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HE charters numbered 491, 796, 899, 902 1 and 1055 in Birch's Cartularium Saxonicum have been considered by previous authors1 to refer to Ashbury, on the western border of Berkshire. Careful study of the evidence makes it clear, however, that the *Æscesbyrig* of these charters is not Ashbury, but the earthwork now known as Uffington Castle, rather more than two miles to the north-east. This error of identification has led to a serious misunderstanding of the charter boundaries for this part of Berkshire, and the main purpose of this article is to set out the historical and topographical reasons for identifying *Escesbyrig* with Uffington Castle, and to provide some topographical and linguistic notes on various sets of boundaries which relate to Uffington and the adjacent parish of Woolstone.

THE CHARTERS WHICH DISPOSE OF LAND AT ÆSCESBYRIG

BCS 491 is a grant of 20 hides at *Escesbyrig* by King Athelwulf to Aldred, dated 856. The bounds are headed *Dis synd pæra. xx. hida gæ mæro æt Æscesbyrig*, and they describe the western half of the modern parish of Woolstone.

BCS 796 is a grant of 20 hides at *Escesbyrig* by King Eadmund to Wulfric, dated 944. The bounds are headed *Dis syndan pæs landes ge mæro Æt Ascesbyrig*, and they describe the same land as BCS 491, i.e. the western half of Woolstone.

BCS 902 is a grant of 20 hides at *Æscesbyrig* by King Eadred to Wulfric, dated c.955. The bounds are headed *Dis synd pa lang ge mæro to æscesbyrig*, and they describe the eastern half of Woolstone.

The two sets of bounds belonging to these

¹ W. W. Skeat, The Place-Names of Berkshire (Oxford 1911), 19-20; F. M. Stenton, The Place-Names of Berkshire (Reading 1911), 45; E. Ekwall, three charters have one boundary in common, which proves that they delineate two adjacent estates. BCS 491 has a boundary which corresponds to a stretch of the bounds of Hardwell (in BCS 601), and BCS 902 has one which corresponds to those of Uffington (in BCS 687). Hardwell adjoins Woolstone on the west, and Uffington adjoins it on the east. There is no doubt, therefore, that BCS 491 and 796 refer to the western half, and BCS 902 refers to the eastern half, of the modern parish of Woolstone. The assessment of these two estates at 20 hides each seems very high. In 1086 the Bishop of Winchester held Woolstone (presumably both estates, since charters 491 and 902 are preserved in the Codex Wintoniensis) and it was assessed at 10 hides, but said to have been 20 hides T.R.E.

BCS 1055 is a restoration by King Eadgar to Wulfric of forfeited lands in various places, one of which is *Escesburuh*, dated 960. There are no bounds, but this is obviously Wulfric's estate at Woolstone, the two halves of which he acquired by charters 796 and 902, discussed above. An important consequence of the correct identification of these charters is that it now becomes clear that Woolstone, which means 'Wulfric's farm', takes its name from this wealthy landowner of the mid-tenth century, whose career is discussed by F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 480–1, and D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, pp. 115–6.

BCS 899 is a grant of 33 hides at *Æscesburh* to Ælfsige and his wife by King Eadred, dated 953. The bounds describe the same area as those of BCS 687, which records the grant of the village of Uffington to Abingdon by Æthelstan 'Half King', a grant which may be

The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names; G. B. Grundy, Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal, 27 (1922), 151 ff.

