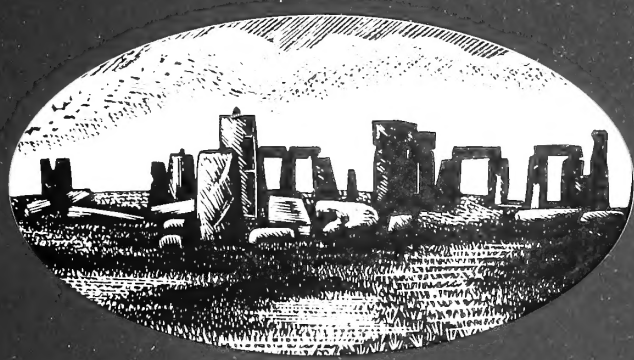


**The
Wiltshire Archaeological
and Natural History Magazine**



Volume 90 1997

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WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND NATURAL HISTORY MAGAZINE

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1997

This volume of the *Magazine* is dedicated, with respect and affection, to the memory of Professor Stuart Piggott, President of the Society, who died on 23 September 1996.

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THE WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

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The Society's Museum contains important collections relating to the history of man in Wiltshire from earliest times to the present day as well as the geology and natural history of the county. It is particularly well known for its prehistoric collections. The Library houses a comprehensive collection of books, articles, pictures, prints, drawings and photographs relating to Wiltshire. The Society welcomes the gift of local objects, printed material, paintings and photographs to add to the collections.

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Contributions for the Magazine should be on subjects related to the archaeology, history or natural history of Wiltshire. There is no fixed length. Papers, notes and reviews should be typed on one side of a page only, with good margins and double spacing. The style for footnotes, references and so on should be that found in this issue. The author-date system is preferred for references and footnotes should be avoided unless essential. Contributions of article length should be accompanied by a summary of about 100 words. Two copies, one of which is a top copy, should be sent to the editor at the Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS. A further copy should also be retained by the author. The editor and subject editors will be pleased to advise and discuss with intending contributors at any stage during the preparation of their work. They will also supply notes, if requested, which may be helpful in explaining house style and in giving advice on the compilation of references and bibliographies, and the preparation of illustrations.

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The Sarsen Horseshoe Inside Stonehenge: A Rider

by AUBREY BURL

Several features of the sarsen phase of Stonehenge are different from indigenous architectural styles of stone circles in Britain. Recognisable Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age cultural links between southern Britain and Brittany suggest that the rectangle of the Four Stations around Stonehenge; the unusual horseshoe of trilithons inside the ring; and the representational carvings of a dagger, axes and anthropomorphs on the stones, completely unlike the abstract motifs of British megalithic art, are Breton in origin. Such alien features may have been the handiwork of a powerful and intrusive Breton aristocracy.

'The trilithons are not on a circle and the scheme of their placing is obscure.'

Petrie (1880, 6)

INTRODUCTION

The architecture of Stonehenge's sarsen phase is a perplexing amalgam of a circle, a horseshoe and a rectangle. Only the first shape is widespread in Britain. The others are exceptionally uncommon, almost non-existent, and it is surprising that there has been so little debate about the reasons for the rectangle of the Four Stations around the circle and the horseshoe of trilithons inside the ring (Figure 1).

Not one of the accepted authorities on Stonehenge has explained why the sarsen circle contains the U-shaped setting of five trilithons. John Aubrey wondered if the builders had intended there to be not five but seven to form a heptagon related 'to the seven Planets and seven daies of the Weeke? I cannot determine: I only suggest' (Aubrey 1693, I, 82). Stukeley, who innovated the term 'trilithon' (1740, 22), thought that the north-east mouth of the horseshoe was left open to be the entrance to the sacred cell in a 'noble and easy geometry' (1740, 22–5). Neither John Smith (1771, 56, 'originally an Ellipsis, or oval'), Hoare (1812, 147, 'a large oval'), Stone (1924, 1, 'somewhat in horseshoe style'), Cunnington (1935, 13, 'in the form of a horseshoe') nor Atkinson (1979, 40, 'set in a horseshoe') offered reasons for the shape of the unusual setting. The recent, minutely detailed *Stonehenge In Its Landscape*, (Walker, in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 29, 'form a horseshoe') added nothing.

