THE ANCIENT HIGHWAYS AND TRACKS OF WILTSHIRE, BERKSHIRE, AND HAMPSHIRE, AND THE SAXON BATTLE-FIELDS OF WILTSHIRE.

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PRELIMINARY NOTES.

The topographical details are nearly all of them taken from the one-inch Ordnance maps (popular edition), nos. 103, 104, 105, 111, 112, 113, 114, 121, 122, 123, 124, 131, 132, 142.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AS. = Anglo-Saxon.
B (with a number) signifies the number of a charter in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*.
by. = boundary.
fur. = furlong.
immed. = immediately.
K (with a number) signifies the number of a charter in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*.
O.G.S.C. = Information furnished by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford of the Ordnance Survey.
OM6 = six-inch Ordnance map.
TA. = Tithe Award.

I.

WILTSHIRE.

THE ANCIENT ROAD SYSTEM OF NORTH WILTSHIRE.

Much will be mentioned in the course of this paper which will assume that the reader is acquainted with that which has been said on the origins of the road system of England in a previous number of this journal[1]. As a fact the material for the earlier and more general paper was obtained to a certain extent from inductions by information with regard to the roads of Wiltshire furnished by the Saxon charters; but the roads themselves remained undescribed; and it is with the description of them, based largely on the evidence of the charters, that this paper will deal.

[1] *A.J.* vol. xxiv. pp. 79–106.

The general distribution of the charters relating to Wiltshire is as follows. There is a large group in the NW. of the county, where the monastery of Malmesbury had great possessions. There is another considerable group about Swindon. There are several in the upper basin of the Kennet, and a quite important group in the Vale of Pewsey. Salisbury Plain is all but a desert as far as charters are concerned. There is, indeed, a very uncertain one of Enford, and a still more uncertain one of Idmiston. In the S. of the county the valleys of the Wylye, the Nadder, and the Ebble, W. of Salisbury, are thickly sown with charters, mostly of lands belonging to the monastery of Wilton. In the SW. are several charters of Shaftesbury lands; and some other charters refer to lands scattered along the W. edge of the county.

It will be seen that the charters are sufficiently thickly distributed about the county for them to intercept at some point or other most of the main lines of communication.

For the convenience of those who have not at hand the general paper on the road system it may be well to classify the main types of roads, and to note the various terms applied to them in Saxon times.

A. Pre-Roman roads.

(1) *Ridgeways.* They are really watershed ways; and, in the case of the larger watersheds of this country, may be traced for miles through county after county. Their importance as lines of communication made their character well known to the Saxons, who usually called them by the name *Hrycgweg.* Even quite short stretches of ridgeway were called by this name. For example, the road from Faringdon to Wantage in Berkshire is only a watershed way for the first few miles out of Faringdon; but it is called *Hrycgweg* in a Berkshire charter.

But, as these ridgeways were mostly through-roads, the Saxon sometimes applied to them the more generic term *Herepath*, which means literally 'army way,' but is obviously used in the modern sense of 'highway' or 'through-road.'

The ridgeway owes its genesis to the necessity of avoiding streams, which, even if small, would in the winter have quagmires in their neighbourhood, or deeply cut channels difficult of passage.

This leads to the second type of pre-Roman road.

(2) The *Summerway*. This type has not been recognised; but it is represented again and again among the present highways of the country. In the summer season the upper waters of streams, especially in the chalk districts, tend to run dry, and so during this season it was not necessary for the traveller to climb to the actual top of the ridge, for he could make his way unimpeded by quaggy ground along the lower slopes of it. Nearly every one of the great ridgeways has its accompanying summerway. The Saxons did not distinguish this as a special type of road; but, inasmuch as such roads were nearly always through-roads, they frequently applied the term *Herepath* to them.

B. Roads of the Romano-British age.

(1) *Roman Roads.* To these the Saxon nearly always applied the term *Straet*, 'street' or 'made road.' Not having the method or money to 'make' roads himself, he was keen to notice the presence of 'making' in a road. Sometimes, though rarely, he may apply the term *Herepath* to them, as being through-roads.

It is, of course, known that, apart from the great Roman roads, there existed short stretches of vicinal way running from these roads to villas. No instance occurs in the Hampshire, Berkshire, or Wiltshire charters in which the term *Straet* may be suspected to be applied to such a way.

(2) *Romanised Roads.* These are really earlier roads in a modified form, i.e. ridgeways or summerways which have been 'made' in some way, either by both metalling and straightening, or by metalling only. Examples of straightening are to be found on the Icknield Way in Berkshire, on the same road in Oxfordshire, on a piece of road in Meon, Hampshire, and on a piece of road in Farnborough, Berkshire.

C. Roads of Saxon age.

(1) The Saxon developed new through-tracks, to which the term *Herepath*, 'highway,' is commonly applied.

(2) *Weg*, 'way,' is a generic term which may be applied loosely to all kinds of roads, but is usually used of purely local roads, probably the tracks from the village to its outlying lands.

The physical characteristics of Wiltshire relative to a road system are of much the same type as those of Hampshire and Berkshire. The round-topped Downs are in favour

of the development of the ridgeway. The tendency of the upper courses of streams to run dry in the dry season promotes, as in the case of Hampshire and Berkshire, the development of the summerway. But the wide stretch of Salisbury Plain, where none of the smaller permanent streams are found, and where the uppermost parts of the valleys are rarely, if ever, in an untraversable state, permitted ridgeways to wander every now and then from the comb of the ridge, so that it is at the present day uncertain as to what were the lines taken by them in some parts of their course. Otherwise the ancient road system of the county was of the type normal in the counties south of the Thames, and indeed in those of the south Midlands.

Perhaps the most convenient way of dealing with roads is to take the county in geographical sections. Inasmuch, too, as the six-inch Ordnance maps are accessible to few, while the one-inch are easily obtainable, the information given will be based as far as possible on the latter.

The evidence is drawn largely from the Saxon charters of Wiltshire, of which there are about 95, though others which do not belong to the county have been attributed to it. Even of the 95 there are some the connexion of which with the county is doubtful.

Of these 95, 65 have been completely solved, and 15 others have been solved partially. Thus the foundation of evidence is fairly wide; and, in so far as the present writer is aware, the evidence itself is wholly new. The amount of it is so large that it is necessary to present it in the guise of unadulterated fact unrelieved by imaginative considerations.

Road 1. The Foss Way.

To those acquainted with parish boundaries it will not be surprising to find that this great Roman highway forms a parish boundary for the greater part of the length of it which lies within the county boundary. Were its course in other counties to be followed, the same would be found to be the case. In the NW. part of the county it is frequently touched by the boundaries of lands belonging to the great monastery of Malmesbury.

It makes its first appearance in the charters at the point where it crosses that branch of the Avon which comes up from Malmesbury by Brokenborough village, the stream called Ingelbourn in former days. It passes this stream at

a ford called *Straetford.*[1] It then passes along the W. by. of Brokenborough parish, where there is an interesting reference to it in the same charter as '*Strata publica quae ab antiquis straet nunc fos nuncupatur.*' This shows that its famous name '*Fos*' or '*Foss*' was not applied to it in the earliest Saxon times. Presumably that name referred to the marked *agger* of the road with drainage ditches at either side of it. At some indeterminable point N. of this the road is referred to in the same charter[2] as *Strata publica de fosse.*

At the SW. corner of Brokenborough parish, where is the reputed site of the Roman station, the road crossed another branch of the Avon by a ford also called *Straetford.*[2] A little more than 2 miles S. of this it forms the by. of the parish of Norton; and in the charter of that place[3] it is referred to as *Strata.* A few miles further S., in a charter of Grittleton,[4] it is called *Straet*; and further S. still in a Nettleton charter[5] there is reference to a *Straetford* where it crosses the brook on the S. by. of the parish. Its further course in the county is not touched by any charter.

Road 2. Local way in Norton.

At the northernmost point of Norton parish a local way, called in the charter[3] the *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' branched off from the Foss Way and ran SE. to Norton village along the line of the present road. It is referred to twice in the Norton charter.

Road 3. A highway from Norton to Malmesbury.

A more important road, as its name implies, the *Kingweie*, 'King Way,' is mentioned in the Norton charter.[3] It went NE. from the village along the line of road and lane which eventually joins the main road from Foxley to Malmesbury about ½ m. E. of Foxley village. It probably followed the line of this road to Malmesbury. The name *Kingweie* is probably post-Conquest; and the general forms of the terms in this charter indicate that the extant copy is of post-Saxon date. In other charters roads running from Malmesbury have this name—a curious fact, for the name does not occur in other parts of Wiltshire. But the wording of the surveys of these charters is of post-Saxon date, whereas the majority

[1] B. 921. K. 460.
[2] B. 921–2. K. 460.
[3] B. 671–2. K. 355.
[4] B. 750. K. 381.
[5] B. 800. K. 398.

of other Wiltshire charters have attached to them surveys which were undoubtedly made in Saxon times.

Road 4. A highway S. of Malmesbury.

Somewhere to the S. of Malmesbury was another Kingway called *Kingwei* in that Brokenborough charter[1] of which the survey is so tantalisingly untraceable in many parts. But it is possible that the old name of this road survives in that of Kingway Barn, which stands where the road to Malmesbury from Lower Stanton St. Quintin through Corston crosses the railway. In the same survey, seven points later on, occurs another *Kingweie*, not now identifiable, but just possibly another part of the same road.

Road 5. A highway in Crudwell.

In a charter of Chelworth in Crudwell parish[2] there is a reference to a *Via Regia*. One would be inclined to identify this with the Malmesbury-Cirencester road which passes through Crudwell; but the size of the grant, only four hides, makes it somewhat improbable that it extended so far as this road; and, if there can be said to be any probability in the matter, it is that the road running NE. from Chelworth to Kemble Wick and Kemble, and possibly extending in former days S. along what is now a line of footpath to Crudwell, is the line of the *Via Regia*. It is also quite possible that this was the ancient highway between Malmesbury and Cirencester, for its line between the two places is rather more direct than that of the present high road.

Road 6. A local road in Crudwell.

In this same Chelworth charter[2] there is reference to a *Brad Weg*, 'Broad Way.' What is undoubtedly the same track is referred to in an 'Escote' (now Eastcourt in Crudwell) charter[3] as *Bradenweye* or *Brodeweye*. The curious confusion of *Braden* and *Brode* in the name is probably due to the scribe having known that, though the road was the *Brode Weye*, it did lead towards Braydon Forest. At any rate it is highly probable that it is now represented by the road which skirts the N. edge of Oaksey Wood, and goes to Oaksey. Braydon Forest (temp. Edward I) adjoined Oaksey parish on the SE.

Road 7. Ridgeway between the Avon and the Thames.

[1] B. 921–2. K. 460. [2] B. 584–5–6. K. 901. [3] K. 584.

We must now turn to the great ridgeway which follows the watershed between the Avon and the Thames. It is not called Ridge way in modern times; but a great ridgeway it is all the same. It is unfortunately the case that no charter of Saxon times to which a survey is attached impinges on its line, except, possibly, the Ellendun charter. It is traceable from Malmesbury to Swindon. At Malmesbury it crossed the Avon, and went, no doubt, to join a great Gloucestershire ridgeway which comes from the N. and passes about a mile W. of Badminton park. But the eight miles interval between Malmesbury and this Gloucestershire road does not show any modern traces of its line. Its course E. from Malmesbury is preserved at the present day in a line of main road. From Malmesbury it runs at first SE., crossing the Avon within a mile of the town. It runs by Malthouse Farm, Brinkworth, Highgate Farm, Ballard's Ash, and Spittleborough Farm, and so to Swindon. Brinkworth is the only centre of population on its course. This may be due to the fact that it was either on or close to the S. by. of the forest of Braydon for a great part of this distance. No doubt it crossed the big brook at Swindon, and went to join the Icknield Way at Wanborough, or the great ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs above that village (Roads 13, 14).

Road 8. A ridgeway crossing Road 7.

About $\frac{3}{4}$ m. N. of Wootton Bassett the last road is crossed by another ridgeway which comes down from Common Platt in Purton parish. Close to Common Platt is still a Ridgeway Farm (OM6). There is also near it a Rudgeway Mead in the field-names of Purton. From this point it is represented by the modern road through Lydiard Millicent, by Lydiard Green, and so by Hook to Wootton Bassett. It may be noticed, parenthetically, how many of the town centres of England are at points where ridgeways crossed rivers.

But this is not perhaps surprising when we remember that these ridgeways, up to the time when railways were made, formed the main lines of packhorse and cattle traffic in the country.

After crossing the stream at Wootton, this ridgeway is represented by a modern road running S. by Greenhill Farm and Bushton to Clyffe Pypard. It there crossed a

summerway (Road 24), and ascended to join another ridgeway on the down above Clyffe Pypard (Road 23).

Road 9. Road in Rodbourne Cheney.

In Saxon times, at any rate, the ridgeway (Road 8) had a continuation E., represented now by the road from Moredon, N. of Swindon, to Upper Stratton. This is called the *Brad Weg*, 'broad way,' in the Moredon charter.[1] Its name would suggest that it was a local road, as the Saxons usually applied the term *Herepath* to through lines of communication.

Road 10. The Roman road to Speen near Newbury.

E. and SE. of Swindon a great group of charters, comprising Chisledon, Badbury, Wanborough, and Little Hinton, survives; and, as famous highways traversed this region, their evidence is of peculiar interest.

In the N. part of Wanborough parish two Roman roads meet near Covingham Farm, where conjecture has located a Roman station. One of them ran due S. to the Station *Cunetio* near Marlborough; the other SE. to the Station *Spinae* at Speen near Newbury. Northwards the united roads ran to Cirencester.

Of the road SE. something must be said. In the first place the name Ermine Street is applied to it in modern times, the same name as that of the great Roman road from London to Lincoln and York. There is no trace in the Saxon documents of such a name having been applied to this road, though there is Saxon evidence of its application to the road to York. It is only too probable that the name is in this case an antiquarian invention. Another remarkable fact concerning it is that only for a very short part of its course does it form a parish boundary, which is somewhat surprising in view of the tendency of the Saxons, who were the originators of these boundaries for secular purposes, to make use of any Roman road as a line of division between land-units. As to its general course, it is evident that it was a converted ridgeway which ran along the watershed between the Lambourn and the Kennett; and in the TA. of Boxford in Berks it is called the Ridgeway Road. It is mentioned once, and only once, in a Saxon charter,[2] that of Boxford, where it is called *Herepath*, 'highway.'

[1] Abingdon Cartulary.

[2] B. 1227. K. 1265.

This is all the information which we have concerning it. That it was a genuine Roman, and not merely a romanised, road there can be no doubt. But it is certainly a very curious fact that it is mentioned in only one of the four charters which impinge on it, and then is merely called *Herepath*.

Road 11. The Roman road from Marlborough northwards.

The short stretch of Roman road to Marlborough is referred to several times in the charters. In the Liddington charter[1] it is called *Brokene Strate*, 'broken street,' at a point a few hundred yards S. of Covingham Farm. In a Chisledon (really Badbury) charter[2] it is called *Straet* near Badbury Wick; and in a Badbury (really Chisledon) charter[2] it is called *Brokene Stret* at the same point. In the same charter it is called *Strete* at a point about three furlongs NNE. of South Farm, and *High Strate Waie* in a perambulation of Aldbourne of 1591. As a line of modern highway this road is complete from Mildenhall near Marlborough to within a few hundred yards of Covingham Farm. Here the line has disappeared; and it is possible that the break in it at this point gave it its name of *Brokene Straet*.

Road 12. Local way in Liddington.

The N. part of the by. between Liddington and Chisledon passes between Upper Snodshill and Liddington Wick. Along this is a track or lane called in the Badbury charter[3] *Weg*, 'Track.' In the same charter it is also called the *Eldene Heghewey*, probably 'old hay way.' It was apparently a local track leading to the mead or hay land of Liddington and Chisledon.

Road 13. The Berkshire Portway; a summerway.

The first traces of the Berkshire Portway which runs all along the N. slope of the Berkshire Downs begin at Wanborough. Where it crossed the by. of Little Hinton, about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. from Wanborough, it is called *Icenhilde Weg*, 'Icenhild's Way' (Icknield Way),[4] and it is noted that certain 'heathen burial-places' adjoined it at this point. In Berkshire charters it is four times called by this name, and once *Icenhilde Straet*. In the TA. of Lockinge near Wantage it is called Ickleton Way. The application of

[1] K. 386.
[2] B. 598.
[3] B. 904. K. 434.
[4] B. 479. K. 1053.

the name Icknield to the ridgeway above it is not supported by the evidence of the charters.

The Icknield Way is a summerway corresponding to the great ridgeway, and, like the latter, it may be traced on modern roads with hardly any break as far as Cambridgeshire and even Norfolk. There is no trace of its continuation W. of Wanborough as a summerway. It probably went across that brook called in the charters *Dorcyn*, *Dorterne*, and *Dorcan*, which flows now through the reservoir SSE. of Swindon, and joined the ridgeway from Swindon to Malmesbury (Road 7).

Road 14. The Ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs.

This ridgeway, like the Icknield Way which is, as has been said, its summerway, may be traced almost continuously along lines of modern road from Norfolk. It follows the Chiltern watershed to Goring, where it crosses the Thames to Streatley, and runs on the watershed between the Ock and the Kennet basins to the borders of Wiltshire.

We know very little of the economic life of the Celts of Britain either before or during the Roman occupation; but one thing seems clear, that their fortified centres of population, which survive now in the form of camps, were mainly on their through-lines of communication, the ridgeways. This accords with what we hear of the towns of Gaul in Caesar's time; and in Gaul ridgeways were just as marked a feature of the early geography as they are in Britain. Julien in his history of Gaul under the Romans remarks moreover on the frequency with which the Roman roads of that country follow the previous ridgeways.

We will now take the itinerary of this great road in Wiltshire. The mileage is calculated from the point where it enters the county on the E. by. of Bishopstone.

($\frac{1}{2}$) Ridgeway Farm: (4) *Earthwork*: ($4\frac{1}{8}$) *Liddington Castle* (*Camp*) 1 furlong S.: ($7\frac{1}{4}$) at this point, on W. by. of Chisledon, on Burderop Down, is called *Stonestrete* in the Badbury charter.[1] Even now it shows signs of straightening at this point. This is the only mention of it in this group of charters; but then it did not form a boundary at any point in this part of its course. *Tumulus* about 100 yards S.: ($8\frac{1}{4}$) *Tumulus* close to road: ($9\frac{1}{4}$) *Tumulus* about 200

[1] B. 904. K. 434.

yards W. of road : (9⅜) *Earthworks* about 200 yards W. of road : (9⅞) *Earthworks* about 300 yards W. of road : (10¼) *Tumulus* 400 yards W. of road. For the last two miles it has been passing along the ridge of Hackpen Hill : (11) *Tumuli* ½ m. W. of road : (11¼) *British Settlement* ¼ m. W. of road : (11¾) *British Settlement* ½ m. E. of road. It has now entered on the region included in one or more of the Overton charters.[1] Unfortunately the existent parish boundaries in this region are of quite recent date ; and it is consequently impossible to determine with certainty the lines followed by the surveys. But it seems undoubtedly to be the *Hrycgweg*, ' ridgeway ' of one of these charters,[2] though, as is wont to be the case with such early tracks, it descended the hill into the Kennet valley on more than one line, for W. of this *Hrycgweg* there seems to have been another line following that of the present day, and this is probably the *Herepath*, ' highway ' of the same charter[2] : (12¾) *Earthwork* and *Tumuli* just W. of road : (13½) crosses the line of the Roman road running W. from *Cunetio* near Marlborough. *Stone Circle* and numerous *Tumuli* close to the road : (13⅞) crosses the Kennet at East Kennet : (14¾) *Long Barrow* about ¼ m. W. of road : (15½) Enters on the area of the Alton charter.[3] This charter again presents many difficulties ; but it is fairly certain that this road is the *Ciceling Weg*, ' Way of Cicel ? ? ', of that document. At this point, too, it crosses the *Wansdyke* : (16) *Earthwork* immed. W. of the road. The land to the W. of this part of the road is thickly strewn with *Tumuli*, *Camps*, and *Earthworks* : (16¼) *Adam's Grave* (*Tumulus*) immed. W. of the road[4] : (17⅜) Alton Priors village : (17¾) crosses the Kennet-Avon canal : (18) traces of it disappear. That it went on to a crossing of the Avon, and joined up with one of the ridgeways in the N. part of Salisbury Plain is certain. It is just possible that the Beechingstoke[5] and North Newnton[6] charters give a clue to its further course. Along the SE. by. of Beechingstoke parish there ran in Saxon times a road called merely a *Weg*, ' track,' in the Beechingstoke and in one of the N.

[1] B. 1285, K. 571, and B. 734, K. 1120.

[2] B. 734. K. 1120.

[3] B. 390. K. 1035.

[4] A long barrow, O.G.S.C. The *Wodnes Beorh*, ' Woden's Barrow,' of the Alton charter. B. 390. K. 1035.

[5] B. 769. K. 390.

[6] B. 699, K. 1109, and B. 567, K. 320.

Newnton charters, but called *Frith Herepath*, 'highway through the brushwood,' in the other. At the present day it is represented by a footpath. The name *Herepath* shows that it was more than a local track. It evidently ran N. by Woodborough station practically to the line of the last traces of the ridgeway near Honey Street Farm; and there can be little doubt that it was the continuation of that great way to a crossing of the Avon called *Wifeles Ford*, 'beetle's ford,'[1] a furlong E. of Puck Shipton. From here its line runs along a footpath to the W. end of Wilsford village; and thence no doubt it went to join the ridgeway running E. and W. on Wilsford Hill (Road 43). It had in all probability another connexion with the ridgeway running S. across Salisbury Plain to the site of Salisbury (Road 39). Its total length in Wiltshire up to the point where it met the ridgeway on Wilsford Hill is $21\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

Road 15. Local road in Chisledon.

This is a very doubtful road, because the evidence for it in the Badbury charter[2] is of an uncertain character. There are in that charter two references, in the first case to a *Staureweye*, and in the second to a *Stourewe*, at different points in the by.; and these are almost certainly either references to the same object, or to two objects of the same nature. The extant copy of the survey is, as the forms of words show, of post-Conquest date. The first element in the two words is indeterminable; but the difficulty is that the second element in the first case appears to be *Weg*, 'track,' and in the second *Raewe*, 'row.' If the reference is to a track, then it was one which ran down the E. by. of the parish from a point on the Roman road near Badbury Wick to the great ridgeway. But it is possible that both references are corruptions made by a post-conquest scribe of a *Stanraewe*, 'row of stones,' in an original AS. survey.

Road 15A. Local road in Wanborough and Liddington.

A road called in the Wanborough charter[3] *Scocera Weg*, and in a perambulation of Aldbourne (A.D. 1591) *Shuger Waie*, ran along the S. bys. of Wanborough to Liddington, along the line of an existing track, passing 3 fur. S. of

[1] B. 699, K. 1109, and B. 567, K. 320 and B. 769, K. 390.

[2] B. 904. K. 434.

[3] B. 477–9. K. 1053.

Liddington Warren Farm. I cannot suggest any meaning for *Scocera*.

Road 16. A branch ridgeway in Liddington, Ogbourne, etc.

In the Liddington charter[1] the track which passes the S. by. of that parish about ½ m. NNE. of Lower Upham Farm is called *Herepath*, 'highway.' It comes down a modern line of track from the great ridgeway, and then runs S. to join the Roman road to Cunetio near Bytham Farm. It is probable that, like another ridgeway which will shortly be described, it went down to a passage of the Kennet at Marlborough. If so, it continued down the line of the Roman road for ½ m., and then went to Marlborough by Rabley Wood. It passes near *Tumuli*, *Earthworks*, a *British Village*, and a *British Settlement*. A perambulation of Liddington of A.D. 1779 shows that it was then used as the road from Bishopstone to Marlborough.

Road 17. Another ridgeway from Marlborough.

A well-marked ridgeway runs in a general NNW. direction from Marlborough. Its itinerary, reckoned from Marlborough, is as follows:—(¾) *Tumuli* about 100 yards E.: (1¾) Old Eagle: (2½) *Earthwork* and *Tumuli* ¼ m. W.: (2¾) crosses *Ditch*; *Tumuli* 3 fur. W.: (3) *Tumulus* ¼ m. W.: (3½) Four Mile Clump: (4) *Tumulus* 3 fur. WSW.: (4¼) *Tumulus* ¼ m. E.: (5) passes through *Barbury Castle* (*Camp*): various *Tumuli*: (5¼) crosses the great ridgeway (Road 14): (6½) Uffcott ¼ m. WSW.: (7¼) joins ridgeway coming up from SW. (Road 23). Runs along it for ½ m. There is little doubt that it ran N. along the watershed between the local brooks, crossing at Salthrop House a well-marked summerway coming up from SW. (Road 24), and then went along the present line of road to join the Malmesbury-Swindon ridgeway near Hagbourne Copse.

Road 18. Ridgeway route S. of Marlborough.

That these two last ridgeways did not run to Marlborough to stop there may be regarded as certain. That is not the way of ridgeways. There is little doubt that they went S. to the watershed between the Kennet and Avon basins at Burbage.[2] But how far the modern Marlborough-

[1] K. 386.

[2] There is plenty of evidence of these ridgeways on the ground at Burbage itself.—O.G.S.C.

Andover road represents the line which they took is quite uncertain. Savernake Forest covered all that region for miles S. of Marlborough; and wherever roads of the pre-Conquest period run into forests of post-Conquest times you may expect to lose trace of them as far as modern highways are concerned. The post-Conquest forest laws did not encourage traffic through officially afforested regions.

Road 19. Local road in Dauntsey.

The *Weg*, 'track,' of the supplement to the Dauntsey charter[1] was possibly on the line of the road from Little Smithcot Farm to Idover Demesne Farm.

Roads 20 and 21. Local roads in Grittleton.

In the Grittleton charter[2] is mention of two *Wegs*, 'tracks,' one of which is represented by the road along the by. running SE. from Fosse Gate, while the other ran from Foscote along the by. in a SW. direction.

Road 22. Summerway and ridgeway in Christian Malford and Bremhill.

A very remarkable old highway can be traced from the parish of Dauntsey to the village of Bremhill. It is at first a summerway running under the ridge which stands E. of it. Of the ridgeway on this ridge only a small part is traceable, running S. for something more than a mile from the neighbourhood of Bradenstoke Abbey. But even this trace is not certain; and it is possible that there was no ridgeway along this part of the ridge, and hence the summerway, which develops later into a ridgeway, got the name *Rigweye* in the Dauntsey charter.[3] This is at Swallett Gate. On the road about ¼ m. SW. of this is a Ridgeway Farm. The track followed the modern road through the parish of Christian Malford to near Foxham, where it is called *Elde Strete*, 'old street or made road.'[4] This part of the road is still called Friday Street. At Foxham church it divided. What was no doubt the way used in the winter made a long detour to get round the head of the great brook known in the Bremhill charter[5] as *Cadeburne*, 'Cada's Bourne.' It turned, that is to say,

[1] B. 457–8. K. 263.

[2] B. 750. K. 381.

[3] B. 457–8. K. 263. Extant copy is about twelfth century.

[4] B. 752. K. 384. Extant copy about eleventh–twelfth century.

[5] B. 716–7. K. 367. A Bremhill charter so-called; but of the lands of Kellaways, Foxham, and Avon.

E. under the hill, and ran along the modern line of road to Catcomb. Thence it turned SW. up the modern line of road near Spirthill, ascending to the top of the ridge, and becoming a true ridgeway. From this point it can be traced for about 2½ m. along the modern line of road through Charlcote till just beyond Wick Hill. The other branch from Foxham church cut off the great detour by Catcomb. It ran W. for ½ m. to West End; then E. of S. by Harestreet Farm, close to which it crossed the *Cadeburne*, at which crossing it is called *Strata* in the Bremhill charter.[1] The name Harestreet is a reminiscence of the AS. *Herestraet*. This road is then a romanised road, as the Saxon usage of the term *Straet* in other localities indicates. The romanisation seems in this case to have included a certain amount of straightening, and this at the two points where the old names *Elde Strete* and *Strata*, and the modern names Friday Street and Harestreet occur. Otherwise the road follows the winding line of a pre-Roman trackway, the course of which was determined solely by the natural features, large and small, of the neighbourhood.

The further course of this road S., though not recorded in the charters, for no charters lie on its line, is clear on the map. It probably went SSW. along the line of the present road from Bremhill to the Marden River, and went up to Studley, where it resumes a markedly ridgeway character. Measured from Studley its itinerary is as follows:—along road W. of S. to Studley church (½): then along road SW. to (1) Golden Gate: then S. and SSE. along the road down the W. side of Bowood park to (2¾) Sandy Lane[2] and the supposed site of the Roman station *Verlucio*; still along road to (3¼) the Bell Farm, where it crosses the line of the *Wansdyke* and the Roman road (Road 25): thence by a road SE. by E. to the top of Beacon Hill (4½): here it probably forked, one branch going SE. to join a ridgeway (Road 39) ½ m. N. of Roundway village, and the other running ENE. along a line of road or track to (4⅝) *Tumulus* close to road: still along track to (5⅛) *Tumuli* 400 yards N. of road: along track to (5¾) point

[1] B. 716–7. K. 367. A Bremhill charter so-called; but of the lands of Kellaways, Foxham, and Avon.

[2] This road is called 'Devizes Way' in a perambulation of Pewsham Forest. From Sandy Lane to Beacon Hill it is the old London-Bath road.—O.G.S.C.

where it crosses Road 39: along track to (6) *Earthwork* immed. S. of road: along track to (7) crossing of the *Wansdyke* and Road 38: along track to (8¼) *Three Barrows*: along track to (9¼) meeting with Road 40: along track to (9½) meeting with the line of the Roman road (Road 25). Beyond this it is not traceable; and it is probable that as a separate road it ended here.

Road 23. The ridgeway along the watershed between the Wiltshire Avon and the Bristol Avon.

This ridgeway survives only in parts, as far as lines of modern roads are concerned. Its first evident traces are about ¾ m. ENE. of Clyffe Pypard. Thence it runs down the ridge in a SW. direction for 2 m. to Clevancy Hill. Thence it must have run S.; but for 2½ m. no traces of it survive. But its line may be taken up with certainty at the *Tumulus* about ½ m. NW. of Yatesbury church. From this point it runs S. for 1½ m. to *Oldbury Castle* (*Camp*); and a little more than ¾ m. further on meets the Roman road coming from *Cunetio* near Marlborough. Beyond this its course further S. is not traceable.

Such are the *evident* traces of it. But it is, of course, quite certain that it did not stop abruptly at the point ¾ m. ENE. of Clyffe Pypard. It followed either the comb, or a line near the comb, of the ridge. This line may be represented by the modern footpath which, leaving the road ¾ m. ENE. of Clyffe, arrives (⅝) at Broadtown Hill: then (1) passes Little Town: then (1½) *Bincknoll Castle* (*Camp*): then (2) Quidhampton Wood: then (2½) the grounds of Salthrop House. After passing ½ m. W. of this, it had to turn S. along a modern line of road to avoid the deep combe in which Clout's Wood lies; and it entered upon the line of ridgeway (Road 17) which runs SSE. to *Barbury Castle* and Marlborough.

Road 24. Summerway corresponding to the above ridgeway (Road 23).

The summerway corresponding to this ridgeway can be traced for a long distance, mainly along what are now lines of footpath. The traces begin at Lower End Farm about ½ m. SW. of Highway. The itinerary is as follows:—begins near Lower End Farm: along road to (⅝) Highway church: along footpath to (1⅛) N. end of Clevancy: footpath to (1¾) Bupton: (2) *Earthwork* and *Tumuli*: footpath and

road to (2¾) Clyffe Pypard church: footpath to (3½) Springfield House: road to (3⅞) Broadtown: footpath to (4¾) a point just below *Bincknoll Castle* (*Camp*): footpath to (5¼) Bincknoll Farm: footpath to (5¾) the grounds of Salthrop House. It is probable that it went thence along the line of the footpath from Salthrop to Elcombe Hall, and by the winding road to Wroughton, bending southwards at this point in order to cross as high up as possible the great combe in which Clout's Wood lies. At Wroughton it would be pointing for Chisledon, and probably went to join the great ridgeway (Road 14) near this place.