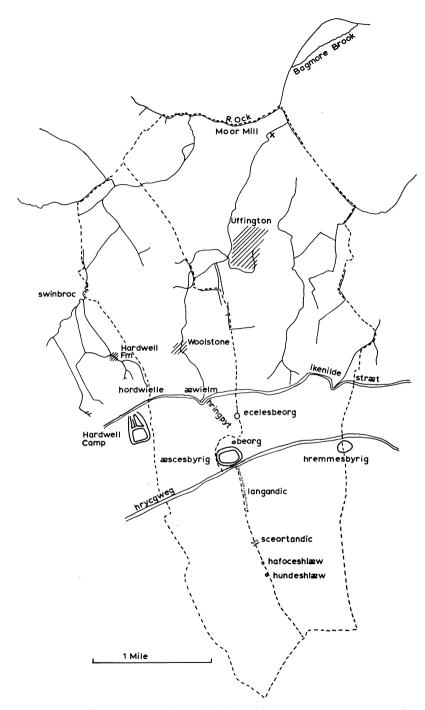


Fig. 1. Æscesbyrig (Woolstone and Uffington)

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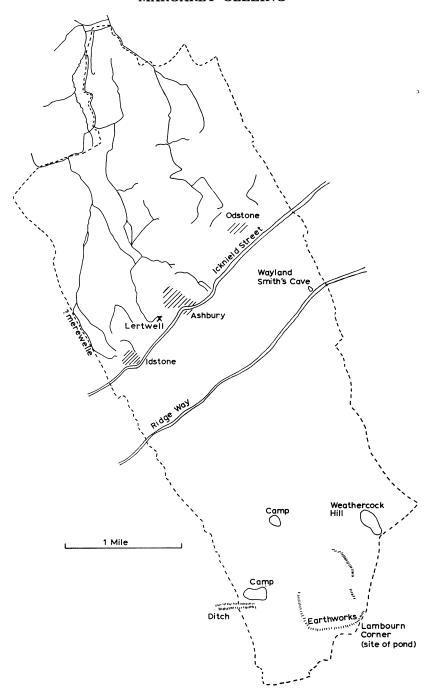


Fig. 2. Ashbury

dated c.931, although the record of it in BCS 687 was composed after the event (Stenton, The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon, Reading, 1913, p. 35). This later composition accounts for the occurrence of the name Uffington in the record, although the estate was still known as *Escesburh* in 953. It is not clear why the land was available to be the subject of a royal grant in 953, after it had been given to Abingdon in c.931, but Abingdon held the manor of Uffington in 1086, when it was assessed at 14 hides (cf. the drastic reduction in the hidage of Woolstone discussed above), and both grants are recorded in the Abingdon cartularies.

It thus appears that the name *Æscesbyrig* or *Æscesburh* was used until c.955 of estates now represented by the parishes of Uffington and Woolstone. The bounds of these estates (discussed below) make it clear that *Æscesbyrig* was the camp on White Horse Hill, now known as Uffington Castle, and that the boundary between Uffington and Woolstone, which now makes a detour round the camp, ran through the middle of it in the tenth century. The name means 'Æsc's fort', and the earthwork is probably to be named from a man whose local prominence caused the whole line of the Downs to be known as *Æscesdun*.

THE BOUNDS OF WEST WOOLSTONE IN BCS 491

Text

Ærest on þonæ garan suþæweardnæ. Đonnæ and lang wægæs oð þonæ mægen stan. þa non uuon hlinc. And lang hlincæs oð loddæræs sæccinge. andlang hlincæs oð þonæ brystæ del. þanon and lang fyrh ænnæ æcer to þam hlincæ. ðanon on ða heafda on hrycwæg. of hrycwæge on þonæ þorn styb. þanon on hordwyllæ on þonæ ealdan hord wyllæs wæg. and lang þæs ealdan wægæs. on hrysc slædes bygæ. and lang riðæ on swynbroc. And lang brocæs on beahhildæ byrigels. þonon on þonæ ealdan wæg. and lang wægæs on þonæ garan norðæ wearðnæ. Þonon east and lang wæges on hnottan mæræ norþæ weardnæ. þanon on ða dic. and lang dic on þæt on bulan mædæ norþæ weardæ. þonon on

þa brembæl hyrnan. of þæræ hyrnan on stan mæræ. Þonon to þan æþænan byrigelsæ on æoccænen upp and lang stremæs on þonæ æwulm. Þonon on wæardæs bæorh. of þam bæorgæ on hrung putt. Þonon on þa æaldan hola. of ðam holum æft on þonæ garan suþæ wæardnæ. Þonnæ þæt on tættucan stan. of þam stanæ on þa æaldan dic. ðær hit ær onfæng.