Stone (1924, 33) stressed the enigma but only as a negative. 'In Britain Stonehenge is unique. We

have no earlier structure in the same style from which its evolution may be traced, and the design has never been repeated . . . It has no ancestors and no descendants.' He was mistaken.

Barclay (1895, 127) remarked that the trilithons themselves were unknown elsewhere in Britain but 'examples are to be met with abroad'. So are megalithic horseshoes and rectangles.

There are hundreds of stone circles in Britain and Ireland but horseshoes are rare (Burl 1972, 72). Two of timber are known at Arminghall, Norfolk, and Lugg, in Co. Dublin. There is an earthen example at Cowiemuir, Moray, and there are, or were, megalithic sites at Haerstanes, also in Moray, and at Achavanich and Broubster in Caithness, perhaps also at Latheronwheel in the same county. In Cornwall on Bodmin Moor there is an immense D-shaped horseshoe of low stones at East Moor. Interestingly this unusual setting is less than six miles east of King Arthur's Hall, a megalithic rectangle (Johnson and Rose 1994, 28–9). The proximity of two such un-British shapes with only a hundred miles of English Channel between them and Brittany suggests that both may have been the ritual centres not of natives but of strangers from overseas.

Rectangles are even scarcer than horseshoes. Except for the almost disregarded King Arthur's Hall only the Four Stations at Stonehenge can be quoted as an incontrovertible example although the dozens of milithic squares and oblongs on Exmoor might be included (Quinnell 1992). Given their

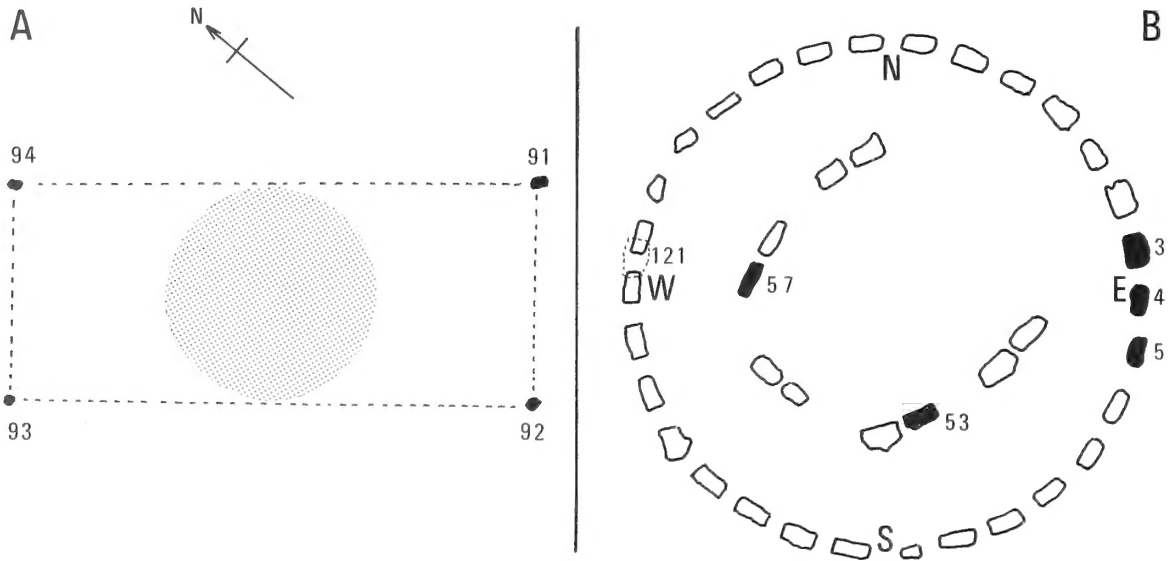


Figure 1. (A) The rectangle of the Four Stations, stones 91 to 94, around Stonehenge. (B) The circle and inner horseshoe of trilithons. Numbered stones in black are those with carvings. For clarity only sarsen stones are shown.

nearness to Dartmoor they are better interpreted as greatly abbreviated forms of double row. So is the now-wrecked east-west oblong of Mattocks Down, 44.8m × 20m, of which only one great stone survives. Its partner and the twenty-three lower uprights of the northern side have all gone. It was a typical 'high-and-low' double row (Burl 1993, 89-90, 234).