Road 25. Roman road from *Cunetio* near Marlborough westwards.

The course of this road is well known, and need not be described in detail. From Marlborough it ran up the Kennet valley as far as West Kennet. It then ran across the Down S. of *Oldbury Castle* and struck the line of the *Wansdyke* 5 fur. S. of Calstone Wellington. It then followed the line of the dyke to the W. edge of the county. There is a possible reference to it in one of those puzzling Overton charters,[1] which speaks of a *Straedford* (obviously *Straetford*). If this is a ford on the Roman road, then it must, if the line of the road be correctly marked on the map, have been just SE. of Silbury Hill, that great artificial mound. But it is very difficult to reconcile this position with the neighbouring landmarks of the survey; and it is much more probable that the reference is to the ford by which the great ridgeway crossed the Kennet at East Kennet (Road 14). We have come across traces of the romanisation of this ridgeway in Chisledon parish; and the low land near the Kennet would be a very natural place at which to improve the track by road-making.

Road 26. The road from *Cunetio*, near Marlborough, to *Spina* (Speen), near Newbury.

Whether this was a Roman or a romanised road is uncertain. The evidence of the charters, in so far as it suggests anything, favours the latter alternative. But against this is the fact that it does not take the course of a pre-Roman highway. It is, too, only in the earlier part of its course that any evidence with regard to it exists in the charters.

[1] B. 1285. K. 571.

A quarter of a mile E. of Puthall Gate it is called *Straet* in the Bedwyn charter.[1] This identification is quite certain. It was formerly, then, a made road at that place. The next reference is not quite so certain. At Harrow Farm, about 2 m. E. of the last point, the Bedwyn by. passes along the modern road for more than a mile; and here it is merely called *Gemaer Weg*, 'boundary way,' a term mostly applicable to roads of purely local character. In its technical sense as used in the charters it means a track which has developed along one of the larger balks of ploughland; but the present case may be exceptional, and the *Gemaere* may be the boundary of the grant. But one negative fact seems almost certain, namely that the track was not 'made' at that part. It is of course certain that there was a road of some kind between the two stations; but what is quite uncertain is the actual line taken by it. If it took the line of the present road, then it was not a Roman road, for the modern road has none of the characteristics of a regular Roman way. All that is in the evidence of the charters is that it went by Puthall; but what line it took after that point is not determinable.[2]

Road 27. The Roman road from *Cunetio*, near Marlborough, to *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester).

This road need not be described in detail, as its line is well known, and is clearly marked on the map. But it is unique among Roman roads in this country in that it departs from the straight line at one point in order to avoid a peculiarly deep combe. The Roman engineers made their roads with intent to make the passage from one place to another as short as possible in point of time; and it is evident that in this instance they reckoned that it would take a shorter time to go round the great combe at Tidcombe than to strike direct across it. Furthermore there was a piece of ridgeway ready to hand which ran along the comb of the ridge which borders the combe on the W. and S. And so along this ridgeway they carried their road for

[1] B. 225. K. 133.

[2] Further evidence on this road, however, sent me by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, indicates with high probability that there was a genuine Roman road from *Cunetio* to *Spina*. He says that it can be traced as a flat causeway through Hens Wood (OM6, Wilts, 29 SE.). It comes from the Hungerford-Wantage road at Leverton Crossroads, N. of Eddington near Hungerford, and its course is quite clear nearly as far as Wickham, close to which it joins the Roman road from Speen to Cirencester. W. of Leverton cross-roads it disappears, and there is a gap to Hens Wood.

3¾ miles. This is the famous Chute Causeway. In the Wiltshire charters there is only one reference to this Roman road. It is the Great Bedwyn charter,[1] where there is a reference to a *Staet* (obviously *Straet*) *Geat*, 'street gate,' which stood ½ m. SE. of Marten, where the by. crosses this road.

Road 28. The Inkpen Beacon ridgeway.

The Chute Causeway ridgeway is a continuation of the great ridgeway which comes from the E. along the ridge of the Downs by Inkpen Beacon. At Rivar Hill the traces give out as far as modern roads or tracks are concerned; but they are taken up again by the by-road running N. and S. a short ½ m. W. of Chapel Cottages. This runs straight on to Chute Causeway.

This is one of the most important ridgeways in England. It can be traced from Canterbury to this point, almost the whole way along lines of existing roads or tracks, of which the Pilgrims' Way is part.

Its further course in Wiltshire was probably twofold. On the one hand it must have run to the watershed between Kennet and Avon at Burbage. Thence there would be passage to Roads 16 and 17 via the crossing at Marlborough. On the other hand there would certainly be a continuation of it to meet Road 38 along the line of the *Wansdyke*; in fact this latter road may be said to have been a part of it (see Road 38). But the traces of it between Rivar Hill and these roads are very uncertain at the present day, probably because it was in the interval passing through what was in post-conquest days part of the Forest of Savernake.

That there was communication S. with the great ridgeway which comes up from Lymington along the watershed between the Avon and the Test is also certain. But the connexion between the two is, as far as modern roads are concerned, fragmentary, for the ridgeway now passes through what was formerly Chute Forest, and, later, through the NW. part of Clarendon Forest. Still traces *do* survive. It runs along a track which goes as far as the *Tumulus* ½ m. WSW. of Rivar Hill. Then there is a gap. The traces are taken up again a little more than 1 m. WSW. of that point by a lane which comes up from Starveall Farm and takes up the line of the old ridgeway at the SE. corner

[1] B. 1213. K. 766

of a wood (Great Botley Copse, OM6) 5 furlongs due E. of Marten village. It runs E. of S. down this lane for 1 m. to the point where the Roman road (Road 27) abuts on Chute Causeway. It then runs along the causeway for 1 m. to Scots Poor Inn. It is now on the watershed between the Test and the Avon; and the crucial point, topographically speaking, on that watershed is the very narrow ridge at Alderbury, SE. of Salisbury, where the headwaters of an affluent of the Test are close to the Avon.

We will now take its itinerary, fragmentary though it is, measured from Scots Poor Inn. Just above Rivar it is called 'Newbury Way' in the TA. of Shalbourne.

Runs SSW. into the area of Chute Forest along a modern line of road: ($\frac{1}{8}$) *Tumulus* and *Ditch*: ($2\frac{1}{2}$) passes over Wick Down: ($2\frac{3}{4}$) *Ditch*: (3) traces give out. From here it must have passed along the ridge to the immed. E. of the Bourne, by Windmill Hill Down, where there are *Ditches* and *Tumuli*, over Pickpit Hill. S. of this the lane on the E. side of the N. end of Ashdown Copse may be remains of it. It must then have gone over Thruxton Hill, Cholderton Hill, and Quarley Hill, where there is a *Camp*. Just S. of this it must have crossed the Roman road from Old Sarum to Silchester. Its traces begin again at Boar Knoll, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NNW. of Juniper Down Farm, $8\frac{1}{2}$ m. from where they last gave out.

From this point ($11\frac{1}{2}$) it ran W. of S. along a modern line of road to (14) Easton Down. It is probable that it branched at this point, one branch bearing SW. towards Salisbury, the other SSW. towards Alderbury. Traces of both of these branches survive. That to Salisbury may be taken up on Porton Down, $1\frac{5}{8}$ m. from where the traces give out on Easton Down. From Porton Down a track on the ridge leads SSW. over Thorny Down, and then turns W., running to within 3 fur. of *Figsbury Ring* (*Camp*). The length of this surviving piece of road is $1\frac{7}{8}$ m. From here to Salisbury no further traces survive; but then the Roman road just S. of *Figsbury Ring* was the N. by. of Clarendon Forest.

The Alderbury branch may be traced continuously from Easton Down to a point S. of Pitton. From Easton Down it ran SSE. by a line crossing the Salisbury-Andover road 3 fur. WSW. of Lopcombe Corner. Then it went along

the winding modern road through Middle Winterslow to Winterslow. Thence by a lane to a point immed. S. of Pitton village. Here the traces give out. But there can be no doubt that it continued through the forest to join the line of another ridgeway (Road 78) near Alderbury, with which it coincided as far as the Pepperbox. Hence it ran S. for a mile along a line not marked by modern roadway; but at the end of that mile it meets a modern road which is the great Lymington ridgeway of W. Hants, a ridgeway which is on the lines of modern roads from that point to Lymington, a distance of 24½ m. by the line which the ridgeway takes.

It is perhaps hard to realise, but it is an actual fact that it would be possible to go from Lymington in Hampshire to Canterbury via the N. Hampshire Downs along a ridgeway which is represented for practically the whole distance by modern roads, save only in this eight-mile interval between Grateley and Wick Down.

Road 29. Summerway in Ham, etc.

A summerway corresponding to the Inkpen ridgeway may be traced for a short distance. It runs from Lower Spray in Ham parish W. through the N. end of Ham village, and for 3 furlongs beyond. After an interval of 5 furlongs its line is taken up immediately SW. of Shalbourne by a piece of road running SW. for 2 miles to the *Tumuli* 3 furlongs due E. of Marten. Its further course is not traceable.

Road 30. Road in Burbage and Grafton.

A road called in the Burbage charter[1] *Weale Weg*, and in the Bedwyn charter[2] *Waelu Weg*, ran along the line of the lane which now bounds those two parishes. It runs up the E. side of the big wood in the SE. part of Burbage. Owing to the variation of form it is uncertain what is the meaning of the name. Probably it is 'wall way,' having reference to the fort or camp, *Burh*, from which Burbage gets its name.

Road 31. Track in Burbage.

A lane which runs from the Pewsey road S. along the W. by. of Burbage is the *Mearc Weg*, 'boundary way,' of the Burbage charter.[1]

[1] B. 1076. K. 736.

[2] B. 1213. K. 766.

Road 32. Track in Burbage.

N. of the last and of the Pewsey road another *Mearc Weg* ran up by Bowden Farm.

Road 33. Road in Burbage.

In the Burbage charter[1] *Igfled* (probably for *Igfeld*) *Weg*, 'track of the open land of the island,' is the next landmark after the *Mearc Weg* last mentioned. It was probably on the line of the road which runs W. from Ram Alley. 'Alley' was spelt 'Eilley' in former times, which is probably from *Ig-Leah*, 'lea of the island.' *Ig* might signify any piece of land surrounded or partly surrounded by water or marshy ground.

Road 34. A road from Burbage to Pewsey, etc.

In Burbage parish, near the S. end of the village, is a Harepath Farm on the road which runs W. from Kinwardstone. The name indicates an AS. *Herepath*, 'highway.' This road goes through Pewsey to Manningford Bruce and beyond. In a Manningford charter[2] it is called the *Brad Weg*, 'broad way.' It is certainly a road of Saxon creation, for it adheres to the river valley, which pre-Roman roads do not do. It probably went S. along the river valley, as the main road does now, to Salisbury.

Road 35. Road in Collingbourne Ducis.

In the Collingbourne Ducis charter[3] there is mention of a *Herepath*, 'highway,' which was evidently a road of importance, for in an English version of the survey it is called *Lawpath*, and in a Latin version *Legalis Semita*, indicating evidently that it was one of those main roads to which the special laws relating to the king's highway applied. It runs down the parish by. from a point about 3 furlongs E. of the *Tumulus* called Godsbury S. over Aughton Down to Everley. In a perambulation of Everley of A.D. 1591 it is called *Sarum Waie*. S. of Everley its course must strike the eye of any one who looks at a map of Wiltshire, for it runs for miles almost in a straight line over Weather Hill, Brigmerston Down, through Bulford Camp, past Stockport and High Post, where it is a ridgeway, to the camp at Old Sarum, where it inclined SE. and ran to Salisbury along the line of what is now a minor road which keeps to the comb of the ridge between the Avon and the Bourne.

[1] B. 1076. K. 736. [2] *Liber de Hyda* (Rolls ser.) p. 232. [3] B. 635.

The S. part of it near Old Sarum is called in a charter of Avon[1] the *Weg the scaet fram Hambres Buruh to Aethelware Byrig*, 'The way which runs from Amesbury to Aethelware's Camp.' A road to Amesbury branches off from this road about 1 m. N. of High Post.

To recur to the N. end of the road, it is possible that the *Mearc Wegs* (Roads 31 and 32) of the Burbage by. were a northern continuation of it.

Road 36. Local road on the Manningford Abbots and Pewsey Boundary.

The road which runs up the Manningford and Pewsey by. from the Avon northwards, just W. of West Sharcott, is called the *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' in the Pewsey charter.[2] It passed the river by a ford called in the same charter *Mearc Ford*, 'boundary ford,' and in the Manningford charter *Myrce Ford*.[3]

Road 37. Ridgeway from Manningford to Marlborough.

In the Manningford charter[3] there is a reference to a *Hethiht Hrycgweg*, 'Heathy Ridgeway.' It is the second landmark in the survey, which starts 'to the east of *Maningaforda*,' a ford which was at the site of the bridge at Manningford Bruce. As the landmarks of the survey are many and the area small, the second must be near the Avon on the N., and it can only be the road running NNE. from this bridge. That is supported by the fact that the road is still called Harestreet, AS. *Herestraet*. Its course is at first noticeably straight; but it is not on a ridge; and about a mile from the river it crosses a stream at what was called in the Pewsey charter[2] the *Ford aet Wilcotum*, a reference to the neighbouring Wilcot. About 5 furlongs further on it crosses Ford Brook just S. of the Kennet canal. Here was a ford called in the same charter[2] the *Ford aet Ebban Broc*, 'ford at Ebba's Brook,' a name preserved in a curious form in that of Avebrick Farm,

[1] B. 1286. K. 572 I can only guess that *Aethelwaare Burh* is Old Sarum. I cannot find any other reference to the name, though it may exist. It is very unfortunate that no other charters impinge on this road. Strictly speaking, it is only in parts of its course that it is at the present day a ridgeway; but in this streamless region it would be quite possible for such a track to diverge from the comb of the ridge. But what is most evident is that it is the old way from the Roman station at *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum) to *Cunetio* near Marlborough. Was it a Roman or romanised road? Unfortunately there is no evidence of its having been more than a ridgeway.

[2] B. 748. K. 380.

[3] *Liber de Hyda*, p. 232.

which is on the brook about ½ m. SE. of where the road crosses it.

From this point N., however, the road goes along the comb of a projecting ridge of Oare Hill, passing through Oare village; and, after crossing the summit of that hill, goes for some way down another ridge on the N. side of it. On nearing Marlborough the modern road runs down a valley; but the ancient way probably approached the town along the ridge of Granham Hill.

Of course this road must have run S. from the Avon at Manningford; but its course is not definitely marked by modern roads. Perhaps the line of way to Bruce Field Barn is part of it; and it may safely be conjectured that it went to join a ridgeway down the watershed between the Bourne and the Avon. It is called Portway in the Wilcot TA.

Road 38. Ridgeway along the *Wansdyke*.

The *Wansdyke* passes along a ridge of peculiarly high down; and it keeps for the greater part of its length very closely to the comb of the ridge. Any one who knows anything about the development of ridgeways would account it very remarkable if no ridgeway had developed along what was in pre-Roman times this convenient line of communication. There is no modern road in the true sense of the term along this line; and the one-inch Ordnance map marks very few tracks. But, when the six-inch map, with its greater wealth of detail, is examined, the matter acquires a different complexion. In that it becomes plain that its line is followed largely by trackways of the present day. But it must be noted that E. of Milk Hill, N. of Alton, the *Wansdyke* departs from the comb of the ridge; and therefore the track of the ridgeway must be sought S. of it over Oare Hill. Perhaps the best way of demonstrating the position will be to take the statistics from the six-inch Ordnance, beginning on the E. at Oare Hill, and ending on the W. at the point where the Roman road joins the *Wansdyke*. The distance along the comb of the ridge from Oare Hill to where the Roman road joins the *Wansdyke* is 10⅛ m., along 6⅜ m. of which run modern tracks. But further evidence must be sought in the evidence relating to Road 39.

With regard to the eastern extension of this road beyond

Oare Hill this only is certain, that it was on its way to the watershed at Burbage. But it comes within the bounds of Savernake Forest, and, as elsewhere in Wiltshire, old tracks which enter forest bounds are apt to get lost. In this case, however, some of it has survived. It is still represented by a track which runs along the N. edge of the camp on Martinsell Hill, the *Metelmes Burh* of the Pewsey charter.[1] It then goes down by the *Tumulus*, and follows the track which forms the N. by. of Wootton Rivers parish. This track runs along the comb of the ridge and watershed till close to Hatgate Farm. From here it must have bent S. to the Burbage watershed 2 m. SE. along some line which may or may not be represented by fragments of the present roadways.

Road 39. Ridgeway along the watershed between the Wiltshire Avon and the Bristol Avon, and, later, between the Till and the Avon.

The ridgeway of Road 38 may have run on W. It may be that the Roman road along the *Wansdyke* was built on part of its line. But that is pure conjecture. But at the point where the Roman road strikes the line of the *Wansdyke* a ridgeway, which may be traced for many miles S., branches off. Inasmuch as the term ridgeway has naturally led people to associate it only with well-marked ridges, there are many ridgeways in this country which have not been recognised as such. It is the watershed, not the ridge, which determines the course of this type of road. The watershed must always be in a sense a ridge; but the ridge may be very inconspicuous. The road across the marshes to Pevensey in Sussex is a ridgeway; but few travellers would recognise it as such did they not notice the contours very minutely. The ridgeway now to be described is at first somewhat of this type. The following is its itinerary:

Begins at certain *Tumuli* where the Roman road meets the *Wansdyke*: runs due S. to ($\frac{7}{8}$) an *Earthwork* 200 yards E.: ($1\frac{5}{8}$) *Tumuli* $\frac{1}{4}$ m. E.; in now on Roundway Hill: (2) begins descent of slope of Downs: ($2\frac{1}{2}$) Roundway village; this probably an old name of the road: (3) crosses Devizes-Avebury road; (4) Broadway Farm 600 yards W.; possibly an old name of the road: ($4\frac{3}{4}$) strikes

[1] B. 748. K. 380.

line of Devizes-Wedhampton road and follows it: (5) crosses railway: (5⅝) Lydeway, evidently an old name of the road: (6¼) Lydeway Farm; here runs E. by S. by minor road[1]: (6½) Foxley corner; crosses a summerway (Road 44): (7⅝) crosses another ridgeway (Road 43): (9¼) Chirton Gorse: (10⅛) *Ell Barrow*, 350 yards E.: (11⅞) *Tumulus* 300 yards W.

From this point onwards for many miles towards Salisbury the present road has obviously been made in modern times. It keeps high up the ridge, but not on its summit. But the former course of the old road for several miles from this point is marked by the parish boundaries, which run along the absolute comb of the watershed. The boundaries follow a wavy course by Shrewton Folly and Blackhall Firs as far as the *Earthwork* on Alton Down. Any one acquainted with the charters knows that a wavy line of by. such as this can only be due to one of two kinds of landmarks, a stream or a track. It is needless to say that a stream is out of question here.

S. of this the boundaries become straight; and it is impossible to say whether they mark the old line of road. It may or may not have run by *Stonehenge*.

It is not till (19½) near Down Barn that the road resumes its ridgeway character, which it maintains to the crossing of the Avon at Salisbury (24⅜). All through its course over Salisbury Plain it passes numerous *Earthworks* and *Barrows*.

Just SE. of Cowdown Farm a road comes into it (19¼) from Stapleford on the W. This is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the South Newton charter[2]; and it is undoubtedly the connecting link between it and the ridgeway which comes down to Stapleford from the NW. along the watershed between the Till and the Wylye. The part of it S. of this junction is called *Weg*, 'way,' in the same South Newton charter.[2] At (21½) it is crossed by a road running from Little Durnford to Wilton, which is called *Theod Herepath*, 'people's highway,' in the so-called Wylye charter[3]; and just S. of this the main road is called *Brad Herepath*, 'broad highway,' in the same charter.[2]

[1] When the hundred of Swanborough was divided into two, the hundred court was held here as well as at Swanborough Tump.—O.G.S.C.

[2] B. 782.

[3] B. 1216. K. 543.

Road 40. A Saxon highway in Bishop's Cannings.

This is marked by the name Harepath (*Herepath*) $1\frac{3}{8}$ m. E. of Bishop's Cannings village. The road runs N. from the Roundway-Allington road, past Harepath Farm to ($1\frac{1}{2}$) the *Wansdyke*, where it must have crossed the *Wansdyke* ridgeway (Road 38). It then runs NNE. to Beckhampton Buildings, and there meets the line of the Roundway-Avebury road, crossing on the way the Roman road from *Cunetio*. Along the Roundway road it ran NE. for $\frac{1}{2}$ m. ($3\frac{1}{2}$) to a point where an ancient track called Harepit Way runs N., being traceable for about 600 yards. Harepit is obviously another corruption of *Herepath*.

It is impossible to classify this road with regard to age. But on the face of it it looks like a road of Saxon date, which developed as a short cut from the villages on the line of the Kennet-Avon canal to those in the Winterbourn valley, in lieu of the long circuit by the ridgeway (Road 39) through Roundway, or by the Roman road (Road 25). It is not a ridgeway, for it pays no attention to the ridges and valleys in its course. It is probable also from the direction in which it is running at the point where its traces give out at Harepit Way that it communicated with the ridgeway of Road 23.

Road 41. A local road in Woodborough and Beechingstoke.

The road which runs W. from Woodborough village along the N. by. of Beechingstoke is called in the Beechingstoke charter[1] *Weie*, a 'way' or 'track.' It crossed the stream just W. of Woodborough village by a ford called in the same charter *Stanford*, 'stone ford,' i.e. probably a ford paved with stones.

Road 42. Local road in North Newnton.

A way or track, called *Weg* in the North Newnton charter[2] seems to have run along the whole S. by. of the parish in former times. At the present day it is represented by a piece of road along the W. part of that by. It crossed the brook at Cuttenham Farm by a ford called *Teoltan* or *Tioltan Forda* in the two North Newnton charters.[3] *Teolta* is said to be a personal name. At the SE. corner of the parish, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. SSE. of Wood Bridge, it crossed the Avon at *Stintes Ford* of the same charters. *Stint* also seems to be a

[1] B. 769. K. 390. [2] B. 699. K. 1109. [3] B. 567. K. 320.

personal name. It is evidently represented E. by the road which runs along the N. by. of Upavon parish towards Lower Everley.

Road 43. The ridgeway of the Downs at the N. end of Salisbury Plain.

This is still called Ridgeway in the map. It begins at the *Tumulus* which stands 1⅜ m. ENE. of Imber village, where it meets another ridgeway coming from the NW. and running SE. (Road 45). Its itinerary is as follows :— *Tumulus* near Imber : (1⅝) St. Joan a Gore's Cross : (3½) Gibbet Knoll : (4⅝) *Tumuli* : (6) crosses another ridgeway (Road 39) : (6⅞) *Tumuli* : (7¾) the great ridgeway from the Berkshire Downs (Road 14) must have met it about here : (7) *Tumuli*. Here the traces give out as far as modern roads or tracks are concerned. But it may be regarded as certain that it ran along the ridge ESE. to *Casterley Camp*, 1½ m. SW. of Upavon village, and 1¾ m. ESE. of where the traces of the road give out.

Road 44. Summerway corresponding to the last ridgeway.

This last ridgeway is accompanied by a well-marked summerway which runs at least from Easterton through Urchfont and Conock to Rushall. The road from Easterton W. by Little Cheverell and Erlestoke may be a continuation of it. It may indeed have run through Edington and Westbury to Warminster, for the road through those places adheres closely to the lower slopes, and does not cross anything but the headwaters of a few streams.

Road 45. The Imber north ridgeway.

The name is artificial, merely given for purposes of identification. This ridgeway starts at *Bratton Castle*, 1⅝ m. E. of Westbury. Its course is marked throughout by modern roads or tracks. Its itinerary is as follows :— *Bratton Castle* (*Camp*) : runs due S. to (¼) an *Earthwork*. The reason for this divergence from its general direction is that it has to get round the deep valley which runs up SE. into the down from Bratton village. Turns due E. : (¾) *Earthwork* : (2) turns due N. round Bratton valley to Patcomb Hill. On the road at the summit of this hill stood the *Padecan Stan*, ' Padeca's Stone,' of the Edington charter,[1] called *Padcanston* in a late medieval perambula-

[1] B. 1215.

tion of Westbury manor: (2⅝) turns ENE.: (3⅛) turns NE.: (3⅝) turns E.: (4¼) bends gradually SE.: (7⅛) *Tumulus*. Is here joined by another ridgeway (Road 43): (8⅜) *Tumuli*, *Old Ditch*, and *British Village*: (9) *Tumuli*: (9¼) passes over Breach Hill: (10⅝) Chitterne Barn: (12¾) joins Imber South Ridgeway (Road 46) ½ m. NNW. of *Yarnbury Castle*. In a perambulation of Berwick St. James in 1591 it is called *London Waie*.

Road 46. The Imber south ridgeway.

This and the last ridgeway are really alternative routes, the one on the ridge to the N. and the other on the ridge to the S. of the great Imber valley, the *Imman Denu*, 'Imma's Dean,' of the Edington charter.[1]

Itinerary:—*Bratton Castle*: (1) Hill Farm: (1¼) numerous *Tumuli* on W. side: (2) turns gradually first SE. and later E.: (3) Ditch immediately SW.: (4¼) *Bowls Barrow*, the *Bodelus Beorh* of the Edington charter[1]: (5⅝) *Knoob Barrow*, and *Tumuli* 500 yards S.: (6) *Tumulus* 500 yards N., and *British Village* 600 yards S.: (7¼) track suddenly breaks off. Where it crossed the Imber valley is uncertain; but its traces begin again ⅞ m. SE. of Chitterne St. Mary, 1¼ m. from where the track gives out: (9⅝) *Oram's Grave* (*Tumulus*): (10½) begins to form the by. of Wylye parish, where it is called *Hrycgweg* in the Wylye charter[2]: (11⅜) joins Road 45: *Tumuli* 600 yards SW.

From here the united roads proceed SE. (mileage reckoned from Road 46): (11⅞) *Yarnbury Castle* (*Camp*): (12½) *Tumuli* by road: (13¼) *Tumulus* on road: (14⅝) arrives at the river Till, which it seems to have crossed at the S. end of Stapleford village, whence it ran due E. by the *Herepath* of the South Newton charter[3] to join another ridgeway (Road 39, see notes).[4] In a perambulation of Berwick St. James (1591) it is called '*Waie to Warminst.*'

[1] B. 1215.

[2] K. 611.

[3] B. 782.

[4] Note on the Enford charter (B. 705, K. 1110). In this charter are several most interesting references to roads. But unfortunately the survey cannot be reconciled with the present by. of the parish; and it seems as if it did not include one or more of the various tithings of Long Street, Combe, and Fyfield. Thus it is impossible to say with certainty which are the modern representatives of the roads mentioned. There are:

(1) A *Herepath*, 'highway,' which ought according to the only possible solution of the survey, to go along the E. part of the N. by. to the E. of the Avon. But there is no trace now of a road along this line. It is just possible, but not likely, that it was a continuation of Road 43. The complete disappearance of a *Herepath*, except in a forest region, is most unlikely;

ROADS OF SOUTH WILTS.

Road 47. The Roman road from Old Sarum (*Sorbiodunum*) to Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*).

The course of this road is well known. No Wiltshire charter impinges on it. In Hampshire charters it is referred to several times as *Straet*.

Road 48. The Roman road from Old Sarum (*Sorbiodunum*) to Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*).

The only charter which impinges on it is that one[1] which records a small grant of four hides at Avon in Stratford-sub-Castle. It may possibly be the road there referred to as the *Weg the scaet eastan fram Winter Burnan west to Billan cumbe*, 'the way which runs from Winterbourne on the east to Billa's Combe on the west.' But this identification is most uncertain.

But there is a most important reference to this road in a perambulation of the forest of Clarendon of the reign of Edward the Third. There it is called *Ykeneldestrete*, 'Icknield Street.' The attribution of this name to this road at such an early period is remarkable. Were it of later date it might be regarded as an antiquarian invention which has got into official literature. But is it possible to regard a name attributed to a road in the time of Edward the Third as being a mere invention of post-Saxon date? *Icenhilde* is a female name. We do not understand why it should be applied to the celebrated road of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, etc.; and the fact that it is applied to a second road of Roman date does not make conjecture any the more easy. Codrington (*Roman Roads*, 3d. ed. pp. 245, 246) does not mention this name in connexion with this

(2) A *Ceaster Herepath*, 'highway of the fort.' One would be inclined to connect this with *Casterley Camp*. But any probable calculation of its position in the survey must put it E. of the Avon, and either on or near the E. by. of the parish;

(3) A *Straet*, which may possibly be the piece of ridgeway which touches the SE. corner of the parish. It branches off from Road 35 at Weather Hill S. of Everley, at the head of the valley of the Nine Mile River, and goes down the ridge on the W. of that valley till its traces give out at Holmes Clump;

(4) A *Straet*, not apparently the same as the last, and undoubtedly near the Avon; but quite unidentifiable;

(5) A *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' which seems to have run WSW. from Lavington Folly;

(6) A *Smal Weg*, which ran probably NW. from Shrewton Folly; and was in fact part of the old Road 39 (see notes on that road).

[1] B. 1286. K. 572.

road ; nor have I found any reference to it in other books,[1] ancient or modern, on Roman roads.

Road 49. Highway NE. from Wilton.

A road along the line of the road from Wilton to Lower Woodford is mentioned in the Wylye charter[2] as the *Theod Herepath*, 'people's highway.' At Camp Down the old line is the track which runs direct NE., not the modern road E. Opposite Little Durnford, where the road comes down to the W. side of a branch of the Avon, it is called *Eald Herepath*, 'old highway,' in a South Newton charter.[3] It is doubtless a highway of Saxon date connecting Wilton with the road up the Avon valley.

Road 50. The road along the watershed between the Wylye and the Nadder.

In that part of Sir R. Colt Hoare's work which deals with Wiltshire in the Roman era the road along this ridgeway is asserted to be a Roman road. Hoare claims to have found its traces in the form of an *agger* running through Grovely Wood. He distinguished this *agger* from the ditch running along the ridge ; so that this is not a case in which he has, as in that of the ditches N. and S. of Sidbury Ring near Everley, mistaken the agger of a dyke for the *agger* of a road. Let it be said without further ado that the attribution of this *agger* in Grovely Wood to Roman times is probably, almost certainly, right. But that does not prove that it is a Roman road. Beyond Grovely Wood he traced it to Dinton Beeches ; and, in its passage from there to Stockton Wood, by a line of flints across the arable fields, a line not now traceable, if the report of expert observers is to be trusted. He found further traces of it ¼ m. from Lower Pertwood Farm, at a point marked in the one-inch Ordnance map. As Codrington says (*Roman Roads of Britain*, 3d. ed. 1918, p. 249), 'beyond that traces of the road are lost.' Hoare believes that the road went on to the lead mines on the Mendips, from which, as is well known, lead was obtained in Roman times. The supposed further course to the Mendips is marked on the Ordnance map by a dotted line. Of this Codrington says (*loc. cit.*), 'the course he (Hoare) gives by Maiden Bradley and East Cranmore to the Mendip Hills appears to have little evidence

[1] Except Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 330.

[2] B. 1216. K. 543.

[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon* ii, p. 323.

on the ground, or from parish boundaries. The old Ordnance map shows a piece of ridge nearly in the line of the ridge at Lower Pertwood, on Long Knoll, one mile south of Maiden Bradley. A parish boundary follows the ridge, which points to a barrow on the west end of the knoll. It is six miles from the ridge near Lower Pertwood, and there are no traces of the road beyond.' Of traces of Roman road-making on the Mendip Hills, Codrington speaks on pp. 218, 219; and the traces seem to be genuine. But it is a far cry from the Mendips to Lower Pertwood.