Translation

First to the south part of the gore¹; then along the way to the great stone; then to the crooked lynchet2; along the lynchet to the beggar's pallet; along the lynchet to the brystæ pit³; thence along the furrow one acre to the lynchet; thence to the headland to the Ridgeway; from the Ridgeway to the thorn stump; thence to Hardwell⁴ to the old Hardwell way; along the old way to the bend of the rushvalley; along the stream to swine-brook; along the brook to Beaghild's burial-place; thence to the old way; along the way to the north part of the gore; thence east along the way to the north part of the pool cleared of bushes⁵; thence to the ditch: along the ditch to the north part of Bula's mead⁶; thence to the bramble-corner; from the corner to stone-pool⁷; thence to the heathen burials to the Ock; up along the stream to its source8; thence to Weard's barrow; from the barrow to ring-pit9; thence to the old hollows; from the hollows again to the south part of the gore; then to Tættuca's stone¹⁰; from the stone to the old ditch where it formerly began¹¹.

¹ The bounds start in the south of Woolstone parish.
² hlinc in these bounds, and in those of adjacent

³ There is a large hollow, presumably artificial, and marked on the 6 in. maps as 'old chalk pit', at approximately the right spot on the west boundary of Woolstone. It is of indeterminate date, but could be the feature referred to in the charter.

⁴ This is the spring from which Hardwell is named. The 2½ in. map shows a number of springs, one of them almost touching the parish boundary, the streams from which unite to flow through Hardwell

hlinc in these bounds, and in those of adjacent places, may refer to strip lynchets, which are common in the south of these parishes. There is no trace of ridge and furrow in the area, though it is common a short distance to the north, on both sides of the Ridgeway.

Farm. A number of the boundary marks from this to *swynbroc* occur in the reverse order in the bounds of Hardwell in BCS 601.

- ⁵ This is the translation suggested in the Supplement to Bosworth and Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, s.v. hnot.
- ⁶ bulan mæd occurs in both the Woolstone bounds and in those of Uffington. It must have been a long meadow along the north of both parishes.
- ⁷ The 'stone-pool' occurs also in the East Woolstone bounds.
- ⁸ A branch of the Ock rises south of Woolstone village and flows through the north of the parish. The boundary between the two Woolstone estates evidently followed this stream, which seems to have been regarded as the source of the Ock.
- wæardæs beorh and hrung putt occur also in the East Woolstone bounds, and hringypt occurs also in BCS 902 in the bounds of Uffington. These latter place it immediately north of eceles beorh, which is Dragon Hill, and it must clearly be identified with the impressive hollow now known as The Manger. The hollow is wide, and the Uffington bounds go along the east of it, the Woolstone bounds along the west.
- 10 tættucan stan occurs in both the Woolstone bounds and in those of Uffington. The three estates must have run to a point there. The name appears as Tottingestone in a document of c.1220-30.
- ¹¹ The same bounds occur in BCS 796, with the omission of the last two boundary marks.

THE BOUNDS OF EAST WOOLSTONE IN BCS 902

Text

Ærest on ba ealdan dic andlang hlincæs on ba foxhola. banon on hringpyt. of bam pytæ on weardæs beorh. bonon on bonæ smalan cumb andlang cumbæs on occene wyllas. Andlang streamæs on þa mylne. þonne wænt hit bær up on bone æbænan byrigels bonon and lang bæs grænan weges on stan mære bonon to bam bræmbel byfelan. Þanon on ða mæd norðe weardæ on bone born bonnæ and lang wæges on bonæ ællen stub. bonon utt on baccan mor. bæt imbutæ bonæ mor on bulan mædæ norðæ weardæ on þa dic. bonnæ utt on bonæ mære. bonon upp on ba and heafda on bonæ born. of bam bornæ bonnæ on bonæ pyt. bonon on æceles beorh ufæ wæardnæ of æceles beorgæ a bæ ecgæ on bonnæ beorg. of bam beorgæ in on bæt norb