Although remote from its smaller colleagues it shares with them an alignment to cardinal points, here east-west. It is a feature true not only at King Arthur's Hall, north-south, but also in Brittany at the oblongs of Lanvéoc, Finistère, and Crucuno, Morbihan, both of them oriented east-west. Whether the geometrical triangles, squares and parallelograms on Exmoor owe anything to Breton fashions is a matter for further research (Burl 1993, 89).

Definitely excluded as rectangles must be Four-Poster stone circles whose four stones are seldom at the corners of a square or oblong but invariably stand on the circumference of a circle, proving that this was how they were laid out (Burl 1988, 6). An arc of a circle can always be drawn through three points. It is often impossible through four.

Twelve horseshoes, some questionable, and two certain rectangles for the 121,400 square miles of

Great Britain and Ireland but more than twelve hundred stone circles demonstrate how atypical the plan of the later Stonehenge was if created by natives. On the other hand, there are some twenty-five U-shaped settings and rectangles in Brittany, a département less than a twelfth the size of the British Isles, where they are associated with Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age rows of standing stones and megalithic rings known as cromlechs. In the density to the square mile of rectangles and horseshoes in Britain, Ireland and Brittany a ratio of well over 20:1 greatly favours the last and makes it very probable that the design of Stonehenge was twice influenced by Breton styles of architecture, first by the geometry and astronomy of the rectangle and then by the monumentality and art of the horseshoe.

WESSEX AND BRITTANY

Despite the idiosyncrasy of its architecture Stonehenge today is considered a native monument. It was not always so. Inigo Jones (1655) thought it Roman, Walter Charleton (1663), Danish. Influenced by the carving of a dagger he noticed in July 1953, Atkinson (1953, 237) argued for a Mycenaean designer, later (1979, 166-7) speculating

on the likelihood of a Mycenaean architect working 'at the behest of a barbarian British king'. Stonehenge has been accepted as British ever since: Burl 1976, 315; and 1987, 150–71; Richards 1991, 115; Castleden 1993, 144; Chippindale 1994, 209. The sarsen ring was the visionary handiwork of mighty and wealthy chieftains of the Wessex Early Bronze Age, contemporaries of equally prestigious princely warriors in Brittany.

For decades it has been realised (Piggott 1938) that in the Early Bronze Age there were intimate cultural contacts between Wessex and Brittany. There are lavish graves in the cemeteries of round barrows near Stonehenge and their contents of weapons and opulent personal ornaments are very like those of their Breton contemporaries. The riveted daggers from Wilsford 5, 23, 56, Collingbourne Ducis 4 and Winterbourne Stoke 4 and 5; the goldwork from Wilsford 5, 7, 8; the dentated bone mounts from the first, and the jet and amber pendants from the last two (Annable and Simpson, 147ff.) are all paralleled in the dagger graves of the Armorican peninsula (Giot 1960, 128–45; Briard, in Giot *et al.* 1979, 29–107). Although recent analysis of the daggers has shown this to be an over-simplification the discovery 'of another four-handled vessel of Breton type . . . in southern England confirms the cross-channel influence of the Breton workshops' (Briard 1993, 187). Even the handled pot from Winterbourne Stoke 5 has its Breton equivalents (Grinsell 1978, 19). Barbed-and-tanged flint arrowheads, comparable but not identical, are shared by both cultures. At the beginning of the Early Bronze Age 'southern Britain and Brittany presented a single cultural province' (Megaw and Simpson 1979, 223). Long before that, in the Late Neolithic, the lovely hornblendic gneiss macehead of Stonehenge's early IB phase – Phase 2 in Cleal *et al.* 1995 (115, 391) – may also have come from Brittany (Castleden 1993, 282, Note 72).

'This . . . suggests that the people buried in Wessex barrows were interacting in their lives with the Breton area at a very early time' (Taylor 1980, 45). Northern Brittany is less than two hundred miles from Stonehenge, three-quarters of them the easily-crossed English Channel.