I must confess that to me the evidence for a true Roman road along this line is by no means convincing. To speak quite plainly, I do not believe it. In the first place all those who have supported the view that such a road did exist have attributed its existence to commercial reasons, namely the desire to make a way of communication with the lead mines. But Roman roads, in the provinces at any rate, were made, almost without exception, for military reasons; and their applicability to commercial uses was, when they were so applicable, due to the accidental fact that the military line coincided with some trade-route. That the Romans should construct a road of this length for commercial reasons in the comparatively poor province of Britain is almost inconceivable. Even in the rich province of Gallia Narbonensis, only one road was ever constructed, so far as we know, for such a purpose. Up the E. or left bank of the Rhône a road had been made from Arelate (Arles) to Lugudunum (Lyon) in the early days of the Roman conquest, a military way ascribed, owing to a mistaken reading of a passage in Strabo, to Agrippa, a contemporary of Augustus, but really of much earlier date. The W. or right bank of the river possessed no road till the middle of the second century after Christ. A road was made along that line by Antoninus Pius, doubtless out of regard for Nemausus (Nîmes), the home of his ancestors; for its welfare was suffering from the competition of Arelate, which was more conveniently situated for traffic along the road on the E. side of the river. If such a road is unique in Narbonensis, perhaps the richest province in the western part of the Empire, it is not probable that an example of its type would be found in the poor province of Britain. Of course, when the Gauls became settled and civilised,

roads were made between neighbouring centres of large population; but of roads made with purely commercial intent the road from Nemausus is the only demonstrable example.

It is true that the natural route from the Mendips to the narrow seas between Britain and Gaul would be by *Sorbiodunum*; and, had the path provided by nature between it and the Mendips been much longer than the direct line between them, then it is perhaps conceivable, though improbable, that an artificial road might have been made. But it is possible to get from Old Sarum to the Mendip Hills by a ridgeway which is, as a fact, not a great deal longer than the line of the supposed Roman road. It and the supposed road begin to coincide in Grovely Wood, and run for 10⅛ miles together to a point ⅝ m. NE. of Pertwood. Their lines met again at an inn 1½ m. N. of Doulting near Shepton Mallet. In going from Pertwood to this inn the supposed Roman road traverses a distance of 16 miles, and the ridgeway 20½ miles. From the inn to the lead mines is 11 miles, and the lines of the ridgeway and road must have more or less coincided. Thus by the supposed Roman road it is 37, and by the ridgeway 41½ miles from Grovely Forest to the lead mines on Mendip.

Whatever the subsequent history of the part of the road which lies in Wiltshire may have been, it began life as a ridgeway; and it is one of the most remarkable ridgeways of Britain. I propose to give in detail its itinerary from Grovely to the Bristol Channel, for, though its course at its E. and W. ends is easily traceable, it has never been traced along the lower watersheds of Wiltshire and Somerset.

It began at Wilton, and crossed the Nadder to Ditchampton, whence it began to ascend the hill by the line of road which runs NW. from that place, this piece of it being called in the *Dichaematun* (Ditchampton) charter[1] the *Wudu Weg*, 'way of the wood.' It is called by the same name at the same point in the charter of *Leofsiges Geat*,[2] and is there described as 'coming to *Nodre*,' the Nadder river. The 'wood' is, of course, Grovely, formerly Graveling, Forest. (Measurements which follow

[1] K. 778.

[2] B. 985. K. 456.

are taken from the Nadder River.) ($\frac{7}{8}$) was here joined by a summerway coming from the W. (Road 56): hence it must have gone through the middle of Grovely Wood more or less along the line of the Broad Drive (OM6): ($2\frac{1}{2}$) line of the supposed Roman road meets it: (4) here stood the *Puntes Stan* of the Langford charter,[1] called *Poltenstan* in the perambulation of Grovely, and *Poulting-stone* in the perambulation of Wishford manor. The name Powten Stone survives on OM6. In its next few miles westward it impinges on the boundaries of six charters; but it is the neighbouring *Grim's Dyke*, not the ridgeway, which forms the by. of these grants: ($4\frac{1}{2}$) here an old way came to meet it from the N. (Road 52). It is here, too, that we get the only reference to it which we find in the charters, namely in the Langford charter,[2] where it is called *Herepath*, 'highway.' The reference shows that at this point it was not passing along the reputed line of the Roman road, which is here nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. of the *Grim's Dyke*; but was running just N. of that dyke: (6) here it entered the borders of Teffont, and probably went along the line of the Ox Drove. It is not mentioned as a land-mark in either the Teffont[3] or the Wylye[4] charters: ($7\frac{1}{2}$) here it must have been running down to the S. by. of Stockton, but only the Dyke, i.e. *Grim's Dyke*, is mentioned in the Stockton charter[5]: ($7\frac{1}{4}$) *Stockton Earthworks*, a *British Village*, 3 fur. N.[6]: ($8\frac{1}{4}$) here it must have run close to the Sherrington S. by.; but in the charter of that place[7] only *Grimes Dic* is mentioned. *Tumulus* about 500 yards S. of its approximate line: ($8\frac{5}{8}$) *Tumulus* 600 yards S.: (9) *Tumulus* $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.: ($9\frac{1}{2}$) *Earthwork* immed. N., and *British Villages* $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.: ($11\frac{1}{2}$) turns SW. to cross the watershed between the Wylye and the Dorset Stour: ($12\frac{1}{8}$) Pertwood: (13) turns S.: ($13\frac{1}{4}$) *Tumulus* $\frac{1}{4}$ m. W.: (14) turns W. just N. of Two Mile Down: ($14\frac{1}{4}$) *Tumulus* immed. N.: ($15\frac{1}{8}$) *Tumulus* immed. N.: ($15\frac{3}{8}$) joined by important ridgeway coming from the S. over the Nadder-Stour watershed (Road 70): ($16\frac{5}{8}$) *Tumulus* adjoining road: ($16\frac{3}{4}$) *Earthwork* adjoining road:

[1] B. 934. K. 446.
[2] B. 783. K. 396.
[3] B. 500. K. 284.
[4] B. 757. K. 370.
[5] B. 595. K. 10[illegible]8.
[6] Coal, probably from Somerset, has been found in this Romano-British village.—O.G.S.C.
[7] Wilton Cartulary.

(17¾) *Tumuli* ¼ m. N.: (18) here called *British Trackway* on the map: (18½) *Ditch* and *Tumuli* just S. of road: (19) crosses White Sheet Hill; *White Sheet Castle* (*Camp*) and *Tumuli* S. of road: (19¼) *Ditch* and *Tumuli* by road: (20) crosses the Stourton-Maiden Bradley road (from this point its course is given only in outline): (20⅞) ⅝ m. S. of Kilmington. Here it must have gone NW. over a line not marked by modern roads: (22⅛) Druley, where it crossed the by. of Somerset: ran along lane S. of Hicks Park Wood to (23½) Huntshill Farm. It is now entering on the watershed of the basins of the Parret and the Bristol Avon: hence WNW. along a line somewhat W. of the present road to (24¼) a piece of road which crosses the railway: thence mainly on the line of the modern road to (25) Upton Noble[1]: thence by present road and track to (26) the SE. end of Dungehill Wood: through the wood along the line of the footpath, and then across country to (27½) the road at the S. end of Monk Wood: turns W. and goes mainly along line of modern road to (30⅛) Brottens: turns N. along the road through Doulting to (32¼) the Inn 1½ m. N. of Doulting: then turns NW. and crosses (33) the Foss Way: here it enters on the line of the reputed Roman road to the lead mines, and probably its line coincided originally more or less with the line of that road: from the lead mines it passed over the watershed between the Axe and the Yeo, over Bleadon Hill to (52) the N. side of the mouth of the Axe, being represented for most of this part of its course by modern tracks.

If there are any satisfactory traces of romanisation in the Wiltshire section of this road, they are at its E. end, in Grovely Wood, where, if anything can be deduced from the alleged traces of it, there has been both making and straightening. But no certainty can exist with regard to this until a section of this alleged Roman *agger* has been taken. At the W. end, on the Mendips, the evidence of road-making seems convincing, at any rate from the lead mines to the Foss Way.

The practical disappearance of modern traces of the track through the region included in former days in Graveling

[1] Ridgeway near Upton Noble and Witham confirmed by references to old roads in medieval documents. No actual mention of ridgeway by name, but 'ridge' in many place-names.—O.G.S.C.

(Grovely) Forest is in accordance with what we have found elsewhere in Wiltshire, and points to the fact that when in post-Conquest times regions were afforested the old tracks through them became disused; and when tracks through these regions were formed again after disafforestation they tended to take lines different from those of the old ways, because the economic circumstances which led to their formation were different. The majority of the ridgeways continued in use until the time of railways as cattle droves and packhorse tracks, because the animals found on them free pasture seldom obtainable on the turnpike roads; but in the case of this particular ridgeway on the watershed between the Wylye and the Nadder, the long passage through woodland did not afford such pasturage, and it does not appear to have come into use again in this part of it when Graveling Forest was disafforested. Its summerway (Road 56) probably provided a satisfactory alternative for the greater part of this eastern length of the old ridgeway.

Its continuation eastward is quite traceable. After crossing the Nadder at Ditchampton it probably went up to the ridgeway on the watershed between the Nadder and the Ebble (Road 57), and down the last mile or two of that ridgeway to Salisbury, where so many ridgeways crossed the Avon. After passing the Avon it was continued E. by the ridgeway (Road 78) to Winchester. This must have crossed the Test somewhere near Michelmersh to get to the ridgeway over Pitt Down, W. of Winchester. Thence it went E. along the great ridgeway of east Hampshire which joins without break the ridgeway of the South Downs through Sussex, along which it ran to Kent, being represented by existing tracks or roads almost the whole way from Winchester to the Kentish coast. It is truly a remarkable ancient highway.

Road 51. Local way in Little Langford.

In a charter of Langford[1] is a reference to an *Eald Weg* which ran apparently along the line of road which runs SSW. from Little Langford Farm, and passes up the hill about 3 fur. W. of Grovely Castle. It was probably a local way communicating with the ridgeway (Road 50). But it is possible that it ran across the hill to Baverstock along the line of a track which follows the N. part of the

[1] B. 783. K. 396.

E. by. of Baverstock. This seems to be the *Weg* of that curious charter of *Brembelcumb*.[1]

Road 52. Road in Little Langford.

In the Langford charters[2] and in the *Brembelcumb* charter[1] are references to a *Hunan Weg*, 'Huna's way.' This was along the line of the track which runs up the W. by. of Little Langford, passing about 300 yards E. of East Castle. It must have gone up to the ridgeway (Road 50), and over the ridge down to Baverstock by the line of the road which runs down the middle of the N. part of that parish. In the Langford charter[3] it is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' at a point about ½ m. S. of the Wylye river, a name which should indicate that it was a through-road of some kind, probably of Saxon date. But its course is only traceable within the limits indicated.

Road 53. Road in Wylye and Fisherton de la Mere.

In the Wylye charter[4] is mention of a *Weg*, 'track,' which ran down the W. by. of Wylye. It was possibly, though not certainly, on the line of the road which runs from Wylye village SW. to Stockton Wood.

Road 54. Main road along the Wylye valley S. of the river.

The main road S. of the Wylye river is the *Herepath* of a Wylye charter.[4] It is doubtless a road of Saxon date brought into being by the settlement of the river valleys in Saxon times.

Road 55. Road in Stockton parish.

A *Weg*, 'track,' mentioned twice in a Wylye (really Stockton) charter[5] ran up the W. by. of Stockton over Stockton Down to the ridgeway (Road 50), and probably went down the other side of the hill along the present line of road to Fonthill Bishop. It is called *Wylle Weg*, 'way of the spring.'

Road 56. A summerway corresponding to the ridgeway of Road 50.

The identity of this summerway is almost certain. Beginning at the W. it left the ridgeway at the NE. corner of West Knoyle parish, ¾ m. NE. of the village. From there

[1] B. 757. Supplement K. 370.
[2] B. 934, K. 446, and B. 783, K. 396.
[3] B. 783. K. 396.
[4] B. 757. K. 370.
[5] B. 595. K. 1078.

it ran along the line of the Salisbury road through Hindon and Berwick St. Leonard to Fonthill Bishop, where, as a prehistoric track, it would keep just above the line of the great spring. Thence it went through Chilmark and Teffont Magna to Baverstock. (The modern main road descends into the Nadder valley at Dinton; and this the summerway certainly did not do, for summerways always stick to the slopes of ridges.) For ¾ m. E. of Baverstock no modern road is on its line. But after that its line is taken up on Crouch's Down, immed. S. of East Thornhills (OM6) by what is obviously an ancient highway called the Ox Drove. This runs ENE. over Barford Down; and then on Grovely Hill turns ESE. and joins the ridgeway (Road 50) 5 fur. NW. of Ditchampton.

Road 57. The ridgeway on the watershed between the Nadder and the Ebble.

As far as the charters are concerned, this is the most frequently mentioned road in the whole county. It is impossible to say whether it crossed the Avon at East Harnham, S. of Salisbury, or at Britford. Possibly it had two branches, one crossing at the one point, and the other at the other. The fact that Britford means 'Ford of the Britons'[1] suggests that this old pre-Saxon way went at least by that route, by which it would communicate directly with the great ridgeway running E. (see notes on Road 50 and Road 78). A crossing at East Harnham would provide communication with the ridgeways coming to Salisbury from the N.

Its first distinct traces are at Harnham Hill; and it is there pointing to a crossing at East Harnham by way of the lane over Harnham Hill. This being so, it will be well to begin its itinerary at Harnham Bridge.

Harnham Bridge: by lane SW. to (½) Harnham Hill: bends W. to (2½) where it crosses the Roman road (Road 71) on the race course: (3) *Tumuli* to S. of road: (3¼) *Tumulus* just N. of that road. This is the *Eangythe Hlaew*, 'Eangyth's low,' of the Ebbesborne (sic) charter.[2] In this last mile of its course it is frequently mentioned in the charters. It is called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the Downton-Ebbesborne group of charters[3]; and *Herepath*,

[1] Ekblom; *Pl. N. of Wilts*, p. 38.
[2] B. 1004. K. 1209.
[3] B. 863, and B. 690, K. 1108 and B. 27, K. 985, and K. 698.

'highway,' in another charter of the same group[1]; and *Brad Herepath*, 'broad highway,' in an Ebbesborne charter.[2] At this point it leaves the line of the modern road and follows the parish boundaries to the N. of it: at (3⅝) there is a reference in an Ugford charter[3] to a *Dic*, 'dyke,' along its line, which looks as if there might have been some sort of an agger at this point. Somewhere here stood the *Beornulfes Stan*, 'Beornulf's stone,' of the same charter[3]: at (3¾) it is passing over the *Ruh Hyll*, 'rough hill,' of the same charter[3]: and at (3⅞), at the SE. angle of Burcombe parish, there were *Haethen Byrgels*, 'heathen burial places,' just N. of the road. At this part of its course it is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in an Ebbesborne charter[4]: at (4⅜) it passed a *Tumulus* called *Beorh*, 'barrow,' in one charter,[5] and *Ruh Beorh*, 'rough barrow,' in the Downton-Ebbesborne group.[6] 350 yards NNW. of this point is another *Tumulus* and some *Ditches*: at (4⅝) there is a *Ditch* beside the road and three *Tumuli* in a group, the *Threo Beorgas*, 'three barrows,' of the Ebbesborne charter[4]: between (4) and (5) it is called *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' in the Downton-Ebbesborne group,[6] and also *Smal Path*, 'narrow path,' in the Ebbesborne charter,[4] and also *Stod Path*, 'horse path,' in another charter[2]: between (5) and (5½) it is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Burcombe charter[7]: at (5⅞) it must have passed close by a *Tumulus* in Compton parish about 350 yards NW. of Compton Hut: at (6⅞) there is a *Ditch* 200 yards N.: at (7⅞) it is called *Herepath* in the two Fovant charters[8]: at (7¾) it passes about 60 yards S. of *Chiselbury Camp*, the *Ceaster Slaed Burh*, 'camp of Chester slade,' of the Fovant charters[8]: at (8) it is called *Herepath andlang Hrycg*, 'the highway along the ridge,' in the same two charters[8]: it now runs WSW. till at (9¾) there is a *Tumulus* 200 yards S., and an *Earthwork* 5 fur. S.: at (10⅛) it comes to *Row Ditch*, the *Ruh Dic*, 'rough dyke,' of a Fovant charter[9]: at (10⅜) there is a *Tumulus* 550 yards N., a *Ditch* 3¼ fur. N., and another *Tumulus* 5 fur. N.: at about (11) it is

[1] B. 391. K. 1036.
[2] B. 1004. K. 1209.
[3] B. 1030. K. 479.
[4] B. 832.
[5] B. 862.
[6] B. 863, and B. 690, K. 1108 and B. 27, K. 985, and K. 698.
[7] B. 714. K. 1115.
[8] B. 588, K. 331, and K. 787.
[9] B. 588. K. 331.

called *Herepath* in the Swallowcliffe charter[1]: at (11⅜) it crosses the site of a *British Village*, and there is a *Tumulus* which is called *Posses Hleaw*, 'Poss's low,' in the above Swallowcliffe charter[1]: at about (11½) it crosses a *Ditch*: at (12⅞) on White Sheet Hill it crosses a *Ditch*: about (13) there is a *Tumulus* on its course: at (13⅛) is another *Tumulus*.

It is quite certain that this ridgeway did not continue its course W., for there is no watershed in that direction. It bent S. along the watershed at the head of the Ebble, and must have passed just W. of Berwick St. John along a line not marked by a modern road to join the ridgeway (Road 73) which runs along the S. watershed of the Ebble river.

Road 58. The summerway corresponding to the ridgeway of Road 57.

This summerway only survives in part. The eastern end of it has vanished from the map, unless, as is possible, the road from Netherhampton via West Harnham to East Harnham is part of its line. At the S. end of Fovant village a road which is almost certainly of Saxon date (Road 59) branches off from what was the summerway; and no doubt the traffic of Saxon and later times was diverted along that line, and the part of the summerway E. of this point fell into disuse, and its line vanished. But part, at any rate, of the lost line survived in Saxon times, for a piece of it right under the bastion on which Chiselbury Camp stands is mentioned in the Fovant charter[2] under the name *Herepath*, 'highway.' This is ¾ m. or more E. of the S. end of Fovant village.

From Fovant its line must have followed that of the modern main road to the inn ½ m. WSW. of Manor Farm. At this point it is called *Herepath* in the same Fovant charter. It runs S. of Swallowcliffe village. Where it crosses the parish By. about 5 fur. SW. of that village it is called *Herepath* in the Swallowcliffe charter.[1] Whether it went on to Shaftesbury along the line of the modern road is not determinable.

Road 59. A road from South Burcombe to Wilton via Bulbridge.

In the Ugford charter[3] this road is called *Port Herepath*,

[1] B. 756. K. 387. [2] K. 787. [3] B. 1030.

'town highway.' It is almost certainly a road of Saxon date, coinciding with the line of the present main road. It is probable that it went in Saxon times W. along the present main road to join the summerway at Fovant (see Road 58).

Road 60. The road along the N. bank of the Nadder.

This is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the charter of *Leofsiges Geat*.[1] It is doubtless a highway of Saxon date, the period to which the valley highways belong.

Road 61. Old highway running S. from Barford St. Martin.

From Road 59 a road and track branches off due S. of Barford St. Martin and goes in a curve round the E. edge of the great combe known in Saxon times as *Hig Cumb*, 'hay combe.' It there forms part of the E. by. of Burcombe Without. Level with the top of the rifle range it leaves the by. and runs W. of S., crossing the ridgeway (Road 57) close to where the three *tumuli* known in AS. times as the *Threo Beorgas* stand. On the Burcombe by. it is called in the charter of that place[2] *Herepath*, 'highway.' It cuts across the NW. corner of Bishopstone parish and crosses its W. By. near the *tumuli* on Stoke Down. Here it is again called *Herepath* in the Ebbesborne charter.[3] It then runs straight down to Bury Orchard at the S. end of Broad Chalke. Doubtless it went on S. But there is no evidence as to its further course. It is probably of Saxon date.

Road 62. Local way in Swallowcliffe.

The lane which runs along the N. side of Swallowcliffe Wood is called the *Grene Weg*, 'green way,' in the Tisbury charter,[4] and *Weg* in the charter of Swallowcliffe.[5] It seems to have run E. to meet the road which runs N. by Sutton Row, as a certain *Twicene*, 'crossroads,' is mentioned in the Donhead charter[6] at the point where it would have naturally met this latter road (see Road 63). At its other end it probably went SW. over the brook which comes from Swallowcliffe Mill, for a *Muthford*, 'mouth ford,' or 'ford of the road end,' is mentioned in the Swallowcliffe[5] charter at the point where the brook crosses the parish by. 3 fur. NW. of the mill.

[1] B. 985. K. 456.
[2] B. 714. K. 1115.
[3] B. 832.
[4] K. 641.
[5] B. 756. K. 387.
[6] B. 588. K. 331.

Road 63. Local way in Swallowcliffe.

The road referred to above as running N. by Sutton Row seems to run from the ridgeway N. down Buxbury Hill (Road 57), the *Ber Hyll* of the Fovant charter.[1] As it descended the steep slope of this hill it is called *Hwit Weg*, 'white way,' in the Swallowcliffe[2] charter. It then ran N. by the inn at Cribbage Hut (OM6), and further N. to the *Twicene* mentioned above (Road 62), being called the *Sticel Path*, 'rugged path,' in this part of its course. This is in the Fovant charter.[1] The *Twicene* were probably where the lane called Lagpond Lane comes in, 1½ fur. S. of Sutton Row. Doubtless the way went on to Lower Chicksgrove.

Road 64. Local road in Ansty.

At the extreme N. end of Ansty parish a path called the *Hol Path*, 'hollow path,' in the Swallowcliffe charter[2] must have gone down a few yards S. of the line of the modern road running NW. from Swallowcliffe village. It must have crossed the stream near where that road crosses it (Ansty Water, OM6) at a ford called in the Swallowcliffe[2] and Tisbury[3] charters *Wuduford*, 'Woodford.'

Road 65. Local way in Ansty.

An ancient way called in the Tisbury charter[3] the *Grene Weg*, 'green way,' passed along the line of the modern road which goes along the NW. by. of Ansty, passing about 1 fur. E. of Squalls Farm.

Road 66. Local way in Ansty and Wardour.

An old way called in the Tisbury charter[3] the *Wealweg*, 'wall (? ?) way,' ran down the W. side of Twelve Acre Copse. It continued SSE. across Ansty parish, crossing the summerway (Road 58), and going up to the ridgeway (Road 57).

Road 67. Local way in Donhead St. Mary and Ansty.

A road called in the Tisbury charter[3] the *Hig Weg*, 'hay way,' may possibly have run along the line of the track which runs N. from Horwood Farm, and passes 1 fur. E. of Wardour Castle.

Road 68. Local way in West Tisbury.

A way called in the Tisbury charter[3] *Mearc Weg*, 'boundary way,' seems to have run along the ridge from

[1] B. 588. K. 331. [2] B. 756. K. 387. [3] K. 641.

East Knoyle, where it branched from a ridgeway (Road 70), and passed just N. of Ruddlemoor. It then bent SE. and S. down the end of the ridge, and along the S. edge of Fonthill Abbey Wood, and crossed a stream at a ford called in the same charter[1] *Impede Forda* '(? ?) ford.' It then ran NE. along the present road to meet the main road 1 fur. SE. of the church at Fonthill Gifford. In this part of it it is called *Weg* in the same charter.[1] Modern tracks or roads mark the whole of its course. Further on in Fonthill park it is called *Stanweg*, 'stone way,' in the same charter.[1] It certainly ran to Fonthill Gifford.

Road 69. Highway in East Tisbury.

A road called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Tisbury charter[1] ran along the line of the main road running SSE. from Fonthill Gifford. There is no evidence of its further course N. or S.

Road 70. Ridgeway of SW. Wilts and Dorset.

This branches off from the great western ridgeway (Road 50) at Old Willoughby Hedge in the parish of West Knoyle.

Itinerary:—runs S. along road to ($\frac{1}{2}$) Knoyle church: then ESE. to ($1\frac{1}{8}$) the N. end of Upton village near Chapel Farm: then S. through Upton to ($1\frac{7}{8}$) Windmill Hill: then ESE. to ($2\frac{1}{2}$) East Knoyle village, where it meets Road 68: then SSW. along line of main road to ($7\frac{1}{4}$) Shaftesbury. It is there on the watershed between the Avon and the Stour basins: then gradually bends to nearly due E. to get round the valley and stream at Melbury Abbas, and runs for a mile along the line of the Salisbury road to where ($8\frac{1}{2}$) the county by. crosses it. From this point the county by. almost certainly runs along its former line, though there is no road along it now. Turned SE. along this by. till (10) it meets the last traces of the line of an old road, called the Ox Drove, on Charlton Down: then runs ESE. and E. along the Ox Drove to meet a ridgeway coming from Salisbury direction (Road 73): bends round SW. and the WSW. following the line of road to ($12\frac{1}{2}$) an *Entrenchment* due S.: at ($13\frac{1}{2}$) turns W. of S. and continues along line of road: at ($13\frac{5}{8}$) *Tumulus* just E. of road: ($14\frac{1}{8}$) *Ditch*: ($15\frac{1}{4}$) *Tumulus* 400 yards W.: ($15\frac{3}{4}$)

[1] K. 641.

Tumuli 400 yards. E.: (16¾) *Earthwork* ¼ m. W.: (17¾) *Tumulus* 350 yards W.: (19¼) *Camp*: at (20¼) the traces give out; but it is when pointing direct on Blandford 1 m. distant. Here it probably crossed the Stour.

Road 71. The Roman road SW. from *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum).

The course of this road is well known, and is clearly marked on the map. It will not be necessary to do more than give the references to it on the Saxon charters, one of which is of great importance, as it adds one more to that select list of names, Watling, Ermine, Icknield, Akeman, and Buggilde, which the Saxons gave to the greater Roman highways. The road is mentioned twice in the course of its passage through the parish of Stratford Tony; and it seems, moreover, to have been the original N. by. of that Saxon land unit which was adopted for the parish. In the Downton-Ebbesborne charter[1] it is called *Herepath*, 'Highway,' in this part, while in an Ebbesborne charter[2] it is called *Straet*, 'made road.' The ford where it crossed the Ebble is called *Stretford* in the Downton-Ebbesborne group of charters.[3] Further S. on the Bishopstone-Broad Chalke By. it is called *Straet* in the same group of charters. At the SW. corner of Bower Chalke it meets *Grim's Dyke* which is called *Strete Dic* in the South Damerham (Hants) charter.[4] It is in this same charter that we get its special name *Seuenestrete*, 'Sevenna's street.' As it passes down the E. side of Vernditch Chase it is called *Weg*, 'way,' in the Chalke charter.[5]

Road 72. A highway in Stratford Tony.

An ancient way, almost certainly of Saxon date, went up what is now the W. by. of Stratford Tony, and led to Wilton. It comes up from the S. Its most southerly traces are on the Allen river in South Damerham (Hants) at a point 1⅜ m. NW. of the centre of that village, close to Allenford Farm. It runs practically due N. from this point, past *Grans Barrow* and *Knapp Barrow*. Here it is called in the South Damerham charter[4] *Wilteneweie*, 'Wilton way,' a name which indicates its destination. On the Stratford Tony by. it is called *Weg* in the Downton-

[1] B. 391. K. 1036.
[2] K. 655.
[3] B. 391, K. 1036, and B. 863, etc.
[4] B. 817.
[5] B. 917. K. 436.

Ebbesborne group of charters.[1] In an Ebbesborne charter[2] it is called *Hwit Weg*, 'white way,' just before it descends to the Ebble. It crossed the Ebble at Stratford Tony. Its further course towards Wilton was no doubt along the road by Down Barn; but it is to be suspected that its course beyond that point has not survived, probably because the ancient track was done away with and the road diverted when Wilton park was formed.

Road 73. The ridgeway on the S. watershed of the Ebble.

This is undoubtedly another continuation of the great ridgeway (see notes on Road 50) which comes from the extreme SE. of England, and enters Wiltshire by the ridgeway over Dean Hill. Its earliest traces on the immediate W. side of the Avon can only be described conjecturally. It is probable that, like ridgeways generally, it followed strictly the comb of the ridge; and, if so, it must have passed the Avon somewhere near Matrimony Farm, N. of Charlton. The fact that the camp called *Clearbury Ring* is on this line supports this view.

The itinerary is as follows:—crossing of Avon: ($\frac{1}{4}$) Matrimony Farm: by lane to ($1\frac{1}{8}$) *Clearbury Ring* (*Camp*): thence it probably ran SW. along what is now the S. by. of Nunton till ($1\frac{3}{4}$) it crossed *Grim's Ditch*: thence, following the parish by. (note that the track would be very apt to be chosen as a by.) it came at ($3\frac{1}{8}$) to the S. point of Great Yews: then it bent WNW. along the line of a modern track: at ($3\frac{3}{4}$) it again crossed *Grim's Ditch*: from here its course to New Farm in Stratford Tony was probably more direct than that of the existing roads; but at ($4\frac{3}{4}$) it crossed the E. by. of Stratford parish, and in the Ebbesborne charter it is called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway'; and a *Hlaew*, 'low,' is mentioned as standing upon it. From this point onwards its line survives without any break in modern tracks. At ($5\frac{1}{2}$) it crosses the Roman road: at (6) it is on the line of the road called the Ox Drove. The frequent application of this term to ridgeways in modern times is due to the fact that up to the coming of railways they were used as driftways for cattle. At ($7\frac{1}{2}$) a *British Village* lies just S. of the road: at ($8\frac{1}{2}$) it is passing over

[1] B. 862, and B. 690, K. 1108, and B. 27. [2] K. 655.
K. 985 and K. 698.

Cow Down Hill. At (8¾) there are a *Tumulus* and *Ditch* S. of the road: at (9) a *Tumulus* just S. of the road: at (9¼) a *Tumulus* just N. of it: at (9¾) it is passing over Woodminton Down, and there are *Ditches* to the S. of it: at (10½) *Tumulus* N. of road: (10⅞) *Tumulus* close to road: (11⅝) *Tumuli* N. of road: (12) the road is called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the *Rimuc Wudu* supplement of the Chalke charter[1]: at (12½) it is called *Straet* in the Donhead supplement of the same charter,[1] indicating that it had been made in some way at that point; also a *Stan*, 'stone,' is mentioned as standing on it there: at (13½) there is a *Tumulus* on the road called *Ippan Beorh*, 'Ippa's barrow,' in the above Donhead supplement,[1] and *Empen Beorh* in the Easton Bassett supplement of the Donhead charter[2]: at (14½) it is passing over the heights at Win Green: and at (15) it meets the great ridgeway running N. and S. (Road 65).

Road 74. Local way in Combe Bissett.

The road running N. and S. at Pening's Farm is called *Weg*, 'way,' in an Ebbesborne charter.[3]

Road 75. Local way in Berwick St. John.

On the S. by. of the parish a track ran along the county boundary just N. of the *British Village*. It is called *Beornhames Weg*, 'Beornham's way,' in the Chalke charter.[1]

Road 76. A road in Berwick St. John.

There is in the Easton Bassett supplement of the Donhead charter[2] a reference to a *Straet*. The landmarks of this supplement are easily determinable because it is possible to trace in the Tithe award what were till recent times the boundaries of the tithing of Easton Bassett. At the present day the actual name survives only in that of Easton Farm, just E. of Berwick village, and there can be no question that this *Straet* was in some sense along the line of the road which runs due E. out of that village. But this road is almost certainly of Saxon date, as its further course down the Ebble valley shows: and the use of the term *Straet* for such a road would be unique in the charters. Fortunately the Donhead supplement of the Chalke charter[1] supplies the explanation of the difficulty, for it refers to the same point, but uses the expression *Straet*

[1] B. 917. K. 436. [2] B. 970. K. 447. [3] B. 1071. K. 732.

Ende, 'end of the street,' which shows that the reference is to the village street of Berwick. Even in Saxon times *Straet* had come to be used of roads with houses on both sides, as is shown in Hampshire charters by references to *Straets* in Winchester and Romsey. But the reference would be to the fact that the road was 'made' in some way, not to the fact that there were houses on either side of it.[1]

Road 77. A Local way in Berwick St. John.