geatt. ponon on pæt suð geat. pær utt andlang dic on scortan dic. ponon on hean dunæ ufæ wæardræ on ponæ beorh of pam beorgæ on ponæ opærne ponnæ on tæt tucæn stan of pam stanæ on pa ealdan dic pær hit ær onfænc.

Translation

First to the old ditch along the lynchet to the fox's earths; thence to ring-pit; from the pit to Weard's barrow; thence to the narrow valley; along the valley to Ock springs; along the stream to the mill1; then it went up to the heathen burials; thence along the green way to stone-pool; thence to the bramble-thicket2; thence to the north part of the meadow to the thorn; thence along the way to the elder stump; thence out to Bacca's marsh³; then round the marsh to the north part of Bula's mead to the ditch; then out to the pool; thence up to the headland to the thorn; from the thorn then to the pit; then to the top of eceles barrow4; from eceles barrow always along the edge⁵ to the barrow; from the barrow into the north gate; thence to the south gate; then out along the ditch to the short ditch; thence to the top of the high hill to the barrow; from the barrow to the other6; then to Tættuca's stone; from the stone to the old ditch where it formerly began.

- ¹ There is a mill about ‡ mile north of Woolstone village which may be in the same place as the one in these bounds. The bounds of Uffington refer to this stream as 'the mill stream'.
- ² bræmbel pyfelan corresponds to brembæl hyrnan in the bounds of West Woolstone.
- ³ This marsh, which must have been just over a mile in length, is mentioned also in the bounds of Shellingford in BCS 684, and the name survives in Bagmore Brook in Balking.
- 4 æceles beorh is Dragon Hill.
- 5 a bæ ecgæ is an excellent description of the boundary from Dragon Hill to Uffington Castle.
- ⁶ For the stretch of boundary from Dragon Hill to these two barrows, see the notes on Uffington *infra*.

THE BOUNDS OF UFFINGTON IN BCS 687

Text

Erest of hwyresmere. andlang þare lace. in to þare blachelace. Of þere blace lace. innan bulemere. Of bulemere, to buleferðes steorte.

Of bam steorte. in to bulen dic. Andlang bulendic. in to ðam born stybbe. Of bam born stybbe. in to bere halige stowe. Of bere halige stowe. andlang bere heafde. in to ikenilde streate. of ikenilde strete. in to ægelwardes mearce. Of ægelwardes mearce. upprihtes be bam heafde. in to hremmesbyriges norðgeate. burhut ba byrig, ut æt bam suðgeate. Suðrihte be bam heafde. uppen hodes hlæwe. Of hodes hlæwe. uppan ba stanhlæwe. Of bære stanhlæwe. innan þam hwitan hole. Of þam hwitan hole. in to bam readan hole. Of bam readan hole, in to bam dunnan hole. Of bam dunnan hole. in to dunferões hnesse. dunferões hnesse. in to paddebyrig. Of paddebyrig. in to Tædduces stane. Tædduces stane, in to hundeshlæwe. Of hundeshlæwe, in to hafeces hlæwe. Of hafeces hlæwe, in to bam stodfalde. Of bam stodfalde, uppan lauercebyrig. Of lauercebyrig. into sceorten dic. Of sceorten dic. in to langen dic. Of lange dic. in to æscæsbyriges suðgeate, and swa ut æt þam norðgeate. Of þam norðgeate middan. uppan duddenbyrig. Of dudden byrig. uppan eceles beorh. bwyrt ofer dunrihtes in to ikenilde stret. Syððenes dunrihtes be bes heafd æceres west furh. dun ofer ba bwyrs furh. dun rihtes to bam rischedde. Of bam hrischedde. to bam dyrne stane. Of bam dirne stane. to bam hrischyfele. of bam hrischyfele. in to hlippem ham. Of hlippen ham, in to bam myle streame. Of bam myle streame. innan ba norðlange dic. andlanges þurh þa smala bornas. innan bulemed. ofer ba clene med. Of ba clene med. nordward. east rihtes be norde mordune. on bene grene weig. Of bam grene weige bwyrt ofer bene mor. innan bwyrsmere midrihtes.