Many of the articles of gold in Wessex are so alike that Taylor (1980, 46, 47) envisaged a single Breton goldsmith working in southern Britain. Agreeing with the resemblance but disagreeing about the location Burgess wrote that the delicate ornaments

were 'so similar as to indicate that they were supplied by the same workshops, probably in Brittany to judge from the number of finds' (1980, 110).

The problem with this comfortable model of powerful Wessex chieftains supervising the construction of the sarsen Stonehenge is that it is wrong. The chronology is centuries from the truth. At one time, with the first Armorican dagger graves dated *c.*1850 bc and the Wessex rich graves *c.*1750 bc, and with analogous assays from Stonehenge of 1620±110 bc (I-2384) and 1720±150 bc (BM-46) everything fitted together neatly. No longer.

The 'date' of 1620 bc obtained from an antler in an unfinished R hole has been discredited on the grounds of humic acid contamination (Baylis, Housley and McCormac, in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 518). The other date of 1720 bc is now only one of a group of much earlier determinations from the sarsen circle of Stonehenge: 2073±21 bc (UB-3821) from the hole of Stone 1 at the north-east of the ring; and from the horseshoe of trilithons: Stone 53 or 54, 2035±45 bc (OxA-4840); Stone 56, 1720±150 bc (BM-46); Stone 57, 1910±40 bc (OxA-4839); and from Stone E alongside the fallen Slaughter Stone: 1935±40 bc (OxA-4838) and 2045±60 bc (OxA-4837) (*ibid.*, 524). These newly-acquired dates indicate that Phase 3 of Stonehenge began in the calibrated chronological bracket of 2850–2480 BC, many generations before the inception of the Wessex Culture (Cleal, in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 204–5).

The dark ring of sarsens can now be seen standing at a time when megalithic structures were still being raised both in Britain and Brittany. The popular British origin for them would not account for the rectangle of the Four Stations nor the gigantic horseshoe inside the circle. Nor would it account for the Breton carvings of axes, daggers and anthropomorphs. Stonehenge has more in common with the cromlechs of Brittany than with the stone circles of Britain.

Breton analogues for Stonehenge's oblong and horseshoe are more clearcut for the latter because the rectangle's known equivalents in Brittany are nearly all too badly damaged for their exact shapes, dimensions and angles to be reconstructed. Nevertheless, no corresponding blend of geometry and astronomy in a megalithic oblong is known in Britain whereas those components are certainly to be found in Brittany.

THE FOUR STATIONS AND THE BRETON

CONNECTION

Four sarsen pillars once stood at the corners of a long SE–NW oblong inside the earthen bank of the early Stonehenge (Atkinson 1976). Clockwise from the south-east they are numbered 91–94. Stone 91 has fallen, 92 has gone but its hole was located by Hawley in 1921, and 93 is a stump. The hole of the missing Stone 94 was found by Atkinson and Alexander Thom in April, 1978. Following its discovery it was possible to cite the exact dimensions and angles of the rectangle, always with the proviso that the stones themselves might have been moved in antiquity.

The sides measure 34.2m from Stone 91 to 92; 79.9m from 92–93; 32.7m from 93–94; and 80.3m from 94–91 (Atkinson 1978, 51). The corners are approximate right-angles, respectively $80^{\circ}.42$, $89^{\circ}.55$, $91^{\circ}.03$ and $90^{\circ}.02$, making a rather imperfect rectangle whose long sides lay SE–NW, $c.140^{\circ}$ – 320° , the short sides correspondingly aligned SW–NE, $c.230^{\circ}$ – 50° .

‘Aligned’ is intentionally chosen. In 1846 the short SW–NE sides were recognised to point to the midsummer sunrise. In that year the Revd Edward Duke, who introduced the name of ‘Stations’, claimed that Stones 91 and 94 had acted as gnomons like the pins of sun-dials. ‘The astronomer taking his station [at Stone 92] . . . at the summer solstice, and turning to the north-east, would see that majestic luminary in all his splendour mounting in the horizon, and making his first appearance over the gnomon [Stone 91]’ (Duke 1846, 144).