Three furlongs W. of the village a road runs S. up by Winkelbury Camp, the *Winterburh*, 'Winter Camp,' of the Donhead supplement of the Chalke charter.[2] In the Easton Bassett supplement of the Donhead charter[3] it is called *Offen Weg*, perhaps 'Offa's Way.'

Road 78. The ridgeway from Salisbury to Winchester.

This has been described in general terms in relation to Road 50. All that will be given here is a description of its course within the county. It probably crossed the Avon at Milford by Salisbury. From here it struck SE. to get over the very narrow watershed between the Avon and the Test basins near Alderbury. The modern line of road to Alderbury is probably a late edition of it. The line as far as Whaddon must have been more or less half-way between the Alderbury road and the railway. From Whaddon it ran SSE. along the main road as far as Witherington Down. It then turned ENE. along the ridge and the lane by the Pepperbox. This lane extends along the ridge of Dean Hill right to the county boundary.

At the Pepperbox it was joined by the great ridgeway coming up from Lymington (Road 28).

Road 79. The great ridgeway of West Wilts.

Beginning at the S. this ridgeway follows first the watershed between the Frome and tributaries of the Wiltshire Avon; then the watershed between the Frome and the Bristol Avon; and, after crossing the Avon at Bradford-on-Avon, that between the Avon and Boundary Brook.

It branches off from Road 50, the great ridgeway to the

[1] The name 'street' is very common in village and hamlet names in the SE. counties. It would be natural at any period for the inhabitants of a village to attempt to improve the surface of the road passing between their houses; and it is to this, and not to the modern connotation of the term that I should be inclined to attribute the presence of 'street' in their place-names.

[2] B. 917. K. 436.

[3] B. 970. K. 447.

W. about 5 furlongs S. of Kilmington on the extreme W. border of the county. It pursues an extraordinarily twisting course at first in order to avoid the headwaters of streams. Its itinerary is as follows :—

(0) crossroads 5 furlongs S. of Kilmington : ($\frac{5}{8}$) passes through the village : runs first E. of N. and then NE., then N., and then E. to ($3\frac{5}{8}$) Maiden Bradley : then in a winding course NE. past Baycliff Farm to ($5\frac{1}{2}$) a point where it turns due N. : then N. leaving Horningsham $\frac{1}{4}$ m. to the W., and passing to the E. side of the lake at Park Hill to ($7\frac{1}{8}$) a point where it turns NE. : thence NE. to (8) where it meets the Warminster-Frome road : probably went NW. along the road for $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ($8\frac{1}{4}$) and then N. by a course not marked by a modern road to the camp on Cley Hill, and on to Cley Hill Farm ($9\frac{1}{8}$) : from here it is represented by a line of lane running NNW. leaving Corsley $\frac{1}{4}$ m. to the W. to the Westbury-Frome road at Chapmanslade, ' chapman road ' (11) : then along the main road WNW. to Lambsgate Farm ($12\frac{1}{2}$) and along a road and lane in the same direction past Hill Corner to a point nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ m. beyond the railway ($13\frac{1}{2}$) : then NE. along a road to ($13\frac{7}{8}$) a point $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. by W. of St. George's Cross : from here to St. George's Cross by a line not marked by a modern road ($14\frac{3}{8}$) : from the Cross along road NE. to meet the road (15) from Warminster to Beckington : along line of the road past a *Camp* ($15\frac{1}{4}$) : along road to Beckington (16) : along the main road to ($21\frac{1}{2}$) Bradford-on-Avon, where it crossed the Avon : then NNW. along road to ($22\frac{1}{2}$) Maplecroft : then NW. along road to ($24\frac{1}{4}$) Farleigh Wick : then N. by E. along road to (25) Monkton Farleigh : then more or less along modern road N. by E. to ($25\frac{3}{4}$) where a *Tumulus* stands about 400 yards E. of the road : along road to ($26\frac{1}{4}$) where it makes a very sharp turn to due E. : along road E. to ($27\frac{1}{2}$) where there is a *Tumulus* almost on the road : along road E. to (28) where it makes a sharp turn near Hatt House : thence N. along road to (30) Radloe : still N. curving gradually E. to the church in Hartham park ($31\frac{1}{2}$), this divergence being due to the valley which runs up into the park from Boundary Brook : thence N. by W. to (32) a *Tumulus* just outside the N. end of the park : thence it must have gone NW. along a line not marked by a modern road to a point ($32\frac{3}{8}$) on the road entering Biddlestone

from the SSW.: along road to (33) Biddlestone: thence it runs N. along the modern road through Yatton Keynell and Grittleton to join the Foss Way at (37¾) Dunley.

But, though the junction with the Foss Way is obvious, it is almost certain that the pre-Roman line of the road from Grittleton went on as a ridgeway W. to join the great ridgeway which goes for miles along the Cotswolds down to Bath; in other words the last few miles of its course were as follows: at Grittleton (37) turned W. along modern line of road to (38) Fosse Gate, where it crossed the Foss Way: thence in a general direction W. along line of modern roads through Littleton Drew and probably through Acton Turville to join the Cotswold ridgeway just beyond Tormarton (43½).

The Cotswold ridgeway which it here joins may be traced without any difficulty along lines of modern road to the extreme N. end of the Cotswolds at Edgehill in Warwickshire, and even beyond that to Warwick. At its S. end, where we began, it links up with ridgeways which run NE. to the borders of Norfolk: E. to Canterbury and beyond: ESE. to Hastings and beyond: SSE. to Lymington: S. and then W. to West Somerset and Devon: NW. to N. Somerset and the extremity of the Mendip Hills.

It illustrates, in other words, the enormous possibilities of the prehistoric road system of England.

The general conclusions with regard to the ancient road system have been stated in a previous number of this journal.[1] But there are two which are specially suggested by a consideration of the Wiltshire roads.

To the first of these reference has been made in the descriptions of the courses of certain of them, namely the tendency which Saxon and pre-Saxon ways have to disappear from the modern map so soon as they enter on the area of a post-Conquest forest. This is doubtless due to the fact that free traffic through these forests was not permitted, unless perhaps in the case of a very extensive forest like the New Forest. So the old tracks became disused and forgotten.

The second consideration is more interesting. The two great Roman stations in the county were *Sorbiodunum* and *Cunetio*, situated respectively near Salisbury and

[1] *A.J.* lxxiv, 79-105.

Marlborough, the two greatest centres of the network of ridgeways which cross the county. The station *Spina* near Newbury was similarly situated, so also was that at *Venta Belgarum*, Winchester. It looks very much as if their sites were originally chosen in order to command the pre-Roman highways of the country. Even the towns of mediaeval times are often situated at points where ridgeways crossed rivers. Oxford is a case in point; and in Wiltshire, Malmesbury, Wootton Bassett, and Wilton are all at such crossings.

In giving the itineraries of the ridgeways I have purposely mentioned the various remains of antiquity which stand on or very near their courses. With regard to the camps I need not repeat what I have already said in the previous general paper on the road system of this country. But the number of barrows is quite as remarkable a feature of their courses. Some of these barrows are of the Saxon, some of the pre-Saxon age; but their situation illustrates that tendency common among early peoples to bury the illustrious dead beside frequented highways. Many readers will know the Appian Way with its line of tombs. In Greece, too, the hero-chapels were placed beside the well-worn tracks. That hero-chapel of Androcrates of which both Herodotus and Thucydides speak stood on a little hill beside the road from Plataea to Thebes. But the fact that the Saxons chose the neighbourhood of the ridgeways for such burials shows that, despite the fact that for economic reasons they created new highways of their own, the pre-existing ridgeways continued to be the routes most employed by them in long passages from one part of the country to the other. Nor does this fact lack confirmation from Saxon military history, as I have shown in the paper published in this number of the *Journal*.

II.

BERKSHIRE.

The evidence with regard to the ancient highways of Berkshire given in this paper is drawn, as will be seen, almost entirely from the Saxon charters published in the collections of Kemble and Birch.

The ancient highways of the county are not perhaps quite so interesting as those of Hampshire and Wiltshire, because the lie of the land did not lend itself to the same extent to the development of those great prehistoric highways, the ridgeways. But at the same time the evidence does bring to light old roads of importance the existence of which has not been even suspected up to the present time.

The evidence of the charters is confined almost entirely to that part of the county which lies W. of the line of the River Loddon. Of that part of it which lies E. of it it may be said that the SE. part, the part, roughly speaking, S. of a line drawn from Reading to Ascot, was largely waste land, probably open heath, if the tradition be true that the Scotch fir was only introduced into this region in the reign of James I. A Roman road passed through the N. part of it; a branch ridgeway ran through it from N. to S.; and that is all we know about its trackways. Probably if we knew all, there would be little more to be known.

Of the NE. part of the county in AS. times we know hardly anything. There is no trace whatever of any great highway through it. Communication from Reading eastwards was probably largely by the Thames, or by a ridgeway which leads S. for a few miles to the Roman road from Silchester to London. This was probably a line of travel preferable to that of any highway of Saxon date which may have led over the double ford of the Loddon at Twyford.

Much of the evidence of the charters refers to roads, or, more properly speaking, tracks of purely local type; but it is worth giving, because it illustrates the extraordinary permanence of our parish roads, despite the influence of Enclosure and Turnpike acts.

Road 1. The great ridgeway.

This is part of one of the great highways of England. It is very difficult to say where it begins; and any selection of a point must be more or less arbitrary. Towards its western end in Wiltshire it links up with numerous other ridgeways. It is only necessary to cite two instances of its possibilities. A traveller at the present day, starting from Streatley, might follow a line of ridgeway to Lymington in Hampshire without crossing the smallest stream, except the Kennet at Marlborough. In the regions of the forests

of Savernake, Chute, and Clarendon, some stretches of the old track, aggregating less than ten miles, have disappeared.[1] Otherwise its long line survives at the present day. This southern extension of it, when nearing Salisbury, threw off another branch which crossed the Avon at that place. From Salisbury the traveller might go along a line of ridgeway without ever crossing a single stream to the western extremity of the Mendip hills on the Bristol channel.

These are only two of the various ramifications of this remarkable highway.

Its main course may be said to begin, if a more or less arbitrary point of start be taken, on the Downs in the N. part of Salisbury Plain, S. of Wilsford in Wiltshire. Thence it runs N., crossing the upper Avon, and after that the Kennet at East Kennet. It then goes in a NE. direction by Badbury Castle to where it enters Berkshire on the W. by. of the parish of Ashbury. Where it crosses the Compton Beauchamp by. near Wayland Smith's cave, so called, it is called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in a Compton charter,[2] and the point is expressly described as lying to the E. of *Welandes Smidthan*, 'Weland's Smithy.' About 600 yds. further E. it is again called *Hrycgweg* in the same charter[2]; ¼ m. further E. it is again called by the same name in a Hardwell charter,[3] and also in an Ashbury (really Woolstone) charter,[4] and a *Stan*, probably a 'standing' stone, is mentioned as being on it at that point. Its course E. is well marked in the modern map, till it comes to a point due S. of Ardington, where it is called Ridgeway[5] in the TA. of that place. On Chilton Down, about 1¼ m. N. by W. of West Ilsley, it is called Driftway in a TA., an

[1] This is a common, but not invariable, phenomenon in the case of pre-Conquest roads which enter regions within the limits of post-Conquest forests. Presumably traffic through the forests was discouraged; and, apart from that, the severity of the forest laws would render travellers averse from facing the possibility of being charged with infringing them.

The great ridgeway from Salisbury to the Mendips is represented by modern roads on either side of Selwood. But in Selwood its track is only fragmentarily represented by the roads of the present day.

[2] B. 908. K. 1172.

[3] B. 601. K. 1080, a charter which has been mistakenly attributed to Hordle in Hants.

[4] B. 796. K. 1148. Woolstone was included in a large estate which extended from Ashbury to Uffington inclusive. Hence the title of the charter.

[5] In the Ordnance maps of Berks prior to the partial revision of 1912 this road is called a Roman road, and is given the name Icknield Way. Neither in the charters, nor even in the Tithe Awards, is there any warrant for either name. I pointed this out in some notes I sent to the Ordnance Survey in 1911, and I am glad to see that this antiquarian fiction no longer appears on the map.

interesting name, because it records the general fact that these ridgeways were used until the days of railways as the routes for driving cattle from one part of the country to the other.[1] On what is called Abingdon Down, 1½ m. SSE. of Chilton, the ridgeway seems to have run in AS. times along a line somewhat N. of its present one, for it is mentioned under the name *Hrycgweg* in a Blewbury charter[2] as passing close to Grim's Ditch. But these old tracks, like tracks in the roadless regions of the near east at the present day, would tend to be duplicated and triplicated within certain limits, since wayfarers would turn aside to avoid places where traffic had worn out the wonted track. It is worth while to notice the line which it takes across the valley through which the Didcot-Newbury railway runs. The watershed at the head of this valley is very low; but the ridgeway adheres strictly to it. There was and is a great intermittent spring here, called the *Floda aet Swinweges Slo*, 'the spring at the slough at the swine's way.' When it flows, which is once in an average of seven years, it forms the headwaters of the Pang, which enters the Thames at Pangbourne. This spring the ridgeway carefully avoids.

After crossing the valley the ridgeway went to a crossing of the Thames at Streatley, probably along the line marked on the modern map. After crossing the river it ran along lines of modern road, adhering strictly to the summit ridge of the Chiltern hills.

As in the case of ridgeways in other counties[3] this ridgeway is remarkable for the numerous remains of antiquity along its course. Its antiquarian itinerary[4] is as follows:—

(0) W. by. of Ashbury: (1⅞) Wayland Smith's cave, a *tumulus* called *Welandes Smidthe*, 'Weland's smithy,' in the Compton charter[5]: (2½) Hardwell Camp, the *Tellesburh* 'Tell's Camp,' of the Hardwell charter,[6] 5 fur. N. of the road: (3⅛) passes along the S. edge of *Uffington Castle* (*Camp*), and about ¼ m. from the *White Horse*: (4⅛) Rams Hill, on which formerly stood a camp called *Hraemnes Burh*,

[1] The great ridgeway over Inkpen Beacon parallel with, and some miles S. of this one, is called Bath Drove in a Hampshire TA., showing that it was used for driving cattle at least as far west as Bath.

[2] B. 801. K. 1151.

[3] Nearly every one of the numerous camps in Cornwall is on a ridgeway.

[4] The numbers in brackets indicate miles.

[5] B. 908. K. 1172.

[6] B. 601. K. 1080.

'Raven's Camp,' mentioned in the Uffington,[1] Ashbury,[2] and Sparsholt[3] charters, the outlines of which have been nearly obliterated by the plough, but are just discernible in the contours of the hill: ($4\frac{5}{8}$) the *Blowing Stone*, 3 fur. N.: ($6\frac{1}{4}$) *Tumulus* a few yds. N.: (9) passes along the S. edge of *Segsbury Camp*: ($10\frac{1}{8}$) *Tumulus* on road, and at this point a branch ridgeway (road 44) leaves it: ($13\frac{1}{8}$) *Scutchammer Knob*, the *Cwichelmes Hlaew* of the S. Chr.: ($15\frac{3}{8}$) *Tumuli* to S. of road: (19) *Tumulus* and *Lowbury Camp*, 3 fur. NE.

In the military history of the Saxon period this road played an important part, first in the struggle between Wessex and Mercia, and secondly in the wars between Saxon and Dane. It was one of the two obvious lines by which Mercia could invade Wessex, and vice versa. The other was the Roman road which crossed the Thames at Cricklade. Four great battles were fought on its direct line, namely the two battles at *Wodnesbeorh* in 592 and 715 respectively, which took place at Alton Priors in Wiltshire; the battle of *Aescesdun*, in 871, which probably took place S. of Ashbury; and the battle of *Cynete* in 1006, which was probably fought at East Kennet in Wiltshire. That the existence of this great highway determined the sites of these battles is almost beyond question to any one who looks into the evidence.[4]

Road 2. A variant of the ridgeway of road 1.

In a TA. of Hendred there appears the name of an ancient highway which is probably a medieval variant of the ridgeway. It is called 'Reading Way.' It is running W. and E. $\frac{3}{4}$ m. S. of Downs House. The fragment of it there remaining is just 1 m. in length. W. of this another piece of it may be seen branching off from the Wantage-Hungerford road about 300 yards S. of the Wantage workhouse, and running E. for $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. The gap between this and the first mentioned piece is partly filled in at the present day by footpaths. E. of the Downs House fragment is a gap of $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. not now marked by any track. But another fragment survives running ESE. from the Abingdon-Newbury road 1 m. S. by W. of Chilton. It runs for $2\frac{3}{4}$ m. to join the ridgeway just before it descends into the

[1] B. 687. K. 1129.
[2] B. 899. K. 1168.
[3] B. 1121. K. 1247.

[4] For these battles and the evidence for their sites see the concluding portion of this article.

valley of the Thames at Streatley. The use of ridgeways as through-roads, apart from their use as droveways, which has been already mentioned, continued till quite modern times. The great Hampshire ridgeway over Inkpen Beacon is called Newbury Way in old documents, showing that it was a recognised route to Newbury.

Road 3. The Wantage Portway. A summerway.

This is the route which was followed in the dry season by those who did not wish to climb to the top of the ridge of the Downs and follow the ridgeway just described (Road 1). It is, one may almost say, a crucial instance of that type of road which I have called a romanised road. It represents indeed two types of road not hitherto recognised by those who have written on the roads of this country. It never descends into the Vale of White Horse, but always keeps to the lower slope of the Downs, a characteristic of other summerways in the country.[1]

It enters Berkshire on the by. of Ashbury, just W. of Idstone. As a fact it can only be traced at the present day for a few miles W. of that point. It either crossed the Ray at or near Swindon, or, what is more probable, was merged into its accompanying ridgeway (Road 1) somewhere near Chisledon in Wilts. This is the beginning of the famous Icknield Way which can be traced on the modern map as far NE. as Thetford on the borders of Norfolk.

The evidence of the charters with regard to its course in Berkshire is most interesting, and, for those who would understand our road system, of critical importance.

In a charter of Uffington[2] which includes Ashbury, but excludes the formerly separate land-unit of Idstone, the road is called *Ikenilde Stract* at a point between the two villages of Idstone and Ashbury. This implies that the road had been metalled at that part; and, if any conclusion may be drawn from the present line of road, its straightness for a short distance suggests that straightening had also taken place. It is next mentioned in the Hardwell charter[3] at the point where it crosses the E. by. of Compton Beauchamp, ½ m. due E. of the village. It is there called *Iecenhilde Weg*. On the E. by. of Uffington, 5 fur. SW. of Kingston Lisle village, it is called *Ikenilde Straet* in the Uffington charter.[2] Again metalling is implied; and here

[1] See p. 71 above. [2] B. 687. K. 1129. [3] B. 601. K. 1080.

again the course of the road, which is usually of a winding character, shows signs of straightening for a short distance.

From this point to Wantage and beyond Wantage the road does not pass through any area covered by a charter; but beyond Wantage comes the most interesting stretch of the road. From Wantage to Upton the modern road describes a rough arc of a circle 8 m. in length. In modern times this is called the Portway, the name occurring in the TA. of Ardington, and also in that of Hendred. It is highly probable that this was its course as a summerway in pre-Roman times.[1] But in Romano-British times an alternative and shorter course had been made from Wantage to Upton, following the chord of the arc which the Portway makes between these points. It will be noticed that the Portway as it comes up from the W. does not make to pass through Wantage, but along the S. edge of the modern town. At the point where it impinges on Wantage it is pointing on West Lockinge. Exactly 2 m. E. of Wantage, in Lockinge park, the first traces of the old line along the chord of the arc are found; and from here eastwards it is represented by lines, mainly of roads, but sometimes of fieldpath, the whole way to Upton, 5 m. off. This line of road is called *Ickleton Way* in each of the TAs of Lockinge, Ardington, and Hendred. A short ½ m. E. by N. of Aldfield Farm it crosses the W. by. of Harwell. Here it is called *Icenilde Weg* in the Harwell charter[2]; and where it crosses the E. by. of Harwell on Hagbourne Hill it is called *Icknield Way* in the West Hagbourne TA. It joins the Portway again in Upton. The remains of it show that in its original form it consisted of two straight pieces which made a slight angle with one another just N. of Aldfield Farm, a very characteristic feature of Roman road-making.[3] Continuing its course E. and SE. it is

[1] I do not wish to insist strongly on this probability. But I do not think that this part of the road can have been evolved from a series of local tracks of Saxon date, because it does not pass through the villages. Nor have I been able to discover any record of this part of it having been made in what I may call the 'turnpike' period. Had it so been, one would again have expected it to pass through the villages.

[2] B. 1183. K. 1273.

[3] A Roman road is not *a* straight line, but a series of straight lines. Wherever a Roman road in its course arrives at the summit of a ridge which is a horizon for views taken from the ridges next on either side of it, it almost invariably turns through a slight angle. This may be seen by any one who cares to examine the course of one of the great Roman roads as laid down on a large

called *Herepath*, 'highway,' just E. of Upton village, in the Blewbury charter[1]; and in the same charter[1] it is called *Ichenilde Weg* at the point where it crosses the E. by. of Aston Tirrold ½ m. SSW. of Lollingdon Hill. At the same point it is called Portway in the Cholsey TA. Thence it went to leave the county either by crossing the Thames at Streatley, or at Runsford, the *Sunesforda* of the Cholsey charter,[2] ½ m. SSE. of Moulsford village.[3]

Road 4. Local road in Compton Beauchamp, 6 m. N.W. of Lambourn.

The road running N. by W. from the Icknield Way, and passing ½ m. E. of Compton Beauchamp village, is the *Hordwylles Weg*, 'way of the treasure spring,' of the Hardwell charter.[4]

Road 5. Local way in Compton Beauchamp, 6 m. NW. of Lambourn.

The last road was continued S. up the hill in former days. This part of it is called the *Eald Wuduweg*, 'old way of the wood,' in the Hardwell charter.[4]

Road 6. Local way in Woolstone, 6 m. S. of Faringdon.

In former days a track called simply *Weg* ran along the N. by. of the parish just SE. of Alfred's Hill.

Road 7. Local way in Compton Beauchamp, 6 m. NW. of Lambourn.

The track which runs along the S. part of the W. by. of Compton Beauchamp on Odstone Down is called *Grene Weg*, 'green way,' in the Compton Beauchamp charter.[5]

Road 8. Local way in Woolstone, 6 m. S. of Faringdon.

The road in the N. part of the parish running N. from

scale map. It is evident that the surveying instruments used by the Roman surveyors were not sufficiently accurate for the laying down of a traverse many miles in length in an absolutely straight line. They knew the general line they wished to lay down, and took their sights along it from the various 'horizons' met with in its course. Hence arose slight divergences from the main straight line.

This partial straightening of the Icknield Way is very marked in various parts of it N. of the Thames, as can be seen on the modern map.

[1] B. 801. K. 1151.

[2] B. 565. K. 1069. Runsford is marked on the one-inch map. I suspect that the real name of the ford was *Runesforda*. The text of the Cholsey survey is defective. The first element is almost certainly a personal name, probably a shortened form of one of the names beginning with *Run-*.

[3] N. of the Thames the name *Icenhilde Weg* is used of this road in a charter of Princes or Monks Risborough—I cannot say of which, for I have not fully solved the survey, but probably of the latter.

[4] B. 601. K. 1080.

[5] B. 908. K. 1172.

Cowleaze farm is called the *Eald Weg*, 'old way,' in the Ashbury charter.[1]

Road 9. Local road in Milton, 3 m. SW. of Abingdon.

The road W. of Milton Hill on the W. by. of the parish is called *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' in the Milton charter.[2]

Road 10. The Abingdon-Newbury road.

On the W. by. of Harwell, just E. of Horn Down, it is called *Herepath*,' highway,' in the Harwell charter.[3]

Much further S. in Beedon parish it is called 'The Old Way' in the TA.; and at the SE. corner of the parish it is called the *Eald Hyrne Weg*, 'old corner way,' in the Stanmore charter.[4]

Road 11. Road in East Hendred, 4 m. NE. of Wantage.

The road running N. and S. over Horn Down, and ¼ m. E. of Aldfield Farm, is called Hungerford Road in the TA. In Ogilvy's Roads (1699) it is mentioned as part of the way from Oxford to Hungerford.

Road 12. Local way in Harwell and Chilton, 6 m. E. of Wantage.

The road from Harwell to Chilton village, and continued S. of the village, is called *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' in the Harwell charter[5] at the point where it crosses the S. by. of Harwell. In the Hagbourne charter[6] it is called *Gemaer Weg ymb Cildatun*, 'boundary way about Chilton,' just where it approaches the W. end of the remains of Grim's Ditch. In the TA. of Chilton this part of it is called Barge Way, which is said to mean a horse way up a hill. I am inclined to think that the original meaning was 'way up a bank,' from the OF. 'berge.'[7]

Road 13. Local way in Upton, 6 m. S. of Abingdon.

The road which runs NE. from the W. end of Grim's Ditch past Alden Farm to Upton village is called *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' in the Blewbury charter.[8]

Road 14. Local way in Harwell, 6 m. NE. of Wantage.

The road or lane in the N. part of Harwell parish running E. and W. about ¼ m. N. of Marshland Barn is called Frith Road, 'road of the brushwood,' in the TA.

[1] B. 796. K. 1148.
[2] B. 935. K. 444.
[3] B. 1183. K. 1273.
[4] B. 866. K. 1164.
[5] B. 1183. K. 1273, and also K. 608.
[6] B. 565. K. 1069.
[7] Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, however, has pointed out to me that 'Barge' may be a variant of 'verge,' a word still used of a boundary in various parts of England.
[8] B. 801. K. 1151.

Road 15. The great ridgeway of NW. Berks.

In order to make clear the course of this road something must be said about the passages of the Thames at Oxford. Two ancient ways, of which the present one is certainly pre-Roman, crossed the river there. This one comes from the SW. The other comes from the S. and is clearly indicated as having passed the river at the point where Folly Bridge now stands. The road with which we are now dealing crossed the river at North Hinksey. The importance of the passage at North Hinksey is shown by the fact that the old road W. from Oxford did not run as now by the station to Botley. The latter is still called the New Road. The old road went through St. Ebbe's, and was clearly making for a ford at North Hinksey. It is doubtful whether any road went over the river at Botley. Even the old road from Oxford to the west may have passed the river at North Hinksey, and have run along the line of the modern road from Botley to that place. The road communications of Oxford to the S. and W. have been completely altered by the making of the turnpike roads of the eighteenth century; and it is necessary to say something about the roads as they were immediately prior to the making of turnpikes in order to understand the road system of the neighbourhood in AS. times.

The road from Oxford to Eynsham was a short ridgeway over Wytham Hill, just as the road to London went to Forest Hill by the short ridgeway over Shotover. The present road to Eynsham Bridge is quite modern.

The old road to Cumnor and Faringdon went over the river at North Hinksey. It was the E. end of the ridgeway with which we are now dealing. The comb of the ridge, to which, as a ridgeway, it so strictly adhered, abuts on the river at North Hinksey, not at Botley. This easternmost end of the old ridgeway and of the pre-turnpike road to Cumnor is now represented by the bridle-path from North Hinksey to Chawley works. The whole of the present road from Botley to Bessilsleigh, with the exception of the very short stretch between Chawley works and what is now the turning to Cumnor, and indeed the roads beyond Bessilsleigh to Oakley House on the Wantage road on the one hand, and to Tubney on the Faringdon road on the other, date from turnpike days. These sections of the modern

road are neither parts of the former road from Oxford to Faringdon, nor of the road from Oxford to Wantage. The road to Faringdon ran through Cumnor village and Appleton, while that to Wantage did not leave Oxford on this side at all, but went by Folly Bridge, over Boar's Hill, and so by Cotehill, joining the present line of the Wantage road near Oakley House. Bessilsleigh had a road of its own which crossed the river at North Hinksey and went up the bridle-path which runs in a straight line through the valley between Hen Wood and Cumnor Hurst.

Such was the road system S. and SW. of Oxford up to some time in the eighteenth century. I have described it because the Saxon charters show that the early eighteenth-century lines of road from Oxford to Faringdon and from Oxford to Wantage are in the former case older than, and in the latter at least as old as, history.

As it is of the E. end of this road that we have been speaking, it will be well to take its course in order from E. to W. From North Hinksey it went up the bridle-road to Chawley works. Thence it must have followed the line of road to Cumnor village. From Cumnor it went to Appleton; but the modern road from Cumnor to Eaton can only be partly on its line. That from Eaton to Appleton is probably right on it. On the old by. between Appleton and Eaton, a short ¼ m. N. of Appleton, it is called *Straet*, 'made road,' in the *Earmundesleah* (Bessilsleigh) charter,[1] indicating that it had been 'made' at this point. The road from Appleton as far as the wood called Appleton Lower and Upper Common is on its line; and at the point where it issues from the wood it is called *Straet* in the Appleton charter.[2] If any conclusion may legitimately be drawn from the modern line, it had not merely been metalled, but also straightened between Appleton village and this point. Here the modern road bends SSW.; but the old ridgeway kept along the ridge, avoiding the head-waters of the streams which flow to the Thames on the N. and to the Ock on the S. For just over 1 m. its line is not represented by any road or path; but about 300 yds. N. of Northfield Farm in Kingston Bagpuze the line is taken up by a lane which runs for 1 m. to Longworth village.

[1] B. 1047. K. 1221. [2] B. 777. K. 1141.

The line is then pointing to where the road (Road 17) from Netherton to Hinton Waldrist crosses the Longworth by. a short ½ m. SW. of the village; and about there the ridgeway must have begun to run along that line of road. At this point it is called *Portweg*, 'town way,' in the Longworth charter.[1] After running along this line of road for 5 furlongs, it then ran for 1 m. along a line of footpath which joins the modern Oxford-Faringdon road in Pusey Common Wood; and at a point just S. of Buckland village it is called *Brad Weg*, 'broad way,' in the Buckland charter.[2] and Portway in the TA. From here it went to Faringdon along the line of the modern main road, which adheres strictly to the watershed.

Beyond Faringdon the modern road thence to Swindon is a ridgeway as far as the borders of Watchfield parish; and along this line the ridgeway must have gone. On the E. by. of Watchfield, 3 fur. S. of Tithe Farm, it is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Watchfield charter.[3] There are no modern traces of its further course; but it is most probable that it turned S. to pass over the low watershed between the Ock and the Cole, and ran to meet the great ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs somewhere above Ashbury.

Road 16. The Faringdon-Wantage road.

The part of the road between Faringdon and Stanford-in-the-Vale is on the comb of a ridge, and is called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the Shellingford charter.[4] It is evident that it was thus far a short branch ridgeway of Road 15. Whether in Saxon times it developed into a track to Wantage there is no evidence to show.

Road 17. Local road in Longworth, 7 m. NE. of Faringdon.

On the line of the present road from Netherton to Hinton Waldrist there was on the E. by. of Longworth, ½ m. ESE. of the village, a *Waenweg*, 'waggon way,' which is mentioned in the Longworth charter.[1] This is called the Old Oxford Road in a TA.

Road 18. A road in Fyfield, 5 m. NW. of Abingdon.

A road along the line of the present road from Kingston Bagpuze to Frilford is called in the Fyfield charter[6]

[1] B. 1047. K. 1221.
[2] B. 1005. K. 1210.
[3] B. 675. K. 1103.
[4] B. 683. K. 351.
[5] B. 1221. K. 546.

Wattes Weg, 'Watt's way,' and in the Marcham charter[1] *Thatteles Weg*. The former is probably the correct form of the name. There is no reason to suppose that this road was more than local.

Road 19. The Abingdon-Fyfield road.

At the point where this road crosses the present Oxford-Wantage road near Oakley House there occurs in the TA. the name Harepit. In one case in Wiltshire the name is certainly a corruption of the AS. *Herepath*, 'highway.' That is all that can be said. It may or may not be so in this case. There is further the possibility that it was not the name of this road, but that of the old Oxford-Wantage road via Cotehill, which must have passed close to this point (see notes on Road 21), and is of very ancient date.

Road 20. Highway in Charney Bassett, 4½ m. NW. of Wantage.