Translation

First from the crosswise pool¹; along the stream into the black stream; from the black stream into Bula's pool; from Bula's pool to Bulefrith's tongue of land; from the tongue of land into Bula's ditch2; along Bula's ditch into the thorn stump; from the thorn stump into the holy place; from the holy place along the headland into Icknield Street: from Icknield Street

into Ægelweard's boundary; from Ægelweard's boundary straight up by the headland into the north gate of the Raven's fort3; through the fort; out at the south gate; due south by the headland onto Hod's tumulus4; from Hod's tumulus onto the stone-tumulus: from the stone-tumulus into the white hollow; from the white hollow into the red hollow; from the red hollow into the dark hollow; from the dark hollow into Dunfrith's headland; from Dunfrith's headland into toad-fort; from toad-fort into Tættuca's stone⁵; from Tættuca's stone into the hound's tumulus; from the hound's tumulus into the hawk's tumulus6; from the hawk's tumulus into the stud-fold7; from the stud-fold onto lark-fort; from lark-fort into the short ditch8; from the short ditch into the long ditch9; from the long ditch into the south gate of Æsc's fort10; and so out at the north gate; from the middle of the north gate onto Dudda's fort11; from Dudda's fort onto eceles barrow12; over crosswise straight down into Icknield Street; then straight down by the west furrow of the head acre: down over the crosswise furrow; straight down to the rushbed: from the rush-bed to the hidden stone: from the hidden stone to the rush-thicket; from the rush-thicket into hlippen rivermeadow; from hlippen river-meadow into the mill-stream¹³; from the mill-stream into the northwards ditch; along through the narrow thorns into Bula's mead14; over the clean mead; from the clean mead northward; straight east to the north of marsh-down¹⁵ to the green way; from the green way crosswise over the marsh¹⁶ into the middle of the crosswise pool¹⁷.

¹ This pool was probably at the north-east corner of Uffington parish.

² This ditch occurs also in the bounds of Sparsholt (which include Kingston Lisle) in BCS 1121.

The Ordnance Survey air-photograph mosaic shows a faint mark south of Rams Hill which

could be the remains of this tumulus.

³ This is the outer of the two camps on Rams Hill, for which see The Antiquaries Journal 1940, 465-80. The bounds imply that the camp had opposed entrances, but S. and C. M. Piggott in the excavation report say that no definite traces of these entrances were observed on the surface or on the air photographs.

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⁵ See note 10 on p. 4.

- ⁶ These two tumuli are in an excellent state of preservation. The names given them are presumably nick-names, hound and hawk being thought of as things that went together.
- ⁷ The name occurs as Statfold t. Elizabeth, Stutfall Grounds 1611-12.
- 8 This is the short ditch across the parish boundary marked on the 2½ in. map.
- ⁹ This ditch is clearly visible on the ground, running alongside the parish boundary for about 700 yards.
- 10 The fort is Uffington Castle. The original entrance to the camp is on the west, but there are now two gaps in the rampart, one to the south, in a position which would suit the charter bounds, and another, less distinct, in the north-east. These probably do not belong to the original structure.
- ¹¹ These bounds have byrig, 'fort', but the bounds of East Woolstone (supra) have beorg, 'barrow', in the corresponding position. Probably beorg is correct, and the reference is to the large tumulus which stands above the modern track round White Horse Hill, above the steep part of the slope into The Manger.
- ¹² Dragon Hill.
- 13 See note 1 on p. 9.
- 14 See note 6 on p. 9.
- 15 The name occurs as Moredowne 1545, 1569.
- 16 Moor Mill is named from this marsh.
- 17 The bounds of BCS 899 describe the same area, but some of the boundary marks are different ones.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Some of the notes on these boundaries are based on results yielded by a partial perambulation of Uffington in 1953. I am indebted to my husband for help with this field-work, and for advice on all matters of an archaeological nature involved in the study of Berkshire charters.