Over a century later in 1961 Hawkins, using the novelty of a computer, demonstrated that the long sides of the rectangle were in line with the most northerly setting of the moon (Hawkins 1966, 110). Neither his lunar nor Duke’s solar orientation were accurate to more than about half a degree, many minutes from astronomical precision but good enough for observers uninterested in celestial minutiae. Coarser sightlines to the same heavenly targets already existed in monuments as diverse as chambered tombs, stone circles and rows of standing stones (Burl 1983). To find them established at Stonehenge will surprise no unbiased student.

Until the 20th century it was never asked why the builders chose to set out a rectangle rather than a square but in 1906 Lockyer (1906, 93) offered an explanation. From the middle of the sarsen circle,

the place where the diagonals of the rectangle intersected, a line ‘over the N.W. stone [Stone 93, not 94 at the NNW] would mark the sunset place in the first week in May’. He was correct. The SE–NW diagonal from Stone 91 to 93 has a bearing of $297^{\circ}\pm 30'$ towards the May Day or Beltane sunset, the very limited declinations of the arc from $+16^{\circ}.65$ to $+17^{\circ}.2$ neatly straddling the $+16^{\circ}.72$ declination of the May sunset (Thom 1967, 110, Epoch 2). Thatcher, agreeing, stated that ‘many of the megalithic alignments in Brittany and in Great Britain point to the sunrise and sunset at those four dates’ of early February, the ‘Celtic’ festival of Imbolc, May or Beltane, August or Lughnasa, and November or Samhuin’ (Thatcher 1976, 145).

It is unlikely to be coincidental. Even if the builders had laid out a large square, filling the henge’s bank from edge to edge, its western corners extending from about 230° to 320° , a range of 90° , it would have contained only six significant celestial targets: midwinter sunset, 230° ; the beginning of November, 242° ; equinoctial sunset, 0° ; May Day sunset, 297° ; midsummer sunset, 310° ; and the major setting of the northern or midwinter moon, 320° . The minor moonsets to north and south can be ignored as too difficult to detect amongst the flurry of monthly moonsets around them.

The odds of accidentally aligning on any one of these events within an accuracy of 0.5° are 180:6 or 30:1 against, a statistic strongly favouring the Beltane sightline. The probability of the line itself being fortuitous is no more than one chance in ninety. It follows that the Stations existed before the sarsen ring whose thick and tall pillars would have blocked the diagonal sightline (Burl 1987, 141–7). The observation that ‘it is difficult to place some of the elements [of Stonehenge’s Phase 3] within the sequence’ (Allen, in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 169) seems rather pessimistic. The erection of the circle implies a rejection of the alignment and it may have been then that the pillars were toppled (Station 91), truncated (Station 93), or removed (Stations 92 and 94).

What must be emphasised in this interpretation of the design and function of the Four Stations is that there is no comparable setting in Britain or Ireland in which rectangle, diagonal and multiple astronomy combine but there is a strong correlation with the lateral and diagonal alignments of the Crucuno rectangle four miles north-west of Carnac in Brittany. There the long sides of the rectangle lie neatly east–west towards the equinoctial sunsets and the NE–SW diagonal is in line with the midwinter

sunset and, less accurately because of the different horizon height, to the midsummer sunrise (Thom, Thom, Merritt and Merritt 1973, 450–1). Its use of a diagonal perfectly matches that at Stonehenge.

There are, or were, other symmetrically designed rectangles in Brittany such as that at Lanvéoc on the north coast of the Crozon peninsula in Finistère which also was arranged east–west. Regrettably, in a stony land of impoverished peasants many megalithic monuments, although recorded by antiquarians, have been uprooted and destroyed. Without details of their size and alignment they cannot be used to consolidate the argument for the Four Stations being a structure of Breton inspiration. Fortunately, there are enough surviving horseshoes, known as *fer-aux-chevaux*, for their relationship to the U-shaped setting inside Stonehenge to be demonstrated.