It is probable that a *Herepath* mentioned in the Charney charter[2] ran along the line of the road which enters the village from the S. and runs N. to Longworth. If so, it was no doubt a highway of Saxon date.

Road 21. An old road SW. from Oxford.

The monastery of Abingdon in Saxon times held all the land between Abingdon and Oxford, and the surveyed boundaries of charters cross it in all directions.[3] Yet not one of them mentions any highway connecting Abingdon and Oxford. For any heavy traffic between the two towns the river was no doubt used. How important the Thames traffic was is shown by the fact that the monastery made a new cut at Abingdon in order to facilitate it. But some line of land communication there must have been.

But the charters throw light on an ancient road which followed the line of the present Abingdon road to the point where it turns S. through Bagley Wood. The old road continued on the direct line SW. over Boar's Hill to Cotehill, and towards, if not to, Wantage. That it crossed the Thames at or near Folly Bridge is certain, though the charters do not carry us so far N. as that point. From there it ran 1 m. S. by E. along the line of the present road,

[1] B. 1169–70. K. 1255.

[2] B. 1035. K. 1214.

[3] Of Abingdon, B. 906, K. 1171 : B. 924, K. 441 : include Abingdon, Radley, Bagley Wood and Kennington. Of Kennington, B. 971, K. 1200. Of Hinksey, B. 1002, K. 1216. Of Bayworth, including Sunningwell, Wootton, and a piece of Cumnor, B. 932, K. 1202. Of Wootton, B. 366, K. 1029.

for it could follow no other line. At the present day it turns almost at right angles in a SW. direction, and crosses the railway about 200 yards beyond the turn. In this 200 yards it has crossed two small side-streams of the Thames. The ford over the first of these is called *Maegthe Ford*, 'ford of the mayweed,' in the Hinksey[1] and Abingdon[2] charters, and that over the second is called *Stanford*, 'stone ford,' in the Abingdon,[2] Hinksey,[1] and Kennington[3] charters.

The next reference is in the Hinksey charter,[1] and is at a point just after the road from S. Hinksey has joined it. It is there called *Hiweg*, 'hay way'; and the same name *Higweg* is applied to it in the Bayworth charter[4] at the point where the Abingdon road turns S. from it. The origin of this name is traceable. The mead, or hay land, of Wootton was close to the point where the road turns just short of the railway; and the hay would be carried to Wootton along this road.

At the summit of Boar's Hill it is possibly mentioned in the Abingdon charter[2] under the name *Portstraet*, 'made road to the town.'[5] Its connexion with Wantage in AS. times is suggested by the occurrence of the name Harepit[6] on its line, and also by the name *Brad Herepath*, 'broad highway,' applied to the Wantage road in the Hanney charter[7] at the point where it crosses the S. by. of East Hanney about ½ m. S. of that village.[8]

[1] B. 1002. K. 1216.
[2] B. 906. K. 1171.
[3] B. 971. K. 1200.
[4] B. 932. K. 1202.
[5] But see notes on Road 22.
[6] See notes on Road 19.
[7] B. 949-50.
[8] I do not know what to make of this road. That it was a highway of AS. times I have no doubt. But the question is as to its previous history. This is largely dependent on the question whether the *Portstraet* of the Abingdon charter really applies to it. The landmarks of this section of the survey are given as follows: 'Then over by the hillfoot to the head of Bromcombe: then straight on to Abbendune (?) to the Portstreet: then along the street to the Hay Way.' The 'Abbendune' is incomprehensible as it stands, for the points are more than 3 m. from that town. Bromcombe is the valley SW. of Bagley Wood, and it is still called by the old name; and for this and various other reasons, viz. comparison with the landmarks of neighbouring charters, there can be absolutely no question as to the position of the landmarks cited, except as regards the identity of the *Portstraet*. It would be the wildest speculation to suppose that Abbandun, 'Abba's down,' the old name of Abingdon, had been originally applied to the hill on which Bagley Wood stands; and I am inclined to think that the words 'to Abbendune' in the Survey ought to come after the word *Portstraet*; and that the real meaning of the landmark is 'the Portstreet which leads to Abingdon.' If so this Portstreet is the *Portweg* of the Wootton charter, a road which seems to have run to Abingdon. (See notes on Road 22.)

If this is so, the status of this road with which we have been dealing is uncertain: but, as I have said, I am inclined to think that it was a *Herepath* of the Saxon age.

Road 22. A ridgeway on Boar's Hill, near Oxford.

This road presents peculiar difficulties. It is almost certainly a fragment of a prehistoric road, and, as a ridgeway, was almost certainly connected with some other ridgeway. If so, it can only have been connected with that at Cumnor (Road 15). The present road along the comb of Boar's Hill is obviously of modern making; but it adheres to the watershed, and must be along the line of the ancient road. The AS. evidence is as follows. In the Wootton charter[1] there is mention of a *Portweg*, 'town way.' The survey is, as usual, going with the clock. The Wootton by. crosses this road just before it descends into Foxcombe, a short ¼ m. before the road joins the main road to Oxford down Hinksey Hill. In the charter the by. at this part is described as running to the *Port Weg*, and then to *Foxhola Cumb*, 'approaching it from the upper side.' So the identity of this line of road with the *Portweg* is practically certain. But the name *Portweg* implies a road of some importance. Earlier in the same Wootton charter[1] there is reference to a *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' which went through Hen Wood, about 1 m. NW. of the last point. I have no doubt that it continued along the watershed over Cumnor Hurst to join the ridgeway (Road 15) at Cumnor.

But what is the '*Port*' indicated by the name *Portweg*? All portways that I have come across, and they have been many, are invariably pointing to the town from which they get their name. I think that the town in this case must be Abingdon. From Boar's Hill to Abingdon there runs a line of watershed which passes just N. and E. of Bayworth, and joins the line of the modern Oxford-Abingdon road just N. of Radley park. From here to Abingdon, a distance of 2 m., the modern road is a ridgeway. Perhaps we have here a portion of the old road from Oxford to Abingdon, a road which went to the top of Boar's Hill along the present roadway, and then turned SE. and later S. to the line of the last two miles of the modern Oxford-Abingdon road. It is possible that the *Portstraet* which has been discussed under Road 21 was that part of this road which ran more or less parallel with the W. side of Bagley Wood.

[1] B. 366. K. 1029.

Road 23. Local way in Wootton, 4 m. SSW. of Oxford.

A track along the line of the lane which branches off from the Abingdon-Cumnor road ½ m. W. of the S. end of Wootton village, and runs NE. is called *Gemaer Weg*, 'boundary way,' in the Bayworth charter.[1]

Road 24. Local path in Wootton, 4 m. SSW. of Oxford.

The path which runs SW. up the hill from Chilswell Farm is called *Swan Weg*, 'herdsmen's way,' in the Wootton charter.[2]

Road 25. Local way in East Hanney, 3 m. NE. of Wantage.

On the S. by. of East Hanney parish, about ½ m. S. of the village, a lane runs E. to Bradfield Barn. This is called *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' in the Hanney charter.[3]

Road 26. Local way in Little Wittenham, 1 m. from Dorchester, Oxon.

A road or track called the *Higweg*, 'hay way,' is mentioned in the Little Wittenham charter.[4] It probably ran along the line of the E. arm of the road from Little Wittenham to Long Wittenham.

Road 27. Local way in Little Wittenham, 1 m. from Dorchester, Oxon.

The road from Little Wittenham to Brightwell, at the point where it runs immediately S. of the camp on Wittenham Hill, seems to be a *Weg*, 'track,' mentioned in the Little Wittenham charter.[4]

Road 28. Local way in Didcot, 4½ m. S. of Abingdon.

A way, called in the Blewbury charter[5] *Smal Path*, 'narrow path,' ran up the E. by. of Didcot from Haddon Hill to Down Hill.

Road 29. A Roman road from Dorchester, Oxon.

The line of the Roman road from Alchester near Bicester (Oxon.) to Dorchester is well known. But it has always been believed, and it may, in fact, be regarded as certain, that this road was continued S. But hitherto no S. extension of it has been discovered. The charters throw a certain amount of light on the question. In the Brightwell charter[6] there is mention of an *Eald Straet Ford* which was where the by. between Brightwell and Sotwell abuts on

[1] B. 932. K. 1202.
[2] B. 366. K. 1029.
[3] B. 1224. K. 1262.
[4] B. 504. K 286.
[5] B. 801. K. 1151.
[6] B. 810. K. 1154.

the Thames, ¾ 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 1 m. to the top of the ridge on which Brightwell Barrow stands. On the horizon point it turns through a slight angle, as Roman roads almost always do at such points.[1] In the Sotwell charter this part of it is called *Straet*.[2] It then runs due S. in a straight line for 1½ m. between the adjoining villages of Brightwell and Sotwell. For this 2½ m. it is a parish by. It then continues through Mackney, crossing the stream on the N. of that place by what was formerly a ford called in the Sotwell charter[2] *Maccaniges Ford*, 'the ford of Macca's island.' Its traces give out about ½ m. S. of Mackney.

This last part of the road is pointing straight on Streatley.

It has been guessed that a road from Dorchester to Silchester went via Streatley, Pangbourne, and Theale, for Roman remains have been found in two places on the S. side of the Thames between Streatley and Pangbourne; but the evidence of the charters shows for the first time the line which part of this conjectured road followed, and for the first time shows that such a road existed.

Road 30. Local way in Aston Upthorpe, 4 m. SW. of Wallingford.

The road which runs S. by W. from the village, across the Icknield Way, and right up the slope of the down to Lowbury Hill is called *Hwit Holweg*, 'white hollow way,' in the Aston Upthorpe charter.[3]

Road 31. Local way in Aston Upthorpe, 4 m. SW. of Wallingford.

At the N. end of the parish a lane runs W. from the road from S. Moreton to Aston Tirrold, about ¼ m. S. of S. Moreton. In the Aston Upthorpe charter[3] it is called *Weg*, 'track.' It crosses a small stream by a ford called *Ful Ford*, 'miry ford,' in the same charter.

Road 32. Local way in Aston Upthorpe, 4 m. SW. of Wallingford.

A way, still marked by a track, ran along the S. part of

[1] See note 3, p. 124. [2] B. 988. [3] B. 1143. K. 1252.

the W. by. of the parish up on the down near Lowbury Hill. It is called *Staniht Weg*, 'stony way,' in the Aston charter.[1]

Road 33. Local way in Blewbury, 5 m. SW. of Wallingford.

In the Blewbury charter[2] there is a very interesting reference in the survey to a landmark which is described as follows: 'of tham byrgelse to thaere flodan aet swinweges slo aet thaere wegegelaeton,' 'from the burial-places to the intermittent spring at the slough of the swineway at the crossroads.'

This intermittent spring is well known. It is said to break out in great volume at average intervals of seven years. At these times it runs down into the valley by Roden Farm. Various tracks meet at a point about 3 fur. N. of the farm, on what is probably an old line of the ridgeway. This is the crossroads mentioned in the charter. The Swine Way was probably the track running SW.

Road 34. Local way in Moulsford, 3½ m. S. of Wallingford.

In the Cholsey charter,[3] in which the forms of words in the survey show the extant copy to be of later than Saxon date, a way running S. from Dean's Bottom along the W. side of Unhill Wood is called *Marge Wei*, 'boundary way.'

Road 35. Local way in Moulsford, 3½ m. S. of Wallingford.

A track branching off from Road 34 ran along the S. side of Ham Wood. It is called *Deep Wei*, 'deep way,' in the Cholsey charter.[3]

Road 36. Local way in Cholsey, 2 m. SSW. of Wallingford.

A road called *Stanwei*, 'stone way,' is mentioned in the Cholsey charter.[3] It was probably on the line of the lane which leaves the Portway at a turn ½ m. SSE. of Aston Tirrold village, and runs E. to Lollingdon Hill.

Road 37. Local way in Cholsey, 2 m. SSW. of Wallingford.

The road running NE. from Kingstanding Hill, and joining the main road about ½ m. N. of Moulsford village,

[1] B. 1143. K. 1252. [2] B. 801. K. 1151 [3] B. 565. K. 1069.

is called Bar Way, and also Bier Way, in the TA. Which form is right, it is not possible to say.

Road 38. Road in Cholsey, 2 m. SSW. of Wallingford.

The present main road just N. of the lunatic asylum is called Broad Hay Way in the TA., almost certainly a survival of an AS. *Brad Higweg*; and pointing to a time when this was not part of a main road.

Road 39. Road in Cholsey, 2 m. SSW. of Wallingford.

Branching off from the main road opposite the asylum there was formerly a way running due N. It is called in the TA. Malm Way. 'Malm' is a special kind of earth.

Road 40. Local way in Sotwell, 1½ m. NW. of Wallingford.

A way called in the Brightwell[1] and Sotwell[2] charters the *Brycgweg*, 'bridge way,' is now represented by the E. end of the lane which runs from Lower Hill Farm to the river near Shillingford Bridge. It seems possible, though not certain, that the Thames was bridged at this point. But of course the reference may be to the bridging of some little stream.

Road 41. Local way in Sotwell, 1½ m. NW. of Wallingford.

A lane running N. and S. comes up to meet Road 40 3 fur. W. of the hotel at Shillingford Bridge. This is the *Holweg*, 'hollow way,' of the Sotwell charter.[2]

Road 42. Local Way in Sotwell, 1½ m. NW. of Wallingford.

A way called in the Brightwell charter[1] *Aernincg Weg*, '. . . . way,' ran probably along the line of the footpath from Sotwell to Shillingford Bridge.

Road 43. The Wallingford ridgeway.

Those who know the neighbourhood of Wallingford may be surprised to hear of a ridgeway near the town. But the first 7¼ m. of the road from Wallingford to Wantage, as far as Alma Barn near Harwell, is a watershed way, i.e. a ridgeway, which adheres strictly to the watershed between the Hagbourne and the brooks which flow N. to join the Thames at Long Wittenham. Beyond Alma Barn the traces of it have vanished. But there is little doubt that it went up to the great ridgeway near Scutchammer Knob,

[1] B. 810. K. 1154. [2] B. 988.

i.e. *Cwichelmes Hlaew*, and from there went down to Newbury by Road 45. This must have been the route which the Danish army used in A.D. 1006 (S. Chr.) when it marched from Wallingford to *Cwichelmes Hlaew* on its way to the battle at *Cynete*.

Road 44. The Reading ridgeway.

This again is a well-marked ridgeway, the existence of which has not, so far as I am aware, been suspected, though its course is represented almost throughout by modern roads, lanes, or tracks. Its itinerary[1] is as follows :—

It leaves the great ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs on Lockinge Down at a point 1¼ m. SE. of the workhouse near Wantage : along modern road over Lattin Down till (1) South Ridgeway Farm stands about 300 yds. NE.[2] : along modern road SE. to (2) Farnborough village : along modern road ESE. to (2½) where a field called in the TA. Ridgeway Furling lies just S. of the road : along road still ESE. to (3) : along road SSE. to (3½) a point ½ m. N. by E. of Catmore village, being called *Weg*, 'track,' at this part of its course in the Farnborough charter[3] : no modern road for the next ¼ m. to (3¾) a point 3 fur. NE. of Catmore village, where it is called in the Farnborough charter[3] 'the *Weg* which goes to *Stanleah*,' 'stone lea,' and also the *Staniht Weg*, 'stony way,' and *Stific Weg*, 'way of the clearing,' in the Stanmore charter[4] : runs SSE. for 1¼ m. along modern road to (5) about 1 m. SE. of Catmore village, where it is called *Straet*, 'made road,' in the Stanmore charter[5] : from here along modern road to Stanmore (5⅜) : along modern road to (6½) Beedon : along modern road first SE. and then S. to (8) Crossroads Farm : along modern road SE. to (8½) where it seems to be the *Bysceopes Weg*, 'bishop's way,' of the Oare (really Bradley)

[1] Figures in brackets are miles.

[2] I have no doubt that the term 'South' in this name applies to the term 'Ridgeway' not to the whole term 'Ridgeway Farm'; i.e. this part of the road was till some quite recent period recognised as a ridgeway.

[3] B. 632. K. 343.

[4] B. 866. K. 1164.

[5] The name *Straet* indicates that this part of the road had been made in Romano-British times. As a fact the ridgeway in this part coincides with another ancient road which led N. from the Roman station at Speen (see notes on Road 45). The 'making' in this instance, as in the case of some other romanised roads, e.g. the Icknield Way, had included a certain amount of straightening for a little over a mile on the borders of Peasemore and Beedon. On its way N. this road leaves the ridgeway at the third mile (see above), and can be traced further N. of that point. On its way S. to Speen it left the line of ridgeway at the point with which we are now dealing. The made part of the road is at the present day little more than a farm track; but so late as the early part of the last century it was called Old Street Lane in the Peasemore TA.

charter[1]: along modern road to ($9\frac{7}{8}$) Oare village: then E. along modern road for $\frac{1}{4}$ m. ($10\frac{1}{8}$): then S. along modern road for about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. to near Hermitage station ($10\frac{7}{8}$): S. along modern road, climbing and running along the ridge of Cold Ash, to that village ($12\frac{5}{8}$): then ESE. over Bucklebury Common by modern road for nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. (15): here the modern main road runs ENE., but the ridgeway runs along the ridge S. of the Bourne E. to Beenham village in a twisting course along modern lanes ($17\frac{3}{4}$)[2]: thence for $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. ENE. along lanes ($20\frac{1}{4}$): here it must have turned down past the S. side of Englefield park to Theale, where the watershed between the Thames and Kennet is literally only a few yards broad; and in this part of its course as far as Theale it probably followed a course not marked by modern roads ($22\frac{1}{4}$): ran along the Theale-Reading road for $\frac{1}{2}$ m., and then turned NE. up a lane to the Tilehurst ridge, and to that village ($24\frac{3}{4}$): thence by the modern road along the ridge from Tilehurst to Reading ($27\frac{3}{4}$).

It will be seen that for five-sixths of its length this road is a way along the watershed between the Pang and the Kennet basin; for, though the permanent source of the Pang is about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Hampstead Norris, it has an intermittent source 7 m. further up the valley just N. of Farnborough village, the *Cytel Floda*, 'kettle spring,' of the Farnborough charter. The remaining sixth of its length is on the watershed between the Thames and the Kennet.

It was along this ancient way that the Danes moved up from Reading, and the Saxons from the West, to meet in the battle at *Englafeld*, Englefield, 'field of the Angles,' in A.D. 871.

Road 45. A road running N. from Speen, near Newbury, the Roman station *Spina*.

This is perhaps the most mysterious of the roads which I have come across in the charters of Berkshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire. I have a very strong suspicion that it was one of the minor Roman roads of the type of that which runs from Alchester, near Bicester (Oxon.), to Dorchester (Oxon.). But its traces are far more fragmentary than

[1] B. 122. K. 563.

[2] Ridgeways took the most extraordinary twists and turns to avoid hollows and bad places; but I am inclined to think that the original course in this part was more direct than that of the existing lanes.

those of that road; and demonstrative proof of its Roman character, though it had certainly been romanised, is not possible.

It is probable that its first traces are discernible at the point where the Newbury-Abingdon road crosses the Lambourn; but it did not go N. along the line of that road, but apparently along a straight line of footpath which runs along the W. side of the grounds of Castle House, Donnington (OM6), as far as the house called Donnington Holt ($\frac{5}{8}$ m.). A little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of this its line is taken up ($\frac{7}{8}$ m.) by the line of the modern road which runs due N. along the W. side of the wood of Arlington Manor ($1\frac{1}{2}$ m.). Here the charters begin to talk about it. At this point it is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Chieveley charter.[1] It runs N. to ($2\frac{1}{8}$ m.) a place where it bends somewhat E. of N. (Its first two miles seem to have been in a straight line.) It then passes ($2\frac{1}{2}$ m.) along the W. side of the camp at Totterdown, the *Eald Burh*, 'old camp,' of the same Chieveley charter,[1] and is at this point called *Staniht Weg*, 'stony way,' in the same charter. At Bussock the modern road turns NW.; but there can be little doubt that the old road kept straight on, on a line not now marked by a track. But $\frac{1}{2}$ m. N. of Bussock ($3\frac{1}{8}$), at Ogdown Barn, the modern road is again on its line, and from there to Hazelhanger Farm ($3\frac{7}{8}$) it is called *Herepath*, 'Highway,' in the same Chieveley charter.[1] At the farm it passed a small brook by a ford called *Bradford*, 'broad ford,' in the same charter.[1] It continues N. along the by. between Peasemore and Chieveley, and then along that between Peasemore and Beedon. Its course throughout never diverges much from the straight line; but at a point ($5\frac{5}{8}$) due W. of Park Copse it becomes once more absolutely straight, and maintains a certain straightness for 3 miles. This part of it is called *Straet*, 'made road,' in the Stanmore charter.[2] It passes close to a *tumulus*. N. of this (7) it is called Old Street Lane in the TA. At this part of it and for a certain distance N. it coincides with the ridgeway of Road 44.[3] A little N. of the last point it is called ($7\frac{1}{2}$) *Stific Weg*, 'way of the clearing,' in the Farnborough charter,[4] and a little later ($7\frac{3}{4}$) *Weg*, 'track,' in the same charter.[4] Further N. ($8\frac{1}{2}$)

[1] B. 892. K. 430.
[2] B. 866. K. 1164.
[3] See note 5, p. 137.
[4] B. 632–3. K. 343.

it is called in the Farnborough charter[1] 'the way which runs to *Stanleah*, 'stone lea'; and further N. still (9) it is called *Hwit Weg*, 'white way,' in the same charter.[1] Five furlongs further on ($9\frac{5}{8}$) it comes to a place now called Land's End where various roads, lanes, and tracks meet. This is the *Wega Gemuth*, 'crossways,' of the same Farnborough charter.[1]

That it continued N. is made certain by the fact that a road called in the Ginge charter[2] *Herepath*, 'highway,' led down to the old by. of Ginge along the line of Ginge Brook. This is represented partly by the modern road which passes West Ginge. As far as can be seen this stretch of road must have been absolutely straight for several miles. It continues in a straight line half-way between the villages of Ardington and West Hendred, and, as far as modern roadways are concerned, ends at the Portway ($13\frac{1}{4}$). Thus for over thirteen miles from Speen this road has maintained a line which is almost straight, and is marked by stretches of straight road aggregating $9\frac{1}{2}$ m. out of the $13\frac{1}{4}$ m. of its traceable length. But what is also noticeable is that for $10\frac{1}{2}$ m. of its course it is a parish by., a fact which, even without the evidence of the charters, would prove its antiquity.

Of its course N. of the Portway there is not any trace whatever. But it is noticeable that it is pointing straight for the ford over the Ock at Garford, the lowest ford on that river above the ford at Abingdon, for the whole region between the two fords is, and, no doubt, was much more in the past, of such a marshy nature that roadways across it have not been made.

If this is not a Roman road, it is very difficult to say what it is. It is not a ridgeway, nor is it a summerway; that is to say, it is not, as far as can be seen, pre-Roman, i.e. a way which the Romans might have romanised. Furthermore the straightened parts of it amount to more than two-thirds of the whole length of the road, a proportion which far exceeds that of any other pre-Roman highway which has not been entirely converted into a Roman road.[3] It may be accounted strange that, though

[1] B. 632–3. K. 343.

[2] B. 981. K. 1194.

[3] The Roman road running NW. from Speen is a converted ridgeway for some miles out of Speen. The Roman road from Lincoln N. is a summerway which has been converted into a Roman road.

it is so frequently mentioned in the charters, it is only once called *Straet*. But if it was a minor Roman road—and a major Roman military way it certainly was not—its metalling might disappear in many places so much that its 'made' character might not everywhere be apparent.[1]

After all, the Roman road from Newbury to Cirencester is only once mentioned in the charters, though it crosses several areas with which extant charters deal, and then it is called *Herepath*, 'highway.'

My own impression is that this road from Speen northwards went up to the fords at Oxford; but, on the evidence, it must remain an impression. That it communicated from Land's End with the Wallingford ridgeway (Road 43) at Harwell may be easily conjectured; and the tracks from Land's End to East Hendred Down may well be part of the line of communication.

Road 46. A branch ridgeway to Newbury (?)

It is probable that a still older line of road, a ridgeway, came down to Newbury from the N. leaving the Reading ridgeway somewhere near Crossroads Farm, and going S. more or less along the lines of modern roads and lanes through Chieveley to the *Eald Burh* (see Road 45 at 2½ m.), and so along the line of Road 45 to Newbury.

Road 47. Local way in Farnborough, 4½ m. SSE. of Wantage.

A track along the NW. by. of Farnborough about ¼ m. SE. of Lattin Down Farm is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the

[1] I have taken sections of Roman roads in various parts of England. As far as my experience goes, there are three stages in the making:—

(1) the cutting of a shallow trench, from 12 to 18 inches deep according to the nature of the ground, the width of the road, which is from 16 to 18 feet;

(2) the laying of heavy materials, large stones of, if obtainable, slab-like shape, in lines across the trench, at an angle of about 60 degrees with the horizontal;

or, in the case of minor roads, the laying of such stones flat across the trench. Of course in all cases the surface of the road was eventually raised above the level of the neighbouring ground; and in some cases drainage ditches were dug on either side of it;

(3) the laying on the surface of this foundation of river gravel, or if that was not obtainable in the region, of material broken fine.

It is only in respect to stage 2 that there is a difference between the major and minor road. But the difference means a good deal.

Another noticeable feature is the fact that in some instances the road surface, when the sods are removed, is as unimpaired as if it had been laid down the day before. In other cases it has been destroyed by traffic. For example, the Akeman Street in Blenheim park, when the sods were taken off, looked as if the road surface had been laid the day before. On the other hand, the High Street in Cumberland and Westmorland, just above Ullswater, had been cut all to pieces by later traffic, namely that of the pack-horses which used this road from Penrith to Ambleside up to the days of railways. It may be taken as almost certain that some of the Roman roads were largely, others hardly ever, used in Saxon times.

Farnborough charter.[1] It communicated with the ridgeway of Road 44.

Road 48. Local way in Farnborough, 4½ m. SSE. of Wantage.

A track running down the SW. by. of Farnborough just W. and S. of Combe Farm is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Brightwalton charter.[2]

Road 49. Way in Farnborough, 4½ m. SSE. of Wantage.

A way called in the Farnborough charter[1] *Suthera Weg*, 'southern way,' ran along the SW. by. of the parish ½ m. SW. of the village, along the line of the present road from Wantage to Newbury. Its southern continuation by Lilley Copse in Brightwalton is called *Weg* in the Brightwalton charter.[2] Much further S., ½ m. SE. of Leckhampstead village, this road is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Boxford charter.[3] It went eventually to join Road 45 ½ m. ENE. of Winterbourne village. It is probably a through-track of Saxon date running from Wantage to Newbury.

Road 50. Local way in Farnborough, 4½ m. SSE. of Wantage.

A local *Weg*, 'track,' mentioned in the Farnborough charter,[1] ran along the SE. by. of the parish ½ m. SE. of the village. It is called 'the *Weg* to the *Stanas*, 'the way to the stones.' These were probably 'standing stones.' It ran S. along the W. side of Wickslet Copse, where there is still a lane along its line to the road at Lilley Copse.

Road 51. Ridgeway in Catmore, 8¼ m. N. of Newbury.

A road called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the Chieveley charter[4] ran from Lilley in Brightwalton parish. Its identity is uncertain. It seems to be the road from Lilley to Heath Barn, which runs to join the great ridgeway (Road 44) near Hailey Copse. It is just possible that it was part of a local alternative of this portion of the ridgeway.

Road 52. Road in Leckhampstead and Boxford, 4½ m. NNW. of Newbury.

The road which runs along the SW. by. of Leckhampstead by Hangman's Stone and into Boxford parish is called *Weg* in both the Welford[5] and Boxford[3] charters.

[1] B. 632–3. K. 343.
[2] B. 743. K. 1123.
[3] B 1227. K. 1265.
[4] B. 892. K. 430.
[5] B. 877. K. 427.

Road 53. Local road in Beedon, 7 m. N. of Newbury.

The road running by Common Farm in the S. part of Beedon parish N. towards the village seems to be the *Beden Weg*, 'Beedon Way,' of the Stanmore charter.[1]

Road 54. The Roman road from Speen to Cirencester.

For at least 15 m. NW. of Speen this road is a converted ridgeway.

In the N. part of Wanborough parish in Wiltshire two Roman roads meet near Covingham Farm, this one, and one which comes up from the Roman station at *Cunetio* near Marlborough. This road from Cirencester to Speen is called Ermine Street on the modern map, the same name as that of the great Roman road from London to Lincoln and York. There is no trace in the Saxon documents of such a name having been applied to this road, though there is Saxon evidence of its application to the road to York. It is only too probable that the name as applied to this present road is an antiquarian invention. Another remarkable fact concerning it is that only for a very short part of its course does it form a parish by., which is somewhat surprising in view of the tendency of the Saxons, who were —for secular purposes originally—the originators of these boundaries, to make use of any Roman road as a line of division between land-units. As to its general course, it is evident, as has been said, that it was a converted ridgeway which ran along the watershed between the Lambourn and the Kennet; and in the TA. of Boxford in Berks it is called the Ridgeway Road. It is mentioned once, and only once, in a Saxon charter, that of Boxford,[2] where it is called *Herepath*, 'highway.'

This is all the information that we have concerning it. Of course it was a genuine Roman, and not merely a romanised, road. But it is certainly a curious fact that it is mentioned in one only of the five charters which impinge on it; and then is merely called *Herepath*.[3]

Road 55. A highway in Brimpton, 4 m. E. of Newbury.

The road from Newbury and Crookham to Brimpton is twice called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Brimpton

[1] B. 866. K. 1164.

[2] B. 1227. K. 1265.

[3] Immediately adjoining the line of this road, 3 fur. NW. of Wickham, there stood formerly a wood called in the TA. of Welford Watling Wood. The name would be very interesting, were it not only too possible that it was given to this wood by some owner of modern times who supposed the Watling was the name of this Roman road.

charter[1] between the W. by. of that parish and the village. I strongly suspect that the section of it on Crookham Common was part of a road of Romano-British times connecting Speen (*Spina*) with Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*). But such a road would not follow the line of the *Herepath* through Brimpton, but would pass through the S. part of that parish by way of Hyde End. Its further line is probably marked by the county by. which runs from the SE. corner of the parish to within 1 m. of Silchester. The *Herepath* was on the other hand a through-track of Saxon date running through the line of villages S. of the Kennet —Brimpton, Aldermaston, Padworth, Ufton Nervet, and Sulhampstead Bannister.

Road 56. The Roman road from Silchester to London.

The course of this road is well known, and is marked on the map, so that it needs no detailed description. In a Hampshire TA., that of Heckfield; the name Welsh Lane is applied to that part of the Roman road which runs through the N. part of the parish. If we could be sure that this was really an old name of the road, it would be very interesting. But evidence from the Eversley TA. points to its having been the name of a short pre-Roman ridgeway along the watershed between the Whitewater and Blackwater rivers, for the name Welsh Drive is there applied to this ridgeway; and it is practically certain that the Welsh Lane of Heckfield and the Welsh Drive of Eversley are parts of one and the same road, which is, as we have said, *not* the Roman road.[2]

It is possible, though not provable, that there is a reference to the Roman road under the name *Loddera Straet*, 'beggars' street,' in a charter[3] which records a small grant of 3 hides at *Beorcham*, which seems to be Barkham near Wokingham. As in the case of most small grants, there is difficulty in determining its identity. But, if it is to be attributed to Barkham, it is almost certainly a piece of land outside the bounds of the present parish; and the landmarks are to a certain extent reconcilable with

[1] B. 802. K. 1152.

[2] This ridgeway is represented at the present day by a track coming from Hartford Bridge Flats, over Eversley Common, and through the woods of Eversley Upper Common as far as Bramshill village. Its 'ridgeway' character there gives out. It must have crossed the Whitewater and run towards Riseley Common, in the neighbourhood of which it must for some distance at any rate have coincided with the line of the later Roman road.

[3] B. 895. K. 431.

a piece of the N. end of Eversley. If that could be proved—which it cannot—then *Loddera Straet* would probably be the name of this road.

Road 57. A ridgeway S. from Reading.