THE CHARTER BOUNDS OF ASHBURY

It is demonstrated above that the Abingdon and Winchester charters granting land at *Æscesbyrig* refer to Woolstone and Uffington. There are, however, two surviving grants which genuinely refer to Ashbury. These are BCS 431 and 828, both from Bodleian MS Wood Empt I, the *Secretum Domini* of Glastonbury, on which v. Dom A. Watkin, *The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury*, Somerset Record Society 59, pp. x-xi. BCS 431 records the grant in 840 by King Athelwulf to Duda of 10 hides at *Aisshe-*

doune, which the heading to the charter identifies with Aysheburi. There are no bounds. BCS 828 is a grant in 947 of 20 hides at Aysshedoune by King Eadred to Edric, which gives the bounds of the land, and is followed by a note stating that Edric gave the manor quod nunc vocatur Aysshebury to Glastonbury.

In 1086 Glastonbury had an estate at Ashbury, which was assessed at 16 hides $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, but said to have been 40 hides TRE. Odstone, which is part of the modern parish, was held in 1086 by one William son of Richard, and stated to have been held of King Edward by a tenant named Osgot. The assessment of Odstone was 5 hides in 1086, 10 hides TRE.

Since Glastonbury had an estate at Ashbury in the eleventh century, there seems no reason to doubt that the two Aissheduone charters preserved in their cartulary refer to this place, as the monks evidently believed them to do. The place-name forms Aissheduone, Aysheburi etc must be ascribed to the fourteenth-century copyist, as such spellings could not have occurred in original documents of the ninth and tenth centuries. This is true also of the forms of the names in the boundaries. Aisshedoune, which survives in Ashdown Park in Ashbury, may be a survival of Æscesdun, the Old English name for the whole line of the Berkshire Downs, or it may be a distinct name meaning 'down where ash-trees grow'. Asheburi is probably a compound of asc, 'ash-tree', and burh, 'camp', rather than another occurrence of the name given to Uffington Castle.

The bounds of BCS 828 are, from the point of view of the twentieth-century student, a most unsatisfactory set. The text is extremely corrupt, and the majority of the boundary marks defy the most strenuous attempts at identification. On historical grounds it seems certain that the area involved is a whole or a part of the modern parish of Ashbury. If a part, one would expect the division to lie between Idstone and Odstone (which latter was a separate estate in 1086), and the Glastonbury estate to have coincided with Idstone, which

would be in the west of the parish. In fact, however, the only portion of these bounds which can be located with any degree of probability seems to run down the eastern boundary of Ashbury, so it seems safer to regard them as describing the whole parish. Much of the difficulty is occasioned by the apparent lack today of any archaeological remains, apart from a single ditch, on the west boundary of Ashbury, which is also the border Berkshire and between Wiltshire. Ordnance maps show nothing here that can account for the tumuli, earthworks and ditches which this charter mentions in such profusion. Perambulation might, of course, reveal some traces of such objects, too faint to have found their way onto the maps.

