well as after, *kice stan*. I have placed square brackets round the part I take to be erroneous. This type of mistake is fatally easy for modern, as well as for medieval, copyists of Old English charter bounds.

²⁵ 'from *kice* stone into *æcenes* open land'. This is a corrupt version of *ycenes feld* in the earlier survey, *v.* BCS 1230, note 18.

²⁶ 'from *æcenes* open land where the servants (or soldiers) lie'. The syntax of this part of the survey is unfortunately not perfectly clear, but *þær þa cnihtas licgað* seems to me to qualify *æcenes felda*. The meaning could be 'leaving *æcenes felda* at the place where the servants (or soldiers) lie'. The following phrase (*and fram ham þe þa cnihtas licgað*) is corrupt. I do not think that *æcenes felda* and *þær þa cnihtas licgað* are separate boundary marks, but the latter could possibly be a place-name. Cf. the 13th-century Buckinghamshire field-name *Thertheoxlaydede*.

This phrase is of considerable archaeological interest. In one of the buildings excavated (all of which are in the area which I believe to be *ycenes feld*) there were a number of inhumation-burials without grave-goods. The skeletal remains indicated a minimum of nine individuals; all the identifiable ones were male, and in several instances where the age could be estimated the skeletons were those of relatively young men. One older man (aged 40–50) had been beheaded. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that the phrase in the charter bounds refers either to the finding of similar burials near here in the 11th century, or to a popular memory of the events which led to the burials found in this Roman building. For most of the Old English period, *cniht* meant 'boy, youth, servant'. The senses 'retainer of a royal or noble personage' and 'soldier' are found in late Old English, and the technical sense 'knight' does not occur before the Norman conquest. The translation of *cnihtas* in the charter bounds can vary according to whether the phrase is considered to originate in the 11th century, or to be remembered from a much earlier time. The men buried here are perhaps above the age limit to which *cniht* would have been applied, and if the phrase dates from an early period the sense 'servant' might be appropriate. If it only goes back to the 11th century, the sense 'soldier' is possible. The absence of weapons does not preclude this, as the circumstances of the burials would suggest warfare. The phrase is unique in the charter boundaries, where the pre-Christian interments, which seem to have occurred fairly often on estate boundaries, are called 'heathen burials'.

²⁷ 'and from where the servants (or soldiers) lie to *met seg*, along *met seg* to Windrush'. The term *met seg* corresponds to *met sine* in BCS 1230, *v.* BCS 1230, note 20.

ADDENDUM

I am indebted to Mr. D. Bonney for another probable example of this place-name. Witchampton in Dorset (O.S. map 179, NW. of Wimborne Minster) appears in Domesday Book as *Wichemetune*, *Wichamatuna*. These spellings indicate an Old English **Wichāmatūn*, which is unfortunately ambiguous. It could mean 'farm of the dwellers at a place called *Wichām*', or 'farm of the dwellers at the *wīc*' (*Elements* 1, 216, s.v. *-hāma-tūn*). The site conforms excellently, however, to the general pattern of the instances discussed in this article, and it seems reasonable to postulate another *Wichām* as the base from which the name Witchampton was formed. It is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile E. of the Roman road from Badbury Rings to Old Sarum (Margary 4c), and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. of the road junction at Badbury Rings. Mr. Bonney informs me that there are two Roman buildings in the parish—a villa, and a circular building which was probably a temple.

Another name in Dorset which deserves mention is Witcham Farm in Cattistock, O.S. map 178, NW. of Dorchester (also brought to my attention by Mr. Bonney). The early spellings available for this (*Witham* 1310, *Wicham* 1578) are not sufficient for a firm etymology, and the development to Witch- would be harder to account for here than it is in Witchampton, where there may have been influence from the front vowel of *hāme* (as opposed to the back vowel of *hām*). Witcham Farm could be identical with Witcham, Cambs. (*PN Ca*, 244) which probably means 'enclosure by or with wych elm trees'. A better range of spellings may, however, establish it as another instance of *wichām*. The farm is just over 2 miles W. of the Roman road from Dorchester to Ilchester (Margary 47), and RB map shows a 'substantial building' in Rampisham, a little more than 1 mile NW.