A ridgeway, several miles of which are represented at the present day by modern roadway, ran S. from Reading along the W. watershed of the Loddon. It followed the present line of route to (3¼ m.) Shinfield : then comes a gap of 1 m. to Oakbank (4¼ m.) : thence along modern line of road to (6¾ m.) Beech Hill : thence WSW. along modern line of road to Perrin's Farm (7¾ m.) : turns WNW. along modern road to (8¼ m.) and here it turns SW. and runs along the Roman road at (9¼ m.) Butlin's Lands Farm. Here its traces give out. But it went no doubt to join the great ridgeway on the Downs above Kingsclere.

Road 58. Chobham ridgeway.

This is mainly a Surrey ridgeway, a northern branch of the great E. and W. ridgeway over the Hog's Back. Its course up to the Berks by. is easily traceable over modern roads traversing Cleygate Common and Chobham Ridge. It crosses the London-Basingstoke road at the Jolly Farmer, and then runs along a line of road NW. to cross the Berks By. 1½ m. from that point. It then runs on to lower Star Post, and further still to the so-called Caesar's Camp, the last part of it being set down in the map as a Roman road. A Roman road it certainly is not. If any signs of making have been found there, they cannot be taken to imply more than romanisation.

From this point its course, as far as modern roads are concerned, becomes fragmentary, which is not surprising in a formerly more or less waste region where the existing roads are mostly made for modern convenience. But of two things we may be sure : that it did not come to an end in this wild district : and that it went on along the watershed. The two-mile stretch of road from Amen Corner, E. of Wokingham, to Binfield is no doubt part of its line ; but its course over the low watershed between the streams which flow W. to the Loddon and E. to the Thames does not seem to be marked by any modern line of road. It probably passed over Weycock Hill near Waltham St. Lawrence, and at Scarletts close by the Reading-Maidenhead road the well-marked line of ridgeway over Bowsey Hill and

Remenham Hill is almost certainly the N. end of it, leading to a crossing of the Thames at Henley.

I had occasion to point out in relation to the ancient roads of Wiltshire the fact that the modern towns stand frequently at places where ridgeways or Roman roads crossed important streams. In the case of the Wiltshire roads Salisbury, Wilton, Marlborough, Cricklade, and Malmesbury are examples of the phenomenon. In that of Berkshire the phenomenon is quite as marked. The first ridgeway in Berkshire which abuts on the Thames crosses it at Oxford; the second at Abingdon; a Roman road at Dorchester; a ridgeway at Wallingford; two ridgeways at Reading; and another at Henley. The only ridgeway crossing not marked by a modern town is that at Streatley. Of course the river traffic was largely responsible for the growth of some of these towns; but it is plain that the road passage originally determined their sites. It has also to be remembered that before the days of canals and railways the goods and cattle traffic was largely carried on by means of the ridgeways, because they afforded firm going for the packhorse, and grass for the cattle which were driven along them. Thus the ridgeways remained an important economic factor until within a century of the present time; and even now, though the traffic associated with them has moved to other lines, yet thousands of miles of our modern roads are built on what were the courses taken by these prehistoric tracks. It is, after all, natural that such should be the case, for such roads required little drainage, if any, no culverts, and no bridges, except where they came to the passage of unavoidable rivers. And then, when the railways came, they were naturally designed to connect the existing centres of population, and thus to maintain in existence those towns which owed their origin to these prehistoric roads.

III.

HAMPSHIRE.

Road 1. The reputed Roman road running in a westerly direction from the Roman station at Bitterne, near Southampton.

That a Roman road ran W. from the station at Bitterne

is practically certain. The question is as to whither it went, and what was its course.

Such evidence as the Saxon charters afford with regard to it is contained in the North Stoneham charter,[1] and in the Millbrook charter.[2] In the former the term *Straet* is applied to a road running along the line of the present road from Swathling to Shirley. In the Stoneham charter,[3] this same piece of road is called *Herepath*, 'through-road.' In the Millbrook charter the road running along the N. by. of the parish from Brownhill down to the banks of the Test and then down that stream to Redbridge is called *Straet*. In the other Millbrook charter,[4] it is called the *Holweg*, 'hollow way.' But these two modern roads in Stoneham and Millbrook are not on the same line of roadway. The whole question of the ancient topography of this particular region is complicated and rendered uncertain by the N. extension of the suburbs of Southampton. All that is really probable is that this *Straet* crossed the Itchen at South Stoneham, and the Test either at Redbridge, or near Nursling. Those who know the use of the term *Straet* in the charters will have little doubt that this *Straet* was a Roman road.

But whither the road went after crossing the Test can only be a matter of the purest conjecture.

In the *Journal of the Archaeological Association* for 1891 this road is described as going along Burgess Street and over Shirley Heath to a ford over the Test near the mill at Nursling. Burgess Street is the *Straet* of the N. Stoneham charter; and it is quite possible that such a road would follow a line which would touch the N. by. of Millbrook where, as has been said, the term *Straet* occurs again. The writer of the paper further says that remains of this road existed in 1834 at Tachbury Mount, not far from Copythorne. Assuming that the Test was really crossed at Nursling, then this would indicate a road running towards Ringwood, and perhaps eventually to Old Sarum. But, if the crossing was at Redbridge, then it would suggest a road to the Roman port on Poole Harbour. But there is this difficulty. If the road led to Poole Harbour, then it would almost certainly cross the Test on the most direct line,

[1] K. 776.
[2] B. 926.
[3] B. 692.
[4] K. 781.

namely at Redbridge rather than at Nursling. That there was an ancient ford at Redbridge is known from its early name *Hreutford*, recorded in Bede.[1] On the other hand, if the road led to Old Sarum, then the ford at Nursling would be the natural route; but a detour by Tachbury becomes in the highest degree unlikely.[2]

The only further clue to the later course of this road is afforded by certain records of the parish of Highcliffe near Christchurch.

In a twelfth-century document relating to Highcliffe is a reference to a road called *La Stret*. A sixteenth-century document of Christchurch mentions a Stratford, almost certainly on the Avon. Just S. of the Lyndhurst road, about ¾m. E. of Purewell, is a field called formerly Street Eight Acres. Of course the term 'street' on the modern map occurs in a very large number of cases where it has no sort of connexion with a Roman road. The modern connotation of the term, a road with houses on either side of it, seems to have come into use in late medieval times. But the use of the term in the twelfth century is far more significant, and almost certainly implies a road of the type of the AS. *Straet*. Any one, too, who is acquainted with English topographical nomenclature will recognise that the name Stratford is very significant indeed.[3]

There is a strong presumption that a Roman road passed through Highcliffe; and, if so, it is practically certain that it was that road from Bitterne of which traces are found in the Saxon charters in the northern outskirts of Southampton. Also there could be no doubt that it led to the port on Poole Harbour which existed in Roman times.

Road 2. The great ridgeway of West Hampshire.

Of this road there is no trace in the charters relating to Hampshire. As a fact it does not traverse any of the lands covered by the charters. Its characteristics as a ridgeway are most marked; and its twisting course is still followed by modern roads. But the name ridgeway as attached to it survives only in one instance, near its S. end in Lymington

[1] *H.E.* iv, 14.

[2] I confess that my experience has led me to treat with caution such evidence as that here cited with regard to the remains of a Roman road at Tachbury Mount. The frequency of such discoveries has been more remarkable than their trustworthiness.

[3] I have not come across any instance of an original use of this name in England except of fords at which some known Roman road crossed a stream.

parish. Generally speaking it is the ridgeway which followed the watershed between the Wiltshire Avon and the Test.

In the parish of Lymington, on the road which runs from Woodside to Pennington, will be found the name 'ridgeway.' This bit of road is the S. end of one of the most remarkable ridgeways in England. From Pennington the ridgeway continues along the modern road to Durns Town, whence it proceeds by the line of a lane to join the high road from lymington to Ringwood. It follows this road as far as Burley Street. Up to this point it has been following the watershed between the Lymington river and the Avon water. From Burley Street it follows the modern road to Picket Post, entering on the watershed between the Lymington river and the Wiltshire Avon. It then follows the modern road to Bratley Plain, and then, still on the modern road, goes N. and later NNE. to a turn in the road a long mile SE. of Fritham. It then proceeds to follow the watershed between the Avon and the Test. From the last point the modern road goes due N. for about 2 miles, but leaves the watershed a little to the W.; and so the old ridgeway must have been just W. of the modern line. From here the ridgeway followed the modern road as far as Redlynch in Wilts; and at Pepperbox on Dean Hill met a ridgeway coming down from the N. (see Roads 28 and 78, pp. 89, 115 above).

Road 3. Ridgeway between the Test and the Itchen.

This was a minor ridgeway. Its southern extremities —for it has two—are easily traceable. The western of its two southern branches ran along the line of the present road from Shirley to Chilworth, on which the name 'ridgeway' still survives near the SE. corner of Lord's Wood. In the North Stoneham charter[1] it is called *Herepath*. N. of Chilworth its course is quite uncertain. No modern road follows the line of watershed towards Winchester; but at the same time there is a general probability that this ridgeway did run up to meet the great ridgeway which crosses the Itchen there. Again, it is possible that a branch crossed the Test at Romsey and joined the ridgeway which runs along Dean Hill (see Road 78, p. 115 above) to join the great ridgeway of West Hampshire (Road 2).

[1] B. 692.

Road 4. The Roman road from Bitterne to Winchester

Iter VII of the Antonine Itinerary includes within it this section of Roman roadway, for it mentions Venta Belgarum, the modern Winchester, and Clausentum, which is almost certainly Bitterne. There are two references to the road in Saxon documents. The *Ad Lapidem* of Bede[1] seems to refer to North Stoneham, and to a Roman milestone at the place. In the North Stoneham charter[2] there is a reference to the road under the name *Straet*. The topography of the charter makes it probable that this piece of the *Straet* was on the line of the straight piece of footpath just S. of Boyatt Farm. The N. part of the road practically coincided with the present Winchester-Southampton road as far as Otterbourne; and further S., in Otterbourne Hill Wood, traces of it survive. Its exact course S. of North Stoneham cannot be determined.

Road 5. Road running ESE. from Swaythling.

This was probably a through track of Saxon origin. In the North Stoneham charter it is referred to as 'the *Herepath* which runs towards *Mannesbrycg*'—the modern Mansbridge. That it went on towards Botley is fairly certain; but the modernisation of the district about West End makes it impossible to determine its course.

Road 6. The Roman road from Bitterne to Chichester.

This is, like the Winchester-Bitterne road, part of Iter VII of the Antonine Itinerary. It ran from *Clausentum* to *Regnum* (Chichester). No visible traces of it are said to survive.[3]

But there can be little doubt that its line was from Bitterne through Fareham to Havant. There is a trace of it in the Havant charter,[4] where the by. is described as crossing a *Straet* at a bridge called *Utelanbricg*, which must have stood where Hermitage Bridge now stands. The main streets of Havant and Bedhampton seem to be on the line of the old Roman road. The nature of the angle which the modern road makes in Bedhampton at the E. corner of the grounds of the house called Belmont is confirmatory of this. It is distinctly a rectilinear angle; but it is not a right angle. Such obtuse angles are peculiarly characteristic of Roman roads, and are not characteristic of any other type of road in this country.

[1] *H.E.* iv, 14.
[2] B. 692.
[3] Codrington, *Roman Roads*, 3d ed. p. 244.
[4] B. 707. K. 1111.

A curious detail with regard to the boundary at this point is mentioned in the charter. It describes it as going 'over the *Straet* 20 *Gierda* (rods)'. As a fact the modern by. of Havant runs for the short distance of 100 yds. along the road to a railway bridge.

Road 7. Road running N. from Havant.

Various tracks, apparently of AS. origin are mentioned in the Havant charter.[1]

A *Herepath* ran along the line of the road now called Rider's Lane, going N. from Stockheath along the W. side of Leigh Park. A little further N. this same road is spoken of as a *Weg*, 'track.' Still further N. it is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' at a point where it is now represented by a track running through the woodland of Blendworth Common. Beyond that it cannot be traced in the charter or the modern map. But it is extremely probable that, inasmuch as it is pointing straight to Horndean, it ran N. from that place along the line of the Portsmouth-Petersfield road. It would seem to have been a through-road of Saxon date.

Road 8. Another road running N. from Havant.

An *East Herepath*, 'east highway,' running parallel to the last road and probably named in reference to it, is mentioned in the Havant charter. It seems to have followed the line of the road called Leigh Road running N. from Havant. At Red Hill this road has evidently been somewhat diverted. But N. of that point it continues N., forming the by. between Idsworth and Blendworth. It is probable that this route was alternative to the *Herepath* of Road 7. It is also probable that it followed the present line of the railway to join the line of the Portsmouth-Petersfield road.

Road 9. A road in Havant.

There was a *Grene Weg*, 'green way,' along the line of South Leigh Road.

Road 10. The reputed Roman road from Winchester to Portchester.

There is no reference to this road in the charters though, if it existed, it must have cut across the lands included in the Curdridge or the Droxford charters

[1] B. 707. K. 1111.

—or of both. On the Ordnance map the agger of the road is marked near Owslebury; but not a trace of it is now apparent. On the whole the former existence of this road must be regarded as not proven.

Road 11. A road in the Isle of Wight.

The charters relating to the Isle of Wight are few; and only in the charter of Bathingbourne, which deals with a very small area, are any roads mentioned.

The *Sandiht Herepath*, 'sandy highway,' was on the line of the road from Shanklin to Godshill. It was probably one of the main tracks of the island. There is no evidence as to the line it took after reaching Godshill.

Road 12. Another road in the Isle of Wight.

The same Bathingbourne charter mentions a *Weg*, 'track,' which ran N. and S., passing just W. of Bobberstone.

Road 13. The Roman road from Winchester to Old Sarum.

This road is not mentioned in the charters. It is crossed by the by. of only one of them, that of Chilcomb; and the peculiar nature of that charter and of its survey is quite sufficient to account for the absence of any mention of the road.

Its course has often been described[1]; and it is no part of the present purpose to cite well-known pre-existing evidence in detail, except where it has a bearing on the evidence of the charters. But in a document relating to the forest of Clarendon in Wiltshire giving the bounds of part of that forest in the reign of Edward III this road is called *Ykeneldestrete*, a most important and, in a sense, startling appearance of the well-known road name applied to a road to which it has not hitherto been attached. Nor can the application in this instance be ascribed to antiquarian invention, for it is against all probability that such an invention would make its appearance in an official document of so early an age.

For the first few miles from Winchester this road is on the line of an earlier ridgeway. For about a couple of miles near Beacon Hill this ridgeway is represented by a modern roadway; but that soon gives out. It must,

[1] See especially Codrington, *Roman Roads*, pp. 245, 246.

however, have crossed the Test near Michelmersh, and have been continued by the well-marked ridgeway on Dean Hill, which is marked by a modern track for a considerable distance, and goes to join the great ridgeway of West Hampshire (see Road 2, p. 148 above and Road 48, p. 98 above).

Road 14. The Winchester-Stockbridge road.

In a charter of Crawley,[1] this road is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' at the point where it passes the grounds of Lainston House. It is therefore probable that the line of road was the course of a highway of Saxon origin.

Road 15. The Roman road from Winchester to Cirencester.

There are a good many references to this road in the charters. In a charter of Easton,[2] near Winchester, which includes lands W. and N. of the Itchen, it is called *Straet* at a point somewhere near to the present L. & S.W.R. station at Winchester; for Fulflood is mentioned in close connexion with it. It is called by the same name in a charter of Headbourne Worthy,[1] at a point not far N. of the last. In the Crawley charter,[3] it is called *Straet* on the by. of that parish. In the great Chilcomb charter,[4] it is called *Herepath* (see Road 27, p. 86 above).

Road 16. *Lunden Weg*, or *Lunden Herepath*.

This road crosses road 15 near the NE. corner of Crawley parish. With the help of the charters and of field-names it is possible to trace it for several miles of its course. It looks as if it was a track which came from Old Sarum and crossed the Test at Stockbridge. For some miles E. of Stockbridge it seems to have followed the course of a ridgeway which ran along the watershed between the Itchen and Micheldever Brook. It begins to be represented by a modern roadway about ½ m. W. of Leckford Down Farm. A short distance E. of the farm it begins to form part of the N. by. of Crawley parish; and it is in the Crawley charter[3] that it is called *Lunden Herepath*. In the TA. it is called *Alresford Way*. It cut across the NE. corner of the parish, still along a line of modern road, and arrived at the Roman road (Road 15). From here to Lunways Inn, on the Roman road from Winchester to Silchester, it fol-

[1] B. 629. K. 1096.
[2] B. 1076. K. 1230.
[3] B. 473. K. 1055.
[4] B. 620.

lowed the N. by. of the Worthy parishes, being represented by a modern trackway as far as the road from Abbot's Worthy to Stoke Charity. From that point it passed just S. of Waller's Ash Tunnel, and along the N. edge of Brent Wood to Lunways Inn. There is no modern road along this part of its line; but in that Easton charter,[1] which includes lands N. of the Itchen, it is called *Lunden Weg* shortly before it reaches the site of the modern inn. Further W., near to the Roman road (Road 15), it appears to be the *Wic Herepath* of a Worthy charter.[2] E. of the inn it went along the road to Candover for ¾ m., for two fields some way E. of the inn are called Lunway, a name which, like that of the inn, is obviously a survival of the name of the old road. It is probable that it then left the modern Candover road and followed the lane which leads from this point by Itchen Common Farm direct to Alresford. It is noticeable that in a sixteenth-century document the road from Alresford to Bighton is called London Way, though it is not, of course, necessarily the case that this has any connection with the Saxon name of the road further west. Still it is almost certain that the Saxon name does mean 'London Way.'

Road 17. Alresford Drove.

E. of Lunways Inn, road 16 coincides with an old road called Alresford Drove. That this road is at least of Saxon date is shown by a reference to *Weg-gelaete*, 'meeting-place of roads,' at the point where it crosses the present road from Winchester to Sutton Scotney. This is in the 'Micheldever,' really Sutton Scotney, charter.[3]

The road certainly came down from the NW., probably from Andover. It appears first in the Tithe awards at the point where it crosses the Stockbridge-Sutton Scotney road about one-third of a mile NE. of the Roman road. It then ran to South Wonston Farm; and then turned due E. along a line of road which runs parallel to the line of the *Lunden Weg*, at a distance of about ¼ m. from it, to meet it at Lunways Inn.

Road 18. A branch road near Sutton Scotney.

A belt of trees runs from the Roman road about ¼ m. S. of the Stockbridge-Sutton Scotney road, and goes with

[1] B. 1076. K. 1030. [2] B. 473. K. 1055. [3] B. 604. K. 1081.

a gradual bend NE. to a point about ¼ m. W. of Sutton Scotney village. It is on the parish by. This belt is on the line of an old local track called the *Mearc Weg*, 'boundary way,' in a charter[1] which, though it has the title Micheldever, really refers to the W. part of Sutton Scotney parish.

Road 19. The Winchester-Sutton Scotney road.

This follows the Roman road for half the distance to Sutton Scotney; but that part of it between the Roman road and the village is on a line of ancient trackway, as is shown by a reference in the above-quoted Micheldever charter to a *Weg-gelaete*, 'meeting-place of roads,' at the point 1 m. N. of the Roman road, where the Alresford Drove (Road 17) crosses the present road.

Road 20. A road in King's Worthy.

In the Easton charter,[2] which includes lands N. of the Itchen, a *Mylen Weg*, 'mill way,' is mentioned. This was probably along the line of the road which now comes down towards the river along the valley which runs up N. from King's Worthy.

Road 21. The Candover valley road.

The road up the Candover valley is called the *Wid Herepath*, 'wide highway,' in the Candover charter[3] at a point close to Chilton Candover. This would suggest that this line of road is a highway of Saxon origin.

Road 22. A track in Candover.

A track called the *Smal Weg*, 'narrow way,' is mentioned in the same Candover charter. It seems to have run S. from road 21 along the line of the present road from Chilton Candover to Alresford.

Road 23. A local road in Alresford.

Along the NW. by. of the parish of Old Alresford a *Mearc Weg*, 'boundary way,' is mentioned in the Alresford charter.[4] Tracks through Upper and Lower Abbotstone Woods mark parts of the line of it.

Road 24. A road in Alresford and Bighton.

In the Bighton charter[5] is mentioned a *Cices Weg*, called in a mediaeval edition of the charter *Kykys Wey*, which is represented in a sixteenth-century document by

[1] B. 604. K. 1081.
[2] B. 1076. K. 1230.
[3] B. 596. K. 332.
[4] B. 398. K. 1039.
[5] B. 1045.

Cokes Lane. This was the field-path, and, later, road which runs through the NE. part of the grounds of Upton House to Bighton.

Road 25. A vanished road in Alresford.

It is quite clear that in former days a road ran S. along the E. by. of Old and New Alresford. In the Alresford charter[1] there is mention of a ford across the N. branch of the river at *Dreigtun*, now represented by Drayton Farm in Bighton. This ford was immediately S. of the SE. corner of the grounds of Upton House. In the Bighton charter[2] it is called *Tornan Forda*, and is the point at which the survey of that charter begins and ends. The meaning of the name is possibly 'Torna's ford.' S. of this, on the S. branch of the river, the Alresford charter mentions a *Wuduforda*, 'ford of the wood.' This crossed the stream about $\frac{1}{4}$ m. above Alresford Pond. The point of crossing is called Furdley ('ford lea') Ditch Corner in a sixteenth-century document. Further S., just S. of the railway, the name Hagsway Field may give the old name of this road.

Road 26. The Winchester-Alresford road N. of the Itchen.

This is called the *Brad Herepath*, 'broad highway,' at a point near Martyr Worthy in the Worthy charter.[3] This suggests a highway of Saxon origin.

Road 27. The Winchester-Alresford road immediately S. of the Itchen.

This road at the present time between Avington and Ovington is little better than a farm road. It went probably to Alresford. But it certainly went also to Bishop's Sutton, for in the Chilcomb charter[4] it is called *Herepath* at the point where it is passing about 1 m. S. of Alresford.

Road 28. A minor ridgeway in Cheriton and West Tisted.

On the N. by. of Cheriton parish a road now called Cheriton Lane runs from Bramdean Lane to Cheriton Wood and then along the N. edge of that wood. It is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Tichborne (really Cheriton) charter.[5] Its further course is well marked. It runs still

[1] B. 358. K. 1039.
[2] B. 1045.
[3] B. 468. K. 1054.
[4] B. 620.
[5] B. 622. K. 1088.

as a road to the S. end of Old Park Wood. Thence the wavy N. by. of Bramdean shows its course along the N. edge of Bramdean Common; for a by. of the type can only be due to its following either a stream or an old track; and there is no stream here. It is then represented by a bridle road through Hatman Wood and on to the lane which runs from Parkside Farm to West Tisted village. This lane is called the *Tun Weg*, 'village way,' in both of the Tisted charters.[1] It then goes on, still as a bridle way, to the road from Ropley to West Tisted; and here either it or the Ropley road is called *Stapol Weg*, 'way of the pole,' in both of the above Tisted charters. There can be little doubt that these ways of Saxon times were along a minor pre-Saxon ridgeway which went along the watershed between Tichborne Brook and the so-called Alre.

Road 29. A local way in Cheriton.

Dark Lane, which runs N. from Hinton Marsh, is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Tichborne (Cheriton) charter.[2]

Road 30. The Roman road from Winchester to Silchester.

This road is always called *Straet* in the charters, namely at a point about 1 m. N. of Abbot's Worthy in the Worthy charter[3]: at Lunways Inn in the Worthy charter[4]: for some distance N. of the Wheatsheaf Inn in the N. Waltham charter, an appendage to the Overton charter.[5]

Road 31. The great ridgeway coming to Winchester from the east.

The part of this ridgeway in Hampshire is only a fraction, and a small fraction, of the whole of it. It is the great ridgeway of the South Downs, extending from the borders of Kent into Wiltshire and even further W. From the Kent border to Winchester at least nineteen-twentieths of its old course are represented by existing roads or tracks.

At its easternmost end it has two branches, a northern one coming from Rye, and a southern one from Hastings. The northern one goes from Rye past Udimore to Mountfield, where it crosses the comparatively low watershed between the Rother and the Brede. A few miles further on, at Netherfield, it is joined by the branch coming up

[1] B. 765, K. 1139, and B. 786, K. 1144.
[2] B. 622. K. 1088.
[3] B. 469. K. 1054.
[4] B. 389. K. 1033.
[5] B. 625. K. 1094.

from Hastings. Except between Mountfield and Netherfield its line is traversed by modern roads.

The southern branch runs from Hastings to Baldslow, and thence to Battle, where it crosses the low watershed between the Brede and the stream which flows past Crowhurst. From Battle it goes to Netherfield. The whole length of it is traversed by modern roads.

From this point the united way passes along the main ridge of the South Downs. It runs first to Woods Corner on a modern road. Here it took a short but decided bend S. to get round the headwaters of the Dudwell, and then bent NW. to Three Cups Corner. The bend is marked by modern roads or lanes. From Three Cups Corner it went to Heathfield station where it crosses the Eastbourne railway. Hence it follows a very irregular line of watershed which is, however, followed by modern roads. Going past Cross in Hand it bends later S. to East Hoathly: then continues S. to the middle of Vert Wood, whence it runs W. and SW. past Ringmer to Lewes, traversing the low watershed between the Ouse and its tributary the Glynde. At Lewes it crosses the Ouse, and then goes along the high ridge of the Downs behind Brighton to Ditchling Beacon. So far a modern track is along its line. A mile W. of the Beacon another track takes up the line as far as the Brighton-London road. Thence several pieces of track mark its line past Piecombe Street to the Devil's Dyke. Hence for over a mile its course is marked by a track; but after that its course for the next few miles is not certain. It either crossed the Adur at Bramber, or, what is perhaps more probable, bent S. to cross it at Old Shoreham, and then ran up the line of the well-marked ridgeway track which runs NW. just N. of Lancing. Hence, save for an interruption of ½ m. just S. of Washington, its course along the ridge of the Downs is followed by a modern track nearly to Amberley station, where it crossed the Arun. From here its course is marked by a track following the comb of the zigzag ridge above Bignor, and further still by a track along the straight line of the Downs to a point S. of Didling. From here to Harting Hill, a matter of about 3 m., no modern track is on its line; but from Harting Hill a track follows it to Sunwood, where it enters Hampshire.

There are certain general features of its course through

Sussex which any one who wishes to understand the ancient road system would do well to notice. The line of the South Downs is herring-boned on its S. but not on its N. side. Along nearly every one of these ridges on the S. side modern roads or tracks mark the lines of branch ridgeways running S. towards the coast. On the N. side, on the other hand, it is possible to trace in the modern roads long stretches of road which mark the line of the old summerway corresponding to the ridgeway; and it is interesting to notice how, when the ridgeway has to make the passage of a river, the summerway bends in to make the passage at the same place. From the passage at Lewes the summerway is well marked for many miles through Offham and Westmeston to Clayton, and further on through Newtimber, Poynings, Fulking and Edburton to Upper Beeding. Here its course is probably marked by the road down the Adur valley to Old Shoreham, and up the other side of the river by the road through Coombes to Steyning. Hence it goes by the direct and higher road to Washington, and so on through Kithurst, and along the high road to Amberley station, where it bends in to cross the Arun at the same point as the ridgeway. Its further course W. is not so clearly marked, but is quite traceable along the modern lines of road as far as Cocking. From here it is clearly marked through Bepton and Didling, and further to Old Ditcham on the Hants border, whence a line of footpath marks it as far as Buriton.

It now remains to trace the course of the ridgeway to Winchester; and in this part of it the evidence of the AS. charters is thickly scattered.

It runs as a green way over Butser Hill, which derives its name from that of its N. slope in AS. times—the *Byrhtes Ora*, 'Bright's hillside,' of one of the Meon charters. Thence it goes, still as a green way, along the comb of the ridge in the S. part of East Meon parish. From a point in the SW. part of East Meon for several miles onward it throws off various branches along ridges running N. from the main ridge. (See Roads 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.)

On the SW. by. of East Meon, at the point where the road or track to Hockham branches off N. from it, it is called *Herestraet*, literally 'army street,' or 'made road,' in the

Chidden charter.[1] About 1½ m. WNW. of this it reaches the great group of barrows on Tegleaze Down. Here it is called *Stract* in the Meon charter,[2] and *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the Meon charter.[3] Just about this point a way running down the Selscombe valley branched off from it (Road 33). About ⅝m. NNW. of this a track going W. along the ridge on which Old Winchester camp stands, and passing through the camp, branched from it. For some distance N. of this last point it is called *Herepath* in the Exton charter,[4] and also in the Meon charter.[2] At Bulshead Copse, just above Peake Wood, the road forks at an acute angle, and the West Meon by. bisects the angle between the forks. In the West Meon charter that by. is described as going 'between the two ways (*Wegas*).' The westerly of these forks is the main ridgeway. It runs down the lane now called Old Winchester Hill Lane as far as the point where it crosses the railway. Here another branch went N. from it, its line being now marked by a belt of trees running down to Sheep Bridge on the Warnford-West Meon road. But the main ridgeway followed the lane to cross the Meon river at Warnford. For 1⅝ m. W. of Warnford its course is uncertain. The modern Winchester road ascends a valley to the top of the ridge; and this may have been the line of a track which formed in ancient times an easier summer route. But it is probable that the real ridgeway went along a line N. of this, following the comb of the ridge W. of Warnford, and striking and taking up the line of the road from Wheely Farm to the main Winchester road. From this point it followed the line of that road for many miles to a point above Chilcomb. This piece of it is called *Herepath* in the Exton charter.[4] Some miles further W. on the boundaries of Avington and Easton, this road is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Avington,[5] and *Portstraet*, 'town road,' in the Easton charter.[6] On reaching the head of the combe in which Chilcomb lies it is probable that the ridgeway went along the comb of the ridge N. of the line of the present road, and crossed the river where the bridge stands at the E. end of Winchester High Street.

The course of the ridgeway within the county W. of Winchester has been already described (Road 13). W. of

[1] B. 976. K. 1192.
[2] B. 689. K. 1107.
[3] B. 1319. K. 597.
[4] B. 758.
[5] B. 1068. K. 1229.
[6] B. 1076. K. 1230.

the county by., in Wiltshire, it was connected with at least three parallel ridgeways running far W. into the west of England, and with others running N. and NW.

Road 32. First branch of road 31.

This leaves the main line at the S. end of Salt Hill, and runs as a branch ridgeway along the ridge of that hill past the hamlet of Hockham, and through Westbury park, at the N. end of which it crosses the Meon river, which is only about a yard wide at that point. N. of the river it continues in two branches, of which later.

At a point on Salt Hill S. of Hockham, it is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Selscombe charter.[1] At Coombe Cross it is called by the same name. Thus far, and to the S. end of the woods of Westbury, a modern lane runs along its line, the N. part of which is little more than a cart track running more or less parallel to Halmaker Lane. Its course through Westbury park is not marked by any modern road; but the charter shows clearly that it ran along the old by. of the tithing of Coombe, which is the *Seolescumb* (modern Selscombe) of AS. times. Thus it went over the summit of Emmet's Down, through the yard of Horsedown Farm, and reached the Meon river about 3 furlongs WNW. of Riplington. In its course over the ridge of Westbury it is called *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway,' in the Meon charter.[2]

N. of the Meon river the road in the time of the charters had developed along two lines, of which the more easterly one was almost certainly the earlier of the two. From the river at the point of crossing there runs at the present day a footpath which goes in a perfectly straight line nearly to Peake Farm, a distance of rather more than a mile. That this is a track of ancient date is shown by the fact that it formed in former days the E. by. of the old tithing of Peake. N. of the farm the old track is continued in another straight line of footpath which runs up to a road running WNW. from the church at Privett, a long mile from the farm. In the Meon charter[2] the S. part of this two miles of footpath is called *Straet*, implying that this continuation of the ridgeway had been 'made' in Romano-British times; and the straightness of the line of it for more than 2 miles shows that the making had included

[1] K. 763. [2] B. 1319. K. 597.

straightening. It is certain that after passing Privett church this track or road went N. to the neighbourhood of Privett station, where it met another line of road which will have to be considered later.