THE BOUNDS OF ASHBURY IN BCS 828

Text

Erest of buckansticke west on buckanmere to ban ruancroundele baron middeward burnestowe to ban stone banen west ende lang smaleweies on bare croundel bi este ba ertheburgh and so north on rigt to hordenestone banen to elden berwe and soa endelang diches north to ban white stone banen to ban Stanberwe yate banen to be litel berwe banen ende langmeres to middel dich banen north to rigt weie to ban ston on mid rigt weies and soa to loppancombe ouerward bar forth end lang furch on rigte to merewelle endlangstremes to folanruwers ouer ban ridde to ban stone whit oute bar irwelonde bar forth to ban beche banen of piwannere on lippanstibbe bar on kingesdich end land dich to melanbroke of milanbrok on lortanbroke banen on lortanberwe so vp endlang furtg to mereberwe banen out to ban widen yate of ban gate to ban horeston ford to rammesburi vate of rammesburi so forth ende lang weies to buckansticke.

Translation

First from Bucca's *sticke* west to Bucca's pool¹; to the rough chalkpit; thence² to the middle of the stream place to the stone; thence west along the narrow way to the chalk-pit east

of the earthwork; and so north straight on to hordene³ stone; thence to the old barrow⁴; and so along the ditch north to the white stone; thence to the gate of stone-fort; thence to the little barrow; thence along the boundary to the middle ditch; thence north to right-way to the stone in the middle of right-way⁵; and so to the upper part of Loppa's valley; there forward along the furrow straight on to the boundary stream⁶; along the stream to folanruwers; over the ridde to the stone outside the ploughed land; there forward to the beech-tree; thence from piwannere to Lippa's tree-stump; there to king's ditch; along the ditch to mill brook; from mill brook to Lorta's brook7; thence to Lorta's barrow; so up along the furrow to boundary barrow; thence out to the wide gate8; from the gate to the boundary stone; forth to the gate of raven's fort⁹; from raven's fort so forward along the way to Bucca's sticke.

- ¹ O. G. S. Crawford, Archaeology in the Field (London 1953), p. 125, describes the site of a pond on Fognam Down at Lambourn Corner, which may be the one in these bounds.
- ² The scribe has actually written *paron*, 'therein', but probably by mistake for *panon*, 'thence'.
- ³ This may be *Hardestone*, mentioned in a survey of 1519 as the name of a place in Idstone.
- ⁴ This may be Oldebury, also mentioned in 1519.
- ⁵ Assuming the form to be correct, this is not impossible as a term for either the Ridgeway or the Icknield Way: be rihtum wege is on record glossing via publica, but the compound riht-weg is only recorded in a metaphorical sense. It is perhaps more likely that the scribe has miscopied some spelling such as hrygc-weg for the Ridgeway. By emendation it would be possible to make sense of several bits of gibberish in these bounds, but the result could not be regarded as having any authority.
- Assuming that the survey is travelling northwards along the west boundary of Ashbury, there is a stream which rises just north of the Icknield Way and flows along the boundary for some distance. Marewell and Marwellfurlong in 1519 show that the name was known in the parish, but it was of course a common name.
- ⁷ Probably to be identified with the stream which rises at Lertwell, a short distance to the south-west of Ashbury village. This stream touches the parish boundary in the north.
- 8 The wide gate may be identical with the one which occurs in the bounds of Compton Beauchamp in BCS 908 where it is said to be 'east of Wayland's

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Smithy'. Unfortunately this identification cannot be regarded as conclusive, because the term occurs in several other Berkshire bounds, and cannot be regarded as a unique place-name.

Assuming that the survey is here travelling down the south-east boundary of Ashbury, the 'raven's fort' is likely to be on Weathercock Hill. The hill is not actually fortified, but there are two large strip lynchets on the east side of it, which look from below like somewhat eroded ramparts. Grundy noted an 'unfinished camp' here in another connection, and he (and the Anglo-Saxons) may have been misled by these lynchets. The form from this charter is cited in *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (English Place-Name Society) and in *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* as a form for Ramsbury, Wilts, but this is hardly possible. The name was probably one liable to be given to any earthwork, another example being Rams Hill in Uffington.