MEGALITHIC HORSESHOES

a. *The trilithons*

Inside the sarsen circle of Stonehenge is a U-shaped setting of five trilithons, ‘three stones’, Stones 51 to 60, lintelled pairs of tall, closely-set pillars, the narrow gap between them like a strangulated archway. The horseshoe, lying NE to SW from open mouth to apex, is 14m wide and 13.1m deep. It is graded in height, the terminal pairs 51–2 and 59–60, standing 6.1m high, the central pairs, 53–4 opposite 59–60, 6.5m tall but dwarfed by the Great Trilithon, 55–6, which once towered 7.3m above ground before Stone 55 and its lintel, 156, collapsed in pre-Roman times.

There are carvings of recognisable objects on four circle-stones and two trilithons. This combination of an unusual layout, grading of height and realistic art has no equivalent anywhere in Britain or Ireland but does exist in Brittany.

Horseshoe arrangements of standing stones are hardly known in Britain although, ironically, John Aubrey (1693, I, 44–5) may have recorded the remains of one inside Avebury (Ucko *et al.* 1991, 220–7), its fragmented stones later being interpreted by Stukeley as the remains of a northern concentric circle (Stukeley 1743, 23). Elsewhere in Britain such settings are rare and remote from Stonehenge. The three or four in northern Scotland are five hundred weary land-miles to the north.

There are, however, at least sixteen *fer-aux-chevaux* in Brittany, the farthest from Stonehenge

the dilapidated Kergonan on the Île-aux-Moines off the south coast and even that remote site is only 150 sea- and 100 land-miles south of Salisbury Plain. The nearest is Tossen-Keler on the coast of Côtes-du-Nord ninety miles closer. It is not only their shape they share with Stonehenge but also grading, an astronomical axis, often to a cardinal point or to a solar alignment, and the art.

Like Stonehenge they were assembly-places at times of festival. The huge Ménéac cromlech at Carnac, and the adjacent horseshoes of the vanished Kermario and the spectacular Kerlescan, all vast enclosures but less than two miles apart, were still used for seasonal gatherings in the last century, the winter solstice celebrated at Kerlescan, the vernal and autumnal equinoxes at Kermario, and midsummer’s day at Ménéac (Worsfold 1898, 22; Burl 1993, 144–60). At Stonehenge the trilithon setting was aligned on the midwinter sunset.

The megalithic horseshoe is supreme amongst the rock of stones around it. Standing inside its overbearing archways one is hardly aware of the surrounding circle and, emphasising its pre-eminence and importance, it was almost certainly put up before the ring. Because of the greater length and weight of its stones it would have been difficult to erect once its enclosing ring was in place (Atkinson 1979, 131, Cleal in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 205). For a time the great horseshoe stood on Salisbury Plain, solitary, awesome and alien.

It was the dominant feature of Stonehenge, the centrepiece of a ring of stones that were lintelled in imitation of the ring-beamed framework of a timber building (Atkinson 1979, 170–1; Burl 1987, 53–5, 172). Presumably for architectural consistency native woodworkers added unnecessary lintels to the horseshoe, their shortness forcing the pillars to be placed in closely-set pairs. Despite this, the monstrous setting remained singular and foreign.

It has to be asked why such an unexpected shape was chosen. The bizarre design had no precedent in Britain and it altered what had been traditional at Stonehenge. The major orientation of the axis was changed from the long-established north-east to the novel south-west in a setting unlike anything else in Wessex but one which was to be the major feature of the monument. Outlandish and astonishing, the horseshoe is most feasibly explained as an innovation from overseas.

The rectangle of the Four Stations has interesting parallels with other oblongs in Brittany. The U-shaped plan of the trilithons closely matches the *fer-*

aux-chevaux there. The carvings on the trilithons are unequivocal evidence of a Breton origin.

b. *The carvings*

Carvings on stone circles in Britain are northern and abstract. Except for Stonehenge no stone in a ring south of the Lake District is decorated. Megalithic art is to be found mainly in Scotland where untranslatable cupmarks and cup-and-ring marks were ground out on stones standing in positions associated with the moon or sun (Ruggles and Burl 1985, S54–S56). Such non-representational motifs are quite dissimilar from those at Stonehenge which are analogous to the formalised symbols of weaponry in Brittany.