But it is also evident that the ridgeway over the ridge of Westbury developed a second, and probably later, alternative line northwards which ran up the present W. by. of West Meon. The line of the road is still there. It branches off N. from the road from West to East Meon at a point right opposite to Westbury House, and goes N. to Bailey Green. It is probable that it joined near Privett station both the *Straet* just described and also another road or track coming up from West Meon along the line of the modern road which comes up from that village past the George Inn. This route to Bailey Green is called *Herepath* in the Meon charter.[1]

Road 33. Second branch of road 31.

From the main ridgeway a track branched off N. at Tegleaze Down into the deep valley formerly *Seolescumb*, now called Coombe, but still called Selscombe or Sulscombe when the TA. of West Meon was drawn up in the earlier part of the last century. It is still represented by the lane which leads from the ridge of the Down into the valley and passes a little E. of Whitewool Farm. In the Meon charter[2] it is called the *Waeter Weg*, 'water way'; and in the Chidden charter[3] the *Hwit Waeter Weg*, 'white water way.' Its name refers to its chalky surface, and to the fact that it ran down to *Seoles Aewielm*, 'Seal's spring,' the source of the *Seolesburna*, the brook which flows down the Combe.

Road 34. Third branch of road 31.

About $\frac{3}{4}$ m. further NW. along the main ridgeway a track or path led W. through the camp on Old Winchester Hill, the *Eorthburh*, 'earthen camp,' of the Exton charter. The track is described as going through the gate of the camp; and in the camp itself, and for a short distance W. of it, the line of it is marked by an existing track. It is called *Path*, 'path,' in the Exton charter,[4] and is described as 'going on the north side of the barrows,' a reference to the tumuli within the camp area. It ran down the top of the ridge to the Meon river, which it crossed at the ford near

[1] B. 1200. K. 535.
[2] B. 689. K. 1107.
[3] B. 976. K. 1192.
[4] B. 758.

Exton Grange Farm, called *Sceald Ford*, 'shallow ford,' in the Exton charter, and Shawford in the TA. It is very probable that it went up Beacon Hill to join the main ridgeway W. of Warnford—in fact was an alternative route. In this part of its course it is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Exton charter.[1]

Road 35. Fourth branch of road 31.

At a point a short ¼ m. N. of the last branch track the main ridgeway forks when it reaches the S. end of Bullshead Copse. This fork (see Road 31) is indicated in the West Meon charter. The right-hand fork is a branch ridgeway running down the top of a side ridge to cross the Meon river at West Meon. It is represented by the lane which runs down the ridge past West Meon station. It is probable that, after crossing the river, it followed the line of the high road from West Meon past the George Inn and up to Privett station, where it met the other branch ridgeway which runs over Westbury Hill (Road 32). It seems to be referred to at a point close to the station as *Straet* in the Meon charter[2]; but it had probably been joined by then by that *Straet* which, as has already been said (Road 32), went along the line of footpath past Peake Farm and near Privett church.

It is unfortunate that there are not any charters of the lands N. of this point which might give us some clue as to whither these now united branch ridgeways led. But an examination of the map suggests very strongly that the united road went as a ridgeway along the watershed between the Itchen and the Wey via Medstead to join near Lasham a great ridgeway (Road 40) which will be described later as passing along the watershed between the Loddon and the Wey.

Road 36. Fifth branch of road 31.

Where the main ridgeway now crosses the Meon Valley railway it threw off in former days a branch to the right which is called *Herepath* in the West Meon charter.[3] The line, and probably the width of it, is marked by a belt of trees running down from the railway bridge to Sheep Bridge on the road from Warnford to West Meon. N. of the river its line is also marked by

[1] B. 758. [2] B. 377. K. 1031. [3] B. 689. K. 1107.

a belt of trees running up to Lippen Wood along the parish by. Thence it is continued by a cart track also running along the by. to Bere Farm, and further N. by Dark Lane. Whither it went N. of that there is nothing to show.

Road 37. Sixth branch of road 31.

The road which comes up from the S. to join the ridgeway at the Fox and Hounds Inn is called *Weg*, 'track,' in the Chilcomb charter[1]. It is now called Salt Lane. It was probably a Salt Way by which the salt made on the flats of Portsmouth Harbour was sent inland.

Road 38. Seventh branch of road 31.

A mere cart track which goes S. from the ridgeway along the E. side of Dur Wood is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Millbarrow charter.[2] It must have crossed the ridgeway close to the Fox and Hounds Inn. Its course is traceable as far as Lower Upham; and it is then pointing to the head of Southampton Water.

Road 39. The road from Petersfield to Alresford.

This corresponds for the greater part of its length with the Winchester-Petersfield road. That road, shortly after leaving Petersfield, crosses the great ridge of east Hampshire at Bordean, and then runs down a valley for 10 m. to the Itchen at Alresford. It was certain that a track would develop at some time or other along this remarkable valley, because the greater part of it is streamless and dry. This development seems to have come in AS. times. In the Meon charter[3] this road is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' at the point where it crosses the E. by. of West Meon. A little further E. it is also called *Herepath* in the Meon charter.[4]

Road 40. The great ridgeway of north Hampshire and its accompanying summerways.

This great ridgeway extends right across the county from E. to W. It follows first the watershed between the Wey and the Loddon; then that between the latter and the Itchen; then that between the Loddon and the Test; and finally that between the Test and the Kennett. The stretch of it which lies in Hants is only part of it. It can be easily traced as far E. as Canterbury, and W.

[1] B. 620.
[2] B. 1077. K. 1231.
[3] B. 377.
[4] B. 1319.

into Wilts., where it joins a great Wiltshire ridgeway to the S. of Savernake Forest. (See Road 28, p. 87 above).

This old road is so interesting and so important that it may be well to trace it, in so far as it can be traced, from its origin in Kent. In Kent and Surrey it developed into the famous Pilgrims' way, the route taken by those who came from the west of England to worship at the shrine of Thomas-à-Becket. But the route was centuries and centuries older than the saint; and the pilgrims followed a route which was probably as old as the existence of man in this country. We have to bear in mind that when we speak of 'pre-Roman tracks' we are in many cases speaking of roads which existed for an incalculable number of centuries before Rome was even founded.

This ridgeway starts from Canterbury by a road still called on the modern map The Pilgrims' Way. This runs up the N. watershed of the Great Stour as far as Chartham Hatch, and is a remnant of the old ridgeway. From this point for some miles the ridgeway is only represented by patches of modern road; but it must have passed between Upper Ensinge and Selling. At Shottenden its line followed in all probability that of the modern road from that place to Molash; and from there a road runs along its line for 5 m. along the ridge as far as the road from Charing to Faversham. The ridge then runs for many miles towards the Medway valley in the neighbourhood of Rochester; but only detached portions of the old ridgeway survive in the form of modern roads—for instance from Keynton to Warren Street, by Ringleston and Morning Down, and by Cosington Fields and Upper Bell. It is unusual for an important ridgeway to survive in so fragmentary a form, inasmuch as these ways were in common use as packhorse roads and cattle droves less than a century ago. But the exception is not inexplicable. On the S. slope of the ridge there runs the old summerway corresponding to the ridgeway on the top of the hill; and this summerway is part of the old Pilgrims' way. It runs along an almost unbroken line of surviving track or road from Westwell to Kit's Coty House, a distance of many miles. For a summerway this road is unusually high up the ridge slope—so high that it can rarely if ever be crossed by winter streams; and, owing to this, it may

have become the usual line of passage at all times of the year; and thus the ridgeway above it may have fallen into comparative disuse. It is impossible to say where the ridgeway crossed the Medway; but the summerway, the Pilgrims' way, evidently crossed it at Halling. W. of the river the line of ridgeway is taken up by a line of modern road running along the comb of the ridge which runs NE. of Wrotham to a point due N. of that place. The Pilgrims' way follows a summerway S. of, and parallel to it. W. of this point for some miles the ridgeway is not represented by any modern line of road; but the Pilgrims' way continues along the summerway.

Until the valley of the Darent is reached no modern road marks the line of the ridgeway. But the Pilgrims' way goes on to cross the Darent at Otford. For some miles W. of that river the ridgeway is represented by a modern road running through Knockholt. As far as a point due N. of Westerham the Pilgrims' way continues along the summerway; but then it climbs the ridge to the line of the ridgeway till the Caterham valley is reached. It must have crossed that valley on its watershed about 1½ m. S. of Caterham. For about 3 m. W. of that point the combined ridgeway and Pilgrims' way is represented by lanes along the ridge; but the two ways must have parted before the Brighton railway is reached, for the Pilgrims' way runs through Merstham, whereas the ridgeway must have crossed the railway on the watershed about 1 m. N. of this, and have gone on W. past Upper Gaston park. But the Pilgrims' way climbs Reigate Hill, and on the top of it must have rejoined the ridgeway. From here to the crossing of the Mole near Dorking the two ways coincided, being represented at the present day by discontinuous stretches of modern road, of which the longest runs for 2 m. from Pebble Combe to Box Hill. The Mole was crossed at Burford; and from there to Guildford the line of the ridgeway is represented by a continuous stretch of modern road. But the Pilgrims' way seems to have turned down once more to the summerway, for a well accredited piece exists on the S. slope of the ridge about 2 m. before it comes to Guildford. After crossing the Wey at the latter place the ridgeway continues along the ridge of the Hog's Back, the line of a modern

highroad. But on the S. slope of this ridge there still exists the old line of the summerway running through Puttenham and Seale. The two then unite to cross the comparatively low watershed between the Blackwater and the Wey, following the high road to Hale, and so to the top of Hungry Hill. The line then passes along the ridge of Bricksbury Hill in the parish of Aldershot, where the road is called *Straet* in the Crondall charter[1] indicating that the road had been 'made' in this part of it. It now turns SW., and the name Ridgeway Farm occurs on it just before it crosses the Hants border. It now enters on the watershed between the Wey and the Loddon, keeping along the comb of a ridge in the S. of Crondall parish, and forming a large part of the S. by. of that parish. Near the W. corner of Crondall, about ½ m. ESE. of Well, it throws off a summerway, this time on its N. side, the course of which will be described later. The ridgeway continues W., forming the S. by. of Long Sutton. In the Crondall charter above quoted this part of it is called *Sibbes Weg*, 'Sibb's way.' On the modern map it is called the Drove, which points to its having been, what so many of the ridgeways were till within a century of the present time, one of the old 'driftways,' or cattle roads, along which cattle were driven from one part of the country to the other before the days of railways.

From this point to New Inn Copse on the Basingstoke-Alton road it is represented by modern roadway; then, after a gap of about a mile, it is taken up by the road which runs through Ellisfield and Farleigh Wallop, and beyond the latter place, to the line of the Winchester-Basingstoke road. Its line for some miles beyond that road is not represented by any modern track; but the direction in which it is running before crossing the road indicates clearly that it is making for the low watershed between the Loddon and the Test at Church Oakley. On this watershed it must have crossed near Church Oakley that summerway which, as has been said, branches off from it near Well in Long Sutton parish. After crossing this it went NNW. up to the well marked ridge and watershed past North Oakley to the top of the Kingsclere Downs at King John's Hill.

[1] B. 1307. K. 595.

Along these downs for about 4 m. the old ridgeway is marked by a green track until it reaches the break in the hills formed by the valley running S. from Burghclere. It is mentioned several times in the charters in this part of its course. In the Hannington charter[1] a *Byrig Weg*, 'way of the camp,' is mentioned which seems to refer to a road running to the camp 4 m. W. on Ladle Hill, the *Meres Burh*, 'camp of the pond,' of the charters. As the previous landmark in the Hannington charter is *Waecha Hrycg*, the name of which survives in that of Walkridge Farm outside the W. by. of Hannington, this *Byrig Weg* is probably that part of the ridgeway which is represented at the present day by that track which comes up the W. by. of Hannington and goes NW. to White Hill. Somewhat further on, W. of White Hill, on Cannon Heath Down, a 'Clere', (really Ecchinswell), charter speaks of it as the *Hrycgweg*, 'ridgeway'; and $\frac{3}{4}$ m. further on W. as 'the *Herepath* which runs to *Meresbyrig*.' This point is just above the great hollow in the N. slope of the down at Sydmonton park. Hence it ran on to the camp (*Meresburh*) on Ladle Hill. This brought it to the edge of the Burghclere valley. The direct descent from the camp into the valley is very steep; and so, in order to avoid the almost impracticable gradient, the ridgeway turned S. at the camp down the ridge of Ladle Hill to cross the valley at Seven Barrows. Here it turned again northwards towards the ridge of Beacon Hill; but, before reaching that, it sent off an alternative branch to the left at or near where the boundaries of Burghclere, Highclere, and Crux Easton meet at the N. end of Thorndown Plantation. The northerly of the two branches went up the W. slope of Beacon Hill, and must then have turned W. over the top of Sidown Hill to meet the other branch again at *Hyldan Hlaew*, 'Hilda's low or tumulus,' where Three Legged Cross now stands on the Newbury-Andover road. This branch is referred to in the Burghclere charter[2] as the *Herepath*, and also as the *Wic Herepath*, 'highway of the dairy farm.' In the Highclere charter it is simply called the *Weg*, 'track.' The southern branch is more important. In the Crux Easton charter[3] it is

[1] K. 739. [2] B. 787. K. 1145. [3] B. 1080. K. 1235.

called Straet, 'made road,' an indication that it had been to some extent romanised. In the Highclere charter[1] is called *Weg*, and it is so called also in the other Highclere charter.[2] In the other Crux Easton charter,[3] one in which the survey is given partly in Latin and partly in Anglo-Saxon, it is called *Via Publica*.

From Three Legged Cross it runs along the downs of Inkpen Beacon, through the camp on Walbury Hill, to near Oxenwood, about ½ m. beyond which it joins the Roman road from Cirencester to Winchester just at the point where that begins to make its remarkable detour by the Chute Causeway. It was also continued by various Wilts. ridgeways. (See Road 28, p. 87 above.)

Road 41. First branch of road 40. The great summerway.

This, as has been already said, branches off from the ridgeway of road 40 about ½ m. ESE. of Well in the parish of Long Sutton. It runs through Well to the village of Long Sutton where it is called *Straet*, 'made road,' in the Sutton charter.[4] It continued up Hayley Lane, the *Hegleah*, 'hedge lea,' of the Crondall charter. Thence it went up NW., forming for a considerable distance the by. first of South Warnborough and later of Upton Grey parish. Just before it reaches the springs of the large stream which flows through Greywell it is called *Straet* in the Hoddington charter.[5] It had evidently been romanised in this part of its course between Long Sutton and the springs; and its line, though not perfectly, is noticeably straight hereabouts. From Greywell stream it runs almost due W. past Polecat Corner, along the N. side of Hackwood park, leaving Basingstoke about 1½ m. to the N. It crosses the line of the Roman road from Silchester to Winchester about ¾ m. S. of Worting. This part of it is called the Packhorse Way in the TA. of Wootton St. Lawrence, and *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Wootton charter.[6] It crosses the Winchester-Basingstoke railway just S. of its junction with the Salisbury line, and then makes straight for the low watershed between the Loddon and the Test at Church Oakley. On the

[1] B. 105. K. 1170.
[2] B. 1051. K. 1225.
[3] B. 282. K. 180.
[4] K. 622.
[5] K. 783.
[6] K. 673.

watershed it crosses the ridgeway. From this point W. it is continued by the well-known Harroway, but ceases to be of the nature of a summerway. There is no evidence as to the origin of this curious name; but it is plainly an old name which has been rationalised to give it a meaning to modern ears. In the Whitchurch charter a road in the SE. part of Freefolk parish is called *Horoweg*; and the same road is called in other charters *Horgan Weg* and *Horweg*, 'mud way.' This road runs N. to Freefolk village. Though the Harroway is not of course the same road, yet it may have had the same name in AS times.

The Harroway can be traced as far as Weyhill W. of Andover. It runs parallel with and on the N. side of the L. & S.W.R., passing about 1½ m. N. of Whitchurch. It then skirts the N. side of Hurstbourne park. It crosses the Roman road from Cirencester to Winchester about 1 m. NE. of Andover; passes about ½ m. N. of that town; crosses the road from Silchester to Old Sarum about 1 m. NW. of Andover, and then goes on to within 1 m. of Weyhill, where the last traces of the name are found. It is possible that it went on to Amesbury along the line of the present road from Weyhill to that place.

Road 42. A possible alternative course of part of road 40.

The main ridgeway has been described as running direct to Church Oakley after passing through Farleigh Wallop.

But there is a curious reference in a Polehampton charter which suggests that, after passing Farleigh Wallop, it threw off a branch to the left which was probably a short cut to the Harroway. This must have gone along the line of the modern road through Dummer and North Waltham to Overton. The road between the two last places is now called Waltham Lane. In the Polehampton charter[1] this road is called *Straet*, implying that it had been 'made' in some sense or other in Roman times. It is probable that it went just above the springs of the Test to join the Harroway.

Road 43. Summerway N. of the ridgeway of road 40.

It is evident that a summerway of the ridgeway along the Kingsclere Downs ran along the line of the present

[1] K. 752.

road from Kingsclere to Burghclere. In the Ecchinswell (Clere) charter[1] this road is called *Herepath*, 'highway.'

Road 44. A cross road of road 40.

About ¾ m. E. of the camp on Ladle Hill a lane runs up from the road last mentioned along the E. side of a hollow on the N. face of the down to the line of the ridgeway. For the greater part of its length it forms part of the parish by. of Ecchinswell. In the charter[1] of that place it is called the *Holweg*, 'hollow way.'

Road 45.

From the Three Legged Cross at the NW. corner of Crux Easton parish, where *Hythwald* or *Hyldan Hlaew* once stood, there ran a road called in the Clere charter[2] *Hunig Weg*, 'honey way,' and in the Ashmansworth charter[3] *Hunigwielles Weg*, 'the way to the honey spring.' It ran N. along the line of the Newbury road, which is now one of the main roads of the county. But its name implies that it was in AS. times no more than a local track.

Road 46. Local track in Wonston.

In a charter of Cranbourn,[4] a part of Wonston parish, there is a reference to a certain *Tuccinge Weg* which ran along the line of the farm road which goes up to Blind End Farm and forms part of the W. by. of the parish. It was probably no more than a local track.

The ending *-inge* of *Tuccinge* suggests that that term was the pre-Saxon name of some small stream which ran down the valley up which the road goes.

Road 47. Local track in Hunton.

A purely local road called the *Grene Weg*, 'green way,' mentioned in the Hunton charter[5] ran along the present W. by. of Hunton towards the source of the Cranbourn.

Road 48. Local road in Freefolk, etc.

A road called the *Horweg*, 'muddy way,' in the Cranbourn charter[4], and the *Horgan Weg* in the Micheldever portion of the same charter, ran along the line of the road which runs along the E. edge of Freefolk Wood. In the Hunton charter[5] it is simply called *Weg*, 'track'; and in the Whitchurch charter[6] it is called *Horoweg*. The

[1] B. 674. K. 1102.
[2] B. 905. K. 1170.
[3] B. 624. K. 1091.
[4] B. 596. K. 332.
[5] B. 629. K. 1096.
[6] B. 624. K. 1091.

modern line of road leaves the road from Andover to Micheldever station before the Stockbridge-Basingstoke road joins it.

Road 49. The Roman road from Old Sarum to Silchester.

This road is mentioned in various charters.

In the Whitchurch charter[1] it is called *Straet*, 'made road,' at a point near Bradley Wood, E. of the Newbury railway, and N. of Cold Henley it is called by the same name in the same charter. In the Overton charter[2] it is called *Straet* at a point further E.; and there is a reference to a *Straet Leah* 'street lea,' over which it passed, the name of which survives in the Streetley of the modern map.

In the Ecchinswell (Clere) charter[3] it is called *Eald Straet*, 'old street'; and it is mentioned under the name *Straet* in both of the Polehampton charters.[4] (See Road 47, p. 98 above).

Road 50. Road in St. Mary Bourne.

On the W. by. of the parish of St. Mary Bourne a noteworthy old road crosses the Roman road close to the reputed Roman station which is just inside the E. by. of the parish of Andover. Just E. of the site of the station there runs an old dyke called 'the Devil's Ditch'; and the road runs for some distance on the top of it. Hence it is called in the *Stoce* (St. Mary Bourne) charter[5] 'the *Weg* which runs over the Dic.' The road forms the parish by. both here and N. of the Roman road. In the same charter it is called the *Mearc Weg*, 'boundary way,' where it edges Trinley Wood and Hackwood Copse. It runs a long way N. in an irregular course, indicating an ancient track, along the E. sides of Hedges Copse and Doles Wood, where it was probably making its way to join a branch of that ridgeway which is known as Chute Causeway, a branch which would naturally come down the comb of the ridge which stands W. of the Hurstbourne valley.

Road 51. Another road in St. Mary Bourne.

At the other end of St. Mary Bourne parish an

[1] B. 624. K. 1091.
[2] B. 625. K. 1094.
[3] B. 674. K. 1102.
[4] B. 763. K. 1136 and B. 974. K. 1187.
[5] B. 594. K. 1077.

old road leaves the Harroway at Dirty Corner and runs N. up a valley. In the Whitchurch charter[1] it is called 'the *Weg* which runs along the *Daene*,' 'the way which runs along the valley.' It goes up to Bradley Wood; and is probably part of a road mentioned in the *Stoce* charter (V. above) as the *Eald Weg*, 'old track,' and in the same charter again as the *Mearc Weg*, 'boundary way,' the latter name being applied to a piece of road which ran N. along the E. side of Bradley Hill parallel with the line of the present Whitchurch-Newbury road. It is evident that this track joined or crossed the great ridgeway (Road 31) at or near Seven Barrows.

Road 52. A road in Overton.

The Roman road forms the N. by. of the parish of Overton. It will be seen on the map that a road branches off first S. and then SW. from it to a farm called Ridgeway Farm. N. of the Roman road this is continued by a track which runs N. to the ridgeway on Kingsclere Downs. This N. part is called *Herepath*, 'highway,' in the Ecchinswell (Clere) charter.[2] The point where it crosses the Roman road is referred to as the place 'where the *Wegas* lie together,' i.e. 'the place where the roads meet,' in the Polehampton charter.[3] The names Ridgeway Farm and Ridgeway Copse on the part of it S. of the Roman road are of course significant. It was evidently a branch ridgeway running down into the Test valley to a point somewhere near Whitchurch.

Road 53. The Roman road from Silchester to London.

There is not any Hampshire charter referring to lands traversed by the part of this road which lies within the county. But there is a very interesting reference to its line within the county. In the TA. of Heckfield that part of it which runs along the N. side of the park of Stratfield-saye is called the Welsh Lane. But it is evident that this name is not essentially that of the Roman road, but of a ridgeway along the watershed between the Blackwater and Whitewater rivers, a road which is called the Welsh Drive in the Eversley TA.

[1] B. 624. K. 1091.
[2] B. 674. K. 1102.
[3] B. 763. K. 1136.

Road 54. Minor ridgeway between the Blackwater and the Whitewater.

The ridgeway just referred to may be traced along a track coming up from Hartford Bridge Flats, over Eversley Common, and through the woods of Eversley Upper Common as far as Bramshill village, where its 'ridgeway' character ceased.

Road 55. The Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester, with a branch running to Badbury Ring in Dorset.

In the extreme W. of the county the parishes of Martin and South Damerham have in quite recent times been added to Hampshire. Their lands are included in the South Damerham charter.[1] In the survey attached to the charter, a survey which is not in Anglo-Saxon but in Middle English, the Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester is called *Seuenestrete*, the first part of which name appears to be the AS. female name *Sevenna*. This is peculiarly interesting as an addition to those Saxon names of Roman roads which have been hitherto known. It is noticeable that in two other instances (1) *Ichenilde*, the name of the ancient way which runs first under the Berkshire Downs and then under the Chiltern and (2) *Buggilde*, the proper name of the Roman road, mistakenly called Ryknield Street, which runs from the Roman station near Derby S. past Birmingham to join the Foss Way near Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire, the names appear to be also female names.

Road 56. Wilton Way.

In the South Damerham charter[1] there is mention of a road called *Wilteneweie*, 'Wilton Way.' It was a road running to Wilton in Wilts., a road which is still represented by a piece of modern road some eight or nine miles long. The surviving traces of it begin on the S. at the Allen River at a point due E. of the camp known as Soldier's Ring. From there it runs due N. leaving the village of Martin about 1½ m. to the W., and then continues due N. over the ridge of the down to Stratford Tony, where it crosses the River Ebble. It then crosses the Roman road, and proceeds to the top of the ridge N. of

[1] B. 817.

the river. Here the traces of it cease. It is then pointing straight to Wilton.

(For the last two roads see Roads 71, 72, p. 112 above).

Such is the information which the Saxon charters of the county give with regard to the old roads of Hampshire. It is fortunate that the charters are distributed fairly evenly over the whole of the county area, because that renders it probable that they give information of some kind with regard to all the *main* lines of communication within the county. There is no reason to suspect that there is a single great highway of the pre-Saxon period which has not been dealt with in adducing the evidence of the charters.

With regard to the *Herepaths*, usually highways of AS. origin, it is not possible to be so sure; but it may be said with fair confidence that there cannot have been many which do not in some way or other come within the bounds of the present evidence. With regard to local roads of minor importance it may be said with equal confidence that there must have been many of which the charters tell us nothing; for, after all, they cover but a part of the area of the county, and every parish outside that area must have had its local tracks.

IV.

THE SAXON BATTLEFIELDS OF WILTSHIRE.

THE BATTLES AT WODNESBEORH.

A.S. Chron. anno 592. Mention of a great battle at Woddesbeorh (Parker MS. (A)), or Wodnesbeorh (Laud MS. (E)), in which Ceawlin is defeated.

A.S. Chron. anno 715 mentions another battle at the same place [with the same variations of name in the MSS.], between Ine and Ceolred.

Authorities, except Mr. W. H. Stevenson,[1] seem to agree in identifying this place with Wanborough near Swindon.

[1] Mr. W. H. Stevenson, in an article on 'Dr. Guest and the English Conquest of South Britain,' published in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xvii, 1902, took the same view that I have taken in this article, namely, that Wanborough is impossible as

In the charters B. 477-9, K. 1053, the name of Wanborough is spelt Wenbeorh. The charter B. 477 is labelled as if it belonged to both Wanborough and its neighbour Little Hinton; but its survey gives the bounds of Little Hinton only. On the other hand, B. 479 gives the bounds of Wanborough only. In the survey of Little Hinton is mentioned a Wenbeorh, a barrow which has now disappeared. Its approximate position is, however, easily determinable. It stood near the S. end of that parish, well S. of the ridgeway. Nor can there be much doubt that Wanborough derived its name from this barrow. The reputed date of the charter is A.D. 854. Whatever its actual date may be, there is no reason to doubt that the survey is either the original survey, or a good copy of a survey of the Saxon age; in other words, there is no reason to suppose that we have in it other than the actual Saxon name of the barrow.

Ekblom (*Place-names of Wilts.*, Upsala, 1917) says that it is impossible on linguistic grounds to derive the name from an original Wodnesbeorh. This is very troublesome, because the great ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs would be one of the two most natural lines for a Mercian king to choose for the invasion of Wessex. But Ekblom's argument seems insuperable; and Wanborough must be given up as a possible site of the two battles.

But there is a certain charter[1] which records a grant made by King Egbert at the reputed date 825 of 15 hides at a place called Aweltun or Aultun to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, Winchester. Birch identifies the place with Alton in Hampshire; and so does Kemble. As a fact it is a charter of Alton Priors, about 7 m. E. of

Wodnesbeorh, and that Alton Priors was the real site of the battle. But authoritative writers have, since that article appeared, maintained the view that the battle was fought at Wanborough.

I confess that I do not understand why they should have failed to grasp the importance and decisive nature of Mr. Stevenson's argument. On the positive question of the site at Alton Priors I can understand that Mr. Stevenson's evidence might seem inconclusive, because he was only able to give quite general facts with regard to the identification of the charter of Aweltun. But my further investigation of that charter shows that he was right. I have accordingly determined to publish my remarks on the battles at Wodnesbeorh, because I am able to throw further light on this item of the evidence, and also on the confirmation of it afforded by a consideration of the ancient road system of N. Wilts.

It was indeed in the course of writing the preceding account of the ancient road system of Wiltshire as shown by the evidence of the Saxon charters that its connexion with the military history of Saxon times struck me.

[1] B. 390. K. 1035.

Devizes. The survey is one of the most curious of the three hundred AS. surveys with which I have dealt. It is complicated by certain landmarks in the middle of it which are almost certainly the bounds of a detached part of the grant not so far identifiable. In only two other instances have I come across such a feature in a survey. But the earlier landmarks are quite determinable; and the landmark which is of importance for our present purpose happens to come second.

The survey begins as follows:—

'First from the westernmost spring, which is called Broadwell, straight up to the old highway (*Herepath*) to the west of Woden's Barrow (*Wodnes Beorh*).'

The spring is the great spring between the adjoining villages of Alton Priors and Alton Barnes. The old highway is the ridgeway which comes down from the N. to the village. At the present day it runs down just inside the parish boundary; but the wavy line of the boundary, and the fact that it keeps to the comb of the descending ridge, shows that one at least of the old lines of the track down the hill was along this boundary, a few yards W. of the present line. At the top of the hill, about $\frac{3}{4}$ m. N. of the village, this old line of the track passes about 60 yds. W. of a tumulus called Adam's Grave, which is without any reasonable doubt the *Wodnes Beorh* of the charter. It is on the down here that I should place the site of the two battles. Curiously enough it is on the continuation of the Berkshire ridgeway which passes above Wanborough village. Its course already has been described in detail (see Road 14, pp. 78-80 above). From above Wanborough it runs SW. by W., just S. of Chisledon, to Barbury Castle; after which it turns SW. and then S. to cross the upper Kennet at East Kennet; and so on to Alton. Its further course is not shown on the modern map, but is traceable in the charters. It continued due S., passing 200 yds. W. of Woodborough. Thence it went through Wilsford to join a great ridgeway running E. and W. on the downs at the N. end of Salisbury Plain, and probably to a still greater ridgeway which it must have joined somewhere near Ell Barrow, a ridgeway which may be easily traced to Salisbury and beyond, down to Lymington on the Hampshire coast.

The ridgeway on the Berkshire downs must have always

been in Saxon times one of the two easiest lines of advance for a Mercian army invading Wessex. The Saxons made new through tracks (herepaths) in the valleys; but the hard surface of the ridgeways as compared with the mud, mire, and ruts of the valley tracks, rendered the pre-Saxon, pre-Roman, prehistoric highways the real highways of the country in Saxon times, and, too, for many centuries after the Norman conquest. Thousands of miles of modern roads still run along their lines.

ETHANDUN.

The main facts of the story leading up to the battle of Ethandun are given in Asser's *Life of Alfred* as follows:—

In the same year (878) after Easter the king made a fort 'in loco qui dicitur Aethelingaeg':

From that fort as base he with his subjects from Somerset carried on continuous war against the Danes:

In the seventh week after Easter he rode 'ad Petram Aegbryhta, quae est in orientali parte saltus qui dicitur Seluudu, Latine autem sylva magna, Britannice Coit Maur':

There all the men of Somerset and Wilts., and those of Hants who had not fled over sea, met him; and there they camped one night:

Next day, at dawn, he broke camp, and came 'ad locum qui dicitur Aecglea,' and there encamped one night:

Next morning, at dawn, he broke camp, and moved 'ad locum qui dicitur Ethandun':

There the battle took place:

The beaten Danes took refuge in a camp:

After fourteen days they surrendered on terms:

Later Guthrum the Danish king came to Alfred and met him 'prope Aethelingaeg in loco qui dicitur Alre.'

It is evident, as Mr. Stevenson points out, that Asser has used the AS. Chr.; but has added some details of his own. In one very important respect, however, the two accounts differ: the Aecglea of Asser is spelt Iglea in the Chronicle.

The first topographical difficulty which arises is as to

how it came about that Alfred with a base at Athelney was able to make continual war on the Danes. The time was Easter. The Danes had wintered at Chippenham (AS. Chr. anno 878), and after that had harried Wessex. If Athelney is rightly located close to Lyng, 5½ m. SSW. of Bridgwater, then it is very difficult to see how Alfred could get into frequent contact with the Danes, unless the latter were attempting to penetrate SW. into the Devonshire region. It is possible that they were endeavouring to do so in order to get into contact with their kinsmen who, as the Chronicle tells us, were harrying the Devonshire coast at the time.

The position at Athelney was admirable for defence; for, unless a road existed along the line of the present road to Othery, it can only have been approachable from the WSW. along the short ridgeway which passes through Lyng. A road to Othery and beyond would imply the bridging of the Parret, and the making of a causeway across the marshes SW. of Othery, and across the further stretch of marshes between it and Greinton. It is most improbable that any track existed along this line in 878. These Somerset marshes must have been formidable obstacles in Alfred's day. But they would also stand in the way of a direct advance from N. Wilts. to Devon.

It may be said almost with certainty that there were two, and only two, highways from Wilts. to Devon at that time. From NW. Wilts. the Foss Way would be the natural route, provided the bridges were standing or fords negotiable. The other route was a great ridgeway which is represented by modern roads throughout nearly its whole length. Starting in SW. Wilts. it goes due S. by Shaftesbury to a crossing of the Stour at Blandford. It then turns W. along the Dorset heights; passes within a mile S. of Crewkerne, crossing the line of the Foss Way about 3 m. W. of that place. Thence it goes by Chard to the comb of the Blackdown Hills. Assuming, what is possible, that there was a passage of the Tone at or near Taunton, the distance from Athelney to this ridgeway would be 13 miles. Another 13 miles along the ridgeway brings you to the Foss Way.

Mr. Stevenson locates the Petra Aegbryhta at the meeting-place of the three counties of Wilts., Somerset, and Dorset, i.e. between Penselwood and Upper Zeals, about 3½ m. ENE. of Wincanton. I do not see how this

position can be reconciled with Asser's statement that the stone stood on the E. side of Selwood. Still it may fairly be retorted that we do not know the extent of Selwood in AS. times. The post-conquest perambulations of the forest and the present traces would suggest that a stone in that position would be to the S. rather than to the E. of the great wood.

On topographical grounds, which I am going to explain, I should be inclined to conjecture that the stone stood at or near a place called Willoughby Hedge, about ½ m. NNE. of West Knoyle village. It was evidently chosen as a convenient meeting-place for the fyrds of Somerset, Hants, and Wilts. For the men of N. Somerset there would be a natural route to this place, a ridgeway which ran along the watershed between the Bristol Avon basin on the one hand and the basins of the Parret and the Brue on the other. It comes from the Mendip Hills, and enters Wilts. at Druley, about 1 m. NW. of Kilmington. From Druley it ran for 1½ m. not along a line of modern road, but along a line now marked by continuous hedge, and partly by a footpath, to the road ¾ m. due S. of Kilmington village, and then by this road, which is a ridgeway, and is called a British trackway in the map, to Willoughby Hedge. There comes up from the E. to this point a great ridgeway from Salisbury, and ultimately from Hampshire, which would be the natural route for the fyrds from Hampshire and S. Wilts. At the same point it is joined by the ridgeway from Shaftesbury and the Blackdown hills already described, which would be the natural, and probably the only, road for the men of W. Somerset.

We shall now see why Alfred went to Igleah on his way to Ethandun (Edington). I will not quote Stevenson's note on Igleah on p. 270 of his edition of Asser. If he is not right, then I do not see that, on the evidence, any other conjecture is possible. Igleah was evidently on the site of Eastleigh Wood ½ m. SW. of Bishopstrow village. Alfred's line of march to this place is marked on the modern map by a piece of branch ridgeway. From Willoughby Hedge you go along the main ridgeway for 1⅜ m. Close by a tumulus this main ridgeway goes N. for one mile, and then turns NE. At the point where it turns NE. the branch ridgeway leaves it, and goes a little E. of N. along a modern

line of road for $1\frac{5}{8}$ m. to certain tumuli. It is then pointing straight on Eastleigh Wood $2\frac{3}{4}$ m. away; but the modern road turns into the valley to Longbridge Deverill, and the line of the ridgeway is not marked by modern roadway until you get to Long Iver, where the lane thence to Eastleigh Wood is probably on its line. So, no doubt, was the earthwork $\frac{5}{8}$ m. S. of Long Iver. This branch ridgeway, then, must have passed Igleah.

It is probable that it crossed the Upper Wylye at the ford between Bishopstrow and Warminster, and then went by the lane and road by Battlesbury Camp to join on South Down Sleight the great ridgeway which there comes down from Bratton Castle, and runs away ESE. by Bowls Barrow.

I have not discussed the site of Ethandun because I see no reason to differ from those authorities who place it at Edington, i.e. on the down at Bratton Castle. Philology supports this view, while it absolutely refutes those wild conjectures which located the battle at Edington near Hungerford, or Yattendon near Streatley.[1]

ELLANDUN.

A.S. Chron. anno 823: 'The same year Egbert, king of the West Saxons, fought Beornulf, king of the Mercians, at Ellandun; and Egbert was victorious; and great was the slaughter.'

Earle and Plummer in their notes on the text (*Two Saxon Chronicles*, vol. ii, p. 70) say that in Earle's first edition (1865) of the Chronicle, Ellandun is identified with Allington near Amesbury.[2] But they mention a communication of the Rev. C. S. Taylor which runs as follows:— 'It seems unlikely that Beornwulf would be allowed to penetrate so far into Wessex. Wroughton is also called Ellingdon, and lies just at the point where the ridgeway crosses the Ermine Street, the natural point for a West Saxon king to resist an invasion from the north. Close by

[1] I may add a little note on a minor point. Mr. Stevenson mentions an Igleah in Kinwardstone Hundred, Wilts. It is Ram Alley near Burbage, formerly called Eilley. (Mr. O. G. S. Crawford of the Ordnance Survey tells me the name is in the Hundred Rolls.) Also in the Burbage charter (B. 1067, K. 736) there is a reference to an Igfled (for Igfeld) Weg at that point on the Burbage boundary, and in the Bedwyn charter (B. 1213, K. 766) to an Igfeld at the same point.

[2] Oman (*Hist. of England before the Conquest*) adopts this view. But *ibid.* 4th ed. 1919, p. 392, note 3, he adopts Wroughton, and rejects Allington.

is Wanborough, where Ine and Ceolred fought in 715, and where the battle took place which led to Ceawlin's expulsion in 592. A large part of the modern parish of Wroughton is included in the Domesday manor of Elendun.'

The editors appear to accept this identification of Wroughton with the Ellandun of the Chronicle.

But Mr. Taylor's notes present certain difficulties. By the Ermine Street Mr. Taylor seems to mean the Roman road which branches off to Marlborough from the Roman road from Cirencester to Speen at Cottenham Farm, nearly 3 m. due E. of Swindon.[1]

But this Marlborough road crosses the ridgeway about ½ m. SE. of Chisledon village, 3 m. from Wroughton; and therefore the description of the latter as lying just at the point where these roads cross is hardly accurate. Also Mr. Taylor is right in his statement that Wroughton is also called Ellingdon; but the two villages of Overtown and Wroughton both bore, at the times of Domesday, names from which the present name Wroughton is descended.

It might seem, then, that Ellandun was the high down S. of Wroughton village, and S. of Swindon. On general grounds this identification is quite possible. No ridgeway is marked on the modern map as passing along those heights; but the traces of an old ridgeway along them are quite apparent to any one who is acquainted with the peculiarities of ridgeways; and that the large military movements of Saxon times were determined mainly by lines of ridgeway is a fact of which any one who knows the topography of the Saxon period in the evidence of the Chronicle does not require convincing. So the site of the battle near Wroughton is on these general grounds quite possible. It is also in favour of the site that there lies 1 m. W. of Wroughton village the hamlet of Elcombe, a name the first element of which may very possibly be identical with the first element of the name Ellandun.

The Domesday evidence[2] presents great difficulties. There are four estates which modern authorities have ascribed to Wroughton, namely Elendune, 30 hides, the

[1] The application of the name Ermine Street to this particular piece of road is a novelty to me. It is applied to the road to Speen by what is almost certainly an antiquarian fiction.

[2] See *The Wiltshire Domesday*, by Mr. W. H. Jones.

property of Winchester; Elecome, 27 hides, the property of Earl Alberic: Wertune, 10 hides, the property of Humfrey de l'Isle; and Wervetone, 10 hides, the property of Aldred the king's thane. Elcomb must have been the W. part of the parish; and Wertone is said to have been Over Wroughton, i.e. Overtown. So Wervetone must have been Lower Wroughton, i.e. the modern Wroughton. But if we also place Elendune in Wroughton then we have to make the extraordinary assumption that there were 77 hides in a more or less upland parish of 7,115 acres, giving an average of about 92 acres to the hide. When we consider that the similarly situated land-units on this very line of hills in Berkshire average about 250 acres to the hide, the suspicion arises that we cannot attribute all these four Domesday estates to Wroughton. But the difficulty becomes more striking when we take the Domesday survey of the neighbouring manors of the Lydiards. Lydiard Tregoze is reckoned at 7, and Lydiard Millicent at 10 hides. The total ares of these two parishes is 7,768 acres. Thus, if we are to take the 17 hides as representing the whole area of those two parishes, the acreage works out at 457 acres to the hide, or about five times as much as in the neighbouring parish of Wroughton. This seems impossible. The largest acreage per hide in any of the upland parishes of Berkshire is 360; and this is considerably the largest acreage per hide in that county. What seems clear is that some of the land attributed in Mr. Jones' Wiltshire Domesday to Wroughton must belong to the Lydiards. It is plain, as we have seen, that the Elecome, Wertone, and Wervetone estates are in Wroughton. It is then almost certainly the case that the Elendune estate was but partly in Wroughton, and, in so far as it was, in the N. part of that parish.

We must now turn to the Saxon charter of Ellandun.[1] Its reputed date is 956. By it King Edwy grants to his thegn Aelfheah, his kinsman, 30 hides in the place called Aet Ellendune. This is the amount of land at which the Domesday property of the bishop of Winchester in Elendune was assessed; but the Aelfheah to whom the 30 hides were granted cannot be identified with either of the bishops of that name. The extant copy of the charter

[1] B. 948. K. 684.

is one made at Winchester, for it has a peculiar characteristic of the Winchester group of charters, the use of 'ae' where charters emanating from other cartularies employ 'e,' e.g. 'wegaes' for 'weges,' etc. The survey attached to it is certainly of pre-conquest origin. It is now time to examine that survey.

I had noticed in the charter of Ellandun[1] that a certain landmark, Haelnes Thorn, had the same name as a landmark Helnes Thorn, in the charter of Piertean or Perytun.[2] That this latter place was Purton, 3 m. NW. of Swindon, was shown by its being described in the charter itself as being 'ab orientali parte silvae quae appellatur Braden.' The improbability of there being two different landmarks of the name Helnes Thorn is so great that the identity of the two landmarks is practically certain. But unfortunately the survey of Purton presented great difficulties. These are almost certainly due to its having been included in post-conquest times in the Forest of Braydon,[3] which must have meant a great decrease of population, and the obliteration of many of the pre-conquest landmarks, or at any rate the disappearance of their old names. In that charter one landmark runs 'ad aquam quae vocatur Worfe.' There was every temptation to identify the Worfe with the Ray; but the evidence for such a change of name could not be founded on mere conjecture; and the remaining points in the Purton charter afforded no definite assistance. But a few months ago I was looking at a charter[4] which had been a sore trial to me by reason of Birch and Kemble having located it in Hampshire, where I had sought it many times and vainly. It is a charter by which in A.D. 943 King Eadmund grants to a certain Aelfsige 20 hides in a place called 'aet Mordune.' One point in the survey attached to it runs: 'and lang burnan on Wurf,' 'along the bourne on the Wurf.' This made me turn to the Purton neighbourhood, and, to make a long story short, the grant was identified with Moredon in the parish of Rodbourne Cheney, immediately N. of Swindon. Moreover, all the landmarks of this charter are identifiable, because many survive in local names, and it shows that the Wurf

[1] B. 948. K. 1184.

[2] B. 279. 2791. K. 174.

[3] Perambulation of Braydon temp. Edw. III.

[4] B. 788. K. 1146.

is undoubtedly the river Ray.[1] So the Worfe of the Purton charter was identified.

In that charter is the following series of landmarks :—

(*a*) usque ad aquam quae vocatur Worfe :
(*b*) et sic directe per aquam usque la steorte :
(*c*) et ab illo loco usque la Wythie :
(*d*) et ab eodem usque Helnes thorne.

Now this Purton charter excludes Purton Stoke, i.e. the N. part of the parish ; and the boundary must have reached the Worfe (Ray) somewhere close to Blunsdon railway station. It then went S. up the river, and the Steort, ' tongue of land,' must have been in the bend of the river ¼ m. due W. of Moredon ; while the Wythie, ' willow tree,' must have been on or near the brook which comes up from Lydiard Tregoze. It would stand close to Sparcell's Farm. The Helnes Thorn is the next landmark. The survey is passing along the S. boundary of Purton, and Helnes Thorn must have been close to Common Platt. This shows clearly that the N. part of the land known in Saxon times as Ellandun touched Purton at this point, i.e. extended considerably N. of the N. boundary of the present Wroughton. It must therefore have included parts at least of the modern parishes of Lydiard Tregoze and Lydiard Millicent ; but, judging from the fact that two estates of 7 and 10 hides are entered in Domesday under the name of the two Lydiards, it cannot have included all of those parishes if, as seems almost certain, the 30 hides of the Elendune of Domesday are identical with the 30 hides of the Ellandun of the Saxon charter.

With the exception of Helnes Thorn and a ' broc,' ' brook,' which comes next among the landmarks of the Ellandun charter, the landmarks of that survey are not determinable. The ' broc ' is probably the upper part of the Ray just W. of Swindon. But the combined evidence of Domesday and the charter shows pretty clearly that it included the eastern parts of the two Lydiards and the N. part of Wroughton. Probably its southern line was

[1] I happened to mention this identification the other day to Dr. Henry Bradley, and, though he was not aware of this particular instance of a change of name, he told me that he had noticed the same phenomenon in other instances of the river name Ray, and that that name was simply a modern form of ' aet thaere ea,' ' at the river,' or ' the river,' an expression which would naturally be used in many localities of an important stream in the district.

more or less along the line of the present Berks. and Wilts. Canal. One thing is certain, that, save in the neighbourhood of Helnes Thorn, its bounds did not coincide with boundaries existing at the present time. That accounts partly for the disappearance of the landmarks. The perambulation of the Forest of Braydon of the time of Edward shows that the bounds of that forest did not follow those of the modern Lydiards, but ran from the Purton boundary W. of Swindon SW. down the brook which flows through Lydiard Tregoze; and, as the other limits of the forest shown in the perambulation, in so far as they can be traced, coincide with manorial boundaries, it looks as if the present boundaries of the Lydiards were of quite modern date.

But though the evidence does not supply us with the exact limits of this Ellandun land, yet it does show us that the area was *not* on the high down S. of Wroughton, but on the slope of the down W. of Swindon; and that this latter down is the Ellandun of the battle.

This area is traversed by two ridgeways. The first of these is the ridgeway from Malmesbury to Swindon, which ran along the modern high road through Brinkworth. In this particular area it passes Coped Hall, Spittleborough Farm, and is traceable as far as Mannington. It is not called 'Ridgeway' on the modern map, but a ridgeway it is all the same. At Mannington it must have crossed the Ray, and then have joined up with the Roman road from Cirencester, and probably too with the Icknield Way and also the ridgeway of the Berkshire Downs. But it is probably the other of the two ridgeways which had most to do with the battle.

Near Common Platt, in the SE. corner of Purton parish, the six-inch Ordnance map marks a Ridgeway Farm, and the Tithe Award of Purton mentions a Ridgeway Mead. The ridgeway, i.e. watershed way, runs by Common Platt, through Lydiard Millicent, to Lydiard Green in a WSW. direction. At Lydiard Green it turns S. by Hook to Coped Hall, where it crosses the other ridgeway. It then goes SSW. to Wootton Bassett, where it crossed the headwaters of Brinkworth brook. S. of this it ran along the watershed by Greenhill Common, Greenhill Farm, and Bushton to Clyffe Pypard, and then up to the down, where it met a line of ridgeway coming from the NE.

From this point there is a line of ridgeway to Salisbury. Modern roadways have been made along the whole of its course from Purton to Clyffe Pypard.

To return to its N. end. It seems to have crossed the Ray (Worfe) ¼ m. W. of Moredon, and was then connected with the Roman road from Cricklade by a way called in the Moredon charter the Brad Weg, 'broad way,' which followed the modern line of road from Moredon through Upper Stratton to Kingsdown, where it met the Roman way.

It is probable that Beornwulf in his invasion of Mercia followed the line of the Roman road from Cirencester to Cricklade, where it and he crossed the Thames. (For passage of the Thames at Cricklade see AS. Chr. anno 905, and anno 1016.) Passing down the Roman way to Kingsdown, he then turned W. to this ridgeway over Ellandun, which would lead him into the heart of Wessex.

Here Egbert, who had come up from Cornwall, met him, having come up from the S. along the same ridgeway. Then, as Henry of Huntingdon says, 'Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, faetore tabuit.'[1] The 'rivus' must be either the Ray, or the brook from Lydiard Tregoze.

THE BATTLE OF BERANBURH.

AS. Chr. anno 556, records a battle between Cynric and Ceawlin and the Britons 'aet Beranbyrig.'

All authorities have identified that place with Barbury Camp about 5 miles NNW. of Marlborough. Nor is there any reason to doubt this identification. But something may be said about the significance of the position.

The camp is on the continuation of the great Berkshire ridgeway which has been described in relation to Wodnesbeorh. Thus at least four[2] great battles of Saxon history were fought on this track, namely this one, the two at Wodnesbeorh, and the great fight of Aescesdun. But Barbury Camp is at the meeting-place of two ridgeways, the one just mentioned, and another which actually passes through the camp. It comes from the NNW. near Salthrop,

[1] Quoted by Oman, *History of England before the Conquest*, 4th ed. p. 392. In his 1st ed. he puts Ellandun at Allington near Amesbury. But the old forms of that name (see Ekblom, *Pl. N. Wilts.*) all point to its having ended in -tun not -dun.

[2] Probably five. See notes on Cynete.

where it joins a ridgeway giving communication with that ridgeway which has been described in relation to Ellandun. Its line SSE. from near Salthrop is down the modern road which passes ¼ m. W. of Rectory Farm. After passing through the camp at Barbury it runs SSE. along a line of modern road to Marlborough, passing Fourmile Clump and Old Eagle, and having various tumuli and earthworks on its line. There it crossed the Kennet, and went S. to Burbage, where it would meet the great ridgeway going E. over Inkpen Beacon, and so over almost continuous lines of modern road to Canterbury, and another running S., which leaves Salisbury just to the W. and goes down to Lymington, communicating at Salisbury with various other ridgeways running W. and WSW.

THE CAMPAIGN OF A.D. 871.

This campaign took place mainly outside Wiltshire; but the operations are so intimately connected with the ancient road system of Wiltshire that it may be included in the series.

The details may, of course, be read in full in either the AS. Chr. or in Asser's *Life of Alfred*. All that will be given here are the facts relevant to the present discussion.

The Danish army left the land of the East Saxons and came to Reading with intent to harry Wessex. On the third day after their arrival part of their army went out on a raiding expedition whilst the rest constructed a vallum between the Thames and the Kennet on the S. side of the town. The raiding party were met by Aethelwulf, the ealdorman of Berkshire 'in loco, qui dicitur Englafeld (Anglice, Latine Anglorum Campus).' Here the Danes were defeated, and one of their leaders slain. (Asser, ch. 35.)

That Englafeld is Englefield, all authorities agree. But it was not, I think, due to mere chance that the battle took place there. Englefield stands on a ridgeway which approaches Reading from the W.; and the existence of this ridgeway had probably a good deal to do with the original occupation of the site of the villa regia, as Asser calls Reading. The course of this ridgeway has already been traced in the account of the Berkshire tracks (see Road 44, p. 137 above).

It is probable that both sides were using this road when they met at Englefield.

Asser goes on to say (ch. 36) that four days later King Aethelred and his brother Aelfred, having united their forces, approached Reading, outside which place the Danes defeated them.

It may be taken as almost certain that Alfred and his brother came along the ridgeway described above.

There follows then the account of the battle of Aescesdun. This took place four days after the Reading battle; therefore the place cannot have been very far away. The identification of Aescesdun with the line of the Downs in Berkshire is on the whole satisfactorily supported by ancient and modern nomenclature,[1] and need not be repeated here. In this case again the ridgeway with which we have been dealing, and also the great Berkshire ridgeway along the downs, determined the operations.

[1] See note in Stevenson's *Asser*, p. 254. With Mr. Stevenson's topography I agree, so far as it goes. With his interpretation of the name I should be inclined to differ for reasons which it would take too long to state here. Suffice it to say that I would be inclined to argue from the usage of the charters that Aescesdun might mean a down named originally from the presence of a single prominent ash-tree, whereas Aescdun would mean a down characterised by the presence on it of that species of tree.

I therefore think that Asser knew what he was talking about when he said (ch. 37) 'Aescesdun, quod Latine "mons fraxini" interpretatur.'

As to the site of the battle I quite admit that the topographical evidence is inconclusive. I also admit that to put it at Ashdown Park on the ground that a small camp near the park bears the name Alfred's Camp would be equivalent to founding one's topography for the year 871 on an antiquarian figment of about nine hundred years later. But there is other possible evidence at Ashdown park of which both Mr. Stevenson and the author of this theory are unaware.

Ashbury park lies in a broad and more or less flat-bottomed valley on the S. side of the ridge of the Downs, the S. part of the park, with which, as I shall show, we are now concerned, being 2 m. S. of the line of the ridgeway, and 200 ft. below the level of it. The so-called Alfred's Castle is an insignificant little earthwork, about 130 yds. in diameter, of more or less circular shape. It is referred to in an Uffington charter (B. 687, K. 1129) as Dunen Byrig (in the oblique case), i.e. Dun Burh, 'camp of the down.' If I may make a guess I should say that it is probably like the similar little earthwork at Lowbury on the down above Aston Tirrold, 17 m. E. of this, which the Reading University College excavated, a site of late Romano-British date. It is most improbable that it is of military origin.

But there is a much bigger earthwork in the valley, and right in the bottom of it, the last place in which you would expect to find a camp of the Celto-Roman times. Its enceinte is so nearly complete that its exact area is quite certain. It just included the house of Lord Craven and the whole of the great wood to the S. of it, called Upper Wood. Near its SE. corner it throws a small irregular angle some way up the slope of the hill on that side of the valley. The enceinte is not, and obviously never has been, anything at all resembling the impressive banks and ditches which we find round the camps of the downs. The bank can never have been more than a few feet high, and the ditch never more than a few feet deep. Its shape is a rectangle with rounded corners, the N. side being about 682 yds. long; the E. side 1,056 yds.; the S. side 836 yds.; and the W. side 924 yds. long. The area is about 130 acres. The insignificant nature of the enceinte suggests strongly a work put up for the occasion, and not for permanent use. It is referred to several times in the

Apparently such of the defeated Danes as escaped fled along the ridgeways to Reading, which seems to be the 'arx' of Asser (ch. 39).

There was then, says Asser, an interval of fourteen days. Then the king, Aethelred, and his brother Aelfred united their forces, marching to 'Basengas,' Basing near Basingstoke, and there engaged and were defeated by the Danes. Why the Danes were in that part Asser does not say; nor does he tell us whether these were the Danes from the 'arx' at Reading. It is, however, hardly likely that the latter would be in a position to defeat the Saxon forces within a fortnight after Aescesdun; and it is probable that this was a new force of Danes which had come up from the east along the great ridgeway (see Road 40, p. 164 above) which comes up all the way from Canterbury, enters Hampshire near Farnham, and then may be traced in Hampshire charters to its passage of the low watershed between the Loddon and the Test, just W. of Basingstoke, after passing within 1½ m. S. of that town. Thence it goes along the Kingsclere Downs and by Inkpen Beacon to the great ancient road centre near Burbage in Wiltshire (see Road 28, p. 87 above). Along this western part Alfred and his brother must have marched to Basing, possibly with the intention of preventing this army of Danes getting round the Loddon valley, and making their way along the Roman road, and, later, the watershed road which would lead them to their friends at Reading.

In chapter 41 Asser lets us see that all these operations had taken place before Easter of that year 871. Any one who has seen the unmade tracks of a primitive country will understand why the operations were determined by the

charters. In former days Ashbury did not include Idstone, and the Ashbury boundary ran clean through this camp. The South Gate of Aescesburh, which is this camp, is referred to in the Ashbury charter (B. 899, K. 1168) of A.D. 953; and in the Uffington charter (B. 687, K. 1129) of A.D. 931 the boundary is described as running in at 'Aescesbyries' south gate and out at the north gate. It was in fact this camp which gave its name to the modern village of Ashbury, 3 m. away on the other side of the ridge of the down. Bearing in mind the unusual position of this camp in a valley, which may almost certainly be taken to imply an origin different from the camps on the hills and ridges of this country; bearing, too, in mind that its comparatively feeble enceinte implies temporary rather than permanent use, it seems just possible that this is a structure raised originally by the Saxon army which fought at Aescesdun. Moreover, the position is in agreement with one of the few substantial details in Asser's account: '. . . quod ille locus certaminis belligerantibus inaequalis erat; nam pagani editiorem locum praeoccupaverant, Christiani ab inferiori loco aciem dirigebant.'

comparatively firm lines of advance afforded by the hard surface of the streamless ridges.

After this, as Asser says, the Danes received reinforcements from overseas (ch. 40). Just after Easter Aethelred died, and Aelfred succeeded to the kingdom.

But the AS. Chr. mentions a battle at a place called Meretun[1] or Maeredun[2] as having taken place before Aethelred's death. Earle and Plummer in their edition of the Chronicle suggest Marden near Devizes as the site of the battle. They also mention that some one has suggested that Merton near Bicester, Oxon., was where the battle was fought. The latter suggestion is not worth considering.

As regards Marden Ekblom (*Place-names of Wilts.*) speaks very positively. He says the termination was 'denu,' valley or dean, which is undoubtedly right. But he goes on to say, 'the first element obviously contained the subst. "mearh," "horse."' What he does not know, however, is that the stream valley within 200 yds. NW. of the village is called Mercdenu, 'boundary dean,' in the 'Stoke' (Beechingstoke) charter,[3] which accounts for the Mergdena form of the name Marden which dates from 1167. That Mearcdenu, possibly with a variant Maeredenu, was the original name there seems, *pace* Ekblom, to be no doubt.

On topographical grounds Marden would be a likely place for the battles, for it is within ¾ m. W. of that continuation of the great Berkshire ridgeway of which we have had occasion to speak in connexion with the battles at Wodnesbeorh.[4] But no old forms of the name suggest that 'Marden' ever had the term 'tun' in its composition; and its situation forbids the supposition that it can ever have been called Maeredun, though there are quite numerous instances of variation between 'denu' and 'dun' in the same place-name. But these occur where 'deans' and 'downs' are both in the same neighbourhood. Moreover the old forms of the name, of which Ekblom has collected seventeen ranging from 940 to 1428, are absolutely consistent in giving 'denu' as the second element of the name. The suggestion of Earle and Plummer seems therefore impossible.

Of the two forms given in the MSS. of the AS. Chr.

[1] Parker MS.
[2] Laud MS.
[3] B. 769. K. 390.
[4] See p. 176.

Meretun seems to be the more probable as coming in the better of the two MSS.

Now Mereton, 'farm or village of the pond,'[1] or, as Ekblom would have it, Maeretun, 'farm or village of the boundary,' was the old name of Marten, a village 8½ m. SE. of Marlborough, standing on the actual line of the Roman road from Cunetio, near Marlborough to Winchester, but also, what is more important, within ½ m. of the great Inkpen ridgeway which comes up from Basingstoke. Moreover, the continuation of that ridgeway W., the exact line of which we cannot pick up on modern roads till we reach a point near Leigh Hill, 2 m. NNW. of Burbage, and 5 m. from Marten, must have passed through Marden itself.[5] Furthermore, this ridgeway had a branch which ran S. to Salisbury and beyond. On the whole the evidence is strongly in favour of the identity of Marten with the Meretun of the AS. Chr. It would be on what would almost of necessity be the line of retreat of the Saxon army after the defeat at Basing. At Meretun the Saxons were defeated.

WILTUN.

The last battle of the campaign of 871 is described by Asser as having taken place 'in monte, qui dicitur Wiltun, qui est in meridiana ripa fluminis Guilou, de quo flumine tota illa paga nominatur . . .' (ch. 42). Guilou, is of course, the Celtic name of the River Wylye.

The natural line of retreat of the Saxons from Meretun would be along the ridgeway S. to Salisbury. It seems from Asser's account that the battle took place on the high ground S. of the present town of Wilton. It was fought no doubt with a view to prevent the Danes from passing further W. or SW. We should not, I think be far wrong in locating the battlefield either just W. or just SW. of

[1] Parker MS.

[2] The disappearance of the line of an old ridgeway from the modern map is a very common, though not universal, phenomenon when it enters the region of a post-conquest forest. I have called attention to this, and given various instances in the case of the ancient highways of Wiltshire. In this instance the forest is, of course, that of Savernake, which we know from perambulations to have extended well S. of the line taken by this lost piece of road.

Exactly the same phenomenon is apparent in the S. extension of the ridgeway mentioned above. Its track is broken in the region of Chute forest, and again when it enters within the limits of the forest of Clarendon.

Netherhampton, for in that position the Saxon army would cover three important tracks or roads, the great ridgeway through Graveling (Grovely) Forest, the great ridgeway between the Nadder and the Ebble, and the Roman road to Dorchester.

CYNETE.

The AS. Chr. anno 1006, records a defeat of the Danes 'aet Cynetan.' As Earle and Plummer say, this may be the river Kennet; but, as it is stated to have been the gathering place of the Saxon army, it is on the whole more probable that it was some definite place. They mention a conjecture of Earle's that it was Kintbury, the Cynetan Burh of the will of the thegn Wulfgar.[1] As Ashmansworth, Buttermere, Inkpen, and Ham, all of them in the immediate neighbourhood of Kintbury, are mentioned in the same will, the identification of Cynetan Burh with Kintbury is almost certain. But had it been the place of the gathering of the army one would have expected it to be spoken of as Cynetan Burh, and not as Cynete. The Danes were at Cwichelmes Hlaew at the time, i.e. at Scutchamfly Barrow on the ridgeway above Hendred. They had marched thither from Wallingford, almost certainly by the ridgeway now represented by the main road from Wallingford to Wantage as far as the outskirts of Harwell. Kintbury is 12 m. SSW. of Cwichelmes Hlaew; and the shortness of the distance suggests Kintbury as the site of the battle. But there are other considerations which render this improbable. The armies of those days did not like cross-country journeys over streams and rivers. It was not so much the stream which was the obstacle, but the deep ground in its neighbourhood, exactly the kind of ground which the ridgeways scrupulously avoided. Any one who knows the Kennet valley knows that that stream has more or less broad stretches of water-sodden ground on either side of it; in fact it must in Saxon times have presented greater difficulties of passage than many streams of larger size. It is indeed most improbable that the Danes could have made their way direct from Cwichelmes Hlaew to Kintbury.

[1] B. 678. K. 353.

But why should not Cynete be East Kennet, $4\frac{3}{4}$ m. W. of Marlborough, where the great ridgeway from Cwichelmes Hlaew crosses the Kennet ? A charter of Overton[1] includes it within its bounds, and the grant is described as ' X mansas ubi a rurigenis Cynetan appellatur.' Another charter of the same place speaks of the grant being ' aet Cynetan ' and ' aet Uferan tun.'[2] I fancy this is the Cynete of the AS. Chr., i.e. that the battle took place where the great ridgeway crossed the river, that ridgeway we have described in relation to the battles at Wodnesbeorh. This battle at Cynete must have, in fact, been fought little more than a mile from the site of those battles.

[1] B. 1285. K. 571.

[2] B. 734. K. 1120.