At Stonehenge there were carvings only on stones at the cardinal points of east, south and west (Burl 1987, 186–7). At the east of the sarsen circle Stone 3 has three axes and a lattice pattern on its outer face (Atkinson 1979, 209) similar to the little interlocking squares or ‘figurines’ inside the passage-tomb of Mané Kerioned East (Burl 1985, 152). Exact east was emphasised by the cluster of axes on Stone 4. Atkinson accepted ‘about a dozen’ of the claimed twenty-six. Stone 5 has one axe (Lawson and Walker, in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 30–3). The putative ‘knife-dagger’ and ‘torso’ on Stones 23 and 29 may be no more than the result of differential weathering of the sarsens. ‘In the opinion of some archaeologists both marks are of doubtful human origin’ (Atkinson 1979, 46).

At the south of the horseshoe the innermost side of Stone 53 bears the image of the famous dagger and fourteen or more axes. Opposite it, at the west and also facing inwards, Stone 57 carries a heavily-worn quadrilateral like ‘an old-fashioned tea-cosy’, first recognised by Newall in 1953 (Crawford 1954, 27) and likened by Atkinson to the rectangular anthropomorphs of Brittany, ‘a cult figure, possibly a mother-goddess’ (Atkinson 1979, 45). ‘Its appearance at Stonehenge provides one more link between Wessex and the Breton peninsula’ (*ibid.*, 179). There seems to be a smaller replica below it. A very weathered third rectangle was recognised in 1958 on the underside of the fallen Stone 120, the lintel of Stones 19–20 directly behind trilithon 57–8 (Burl 1987, 210; Castleden 1993, 216–17).

Such ‘rectangles’ (Figure 2) are now accepted as anthropomorphic symbols akin to others carved on stelae in early Breton passage-tombs such as Barnenez, Île Gaignog, Ty-ar-Boudiquet at Brennilis, and Kercado (Twhig 1981, 60–3). The

images were not restricted to the primary *dolmens à couloir* of the early Neolithic but were still being produced up to the inception of the Bronze Age. ‘There is undeniable evidence of some sort of cult of a figure in the late neolithic of western Europe, and that figure is usually female. There is no doubt that interest in this figure is evidenced on the walls of megalithic tombs in northern France’ (*ibid.*, 92).

The shape is believed to be the formalised body of a female guardian of the dead, a weapon-bearing protectress often juxtaposed against an axe of stone or metal or a bronze dagger. The figure is sometimes a simple square or a square with a rounded top portraying a head like the rectangle on Stone 25 of the magnificently ornamented passage-tomb of Gavrinis which is so clear that it has been termed ‘*la déesse en écusson*’ (Kergal 1977, 10, 37). Alternatively, a square might have a central indentation in imitation of the necklaces carved below pairs of rounded breasts in high-relief in *allées-couvertes* like Prajou-Menhir and Kerguntuil. Some have ‘handles’ halfway down their sides, presumably arms, and inside many of the outlines, as at Les Pierres-Plates, are incised circles representing breasts.

They exist on menhirs like St Samson-sur-Rance, in the tombs of megalithic passage-tombs and *allées-couvertes*, and, significantly, on cromlechs and horseshoes such as Er-Lannic and Tossen-Keler. Axe-carvings exist at Tossen-Keler, Kergonan and Er-Lannic. No daggers are known on the horseshoes in Brittany but they do occur in conjunction with anthropomorphs or with ‘breasts’ in *allées-couvertes* such as Mougau-Bihan, Prajou-Menhir and Kerguntuil, tombs whose floruit of 3100 to 2100 BC coincided with that of Phase 3 for Stonehenge.

Doubts have been expressed about the interpretation of the rectangle on Stone 57 at Stonehenge, suggesting that the carving may have been ‘executed by a late visitor, perhaps even after the collapse of the stone in 1797, who wished to leave a commemorative inscription in a prepared panel’ (Lawson and Walker, in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 32).

There is no inscription and practical considerations argue against the idea of a recent date. Sarsen is intractable. To grind out a panel 114 × 114cm and at least 1cm deep (Crawford 1954, 27) was an exercise in tedium. Atkinson’s calculations (1979, 127) suggest that it would have entailed a fortnight of a man’s time. Stone (1924, 88) reckoned that a worker could remove 74cm³ in an hour. Even labouring non-stop ten hours a day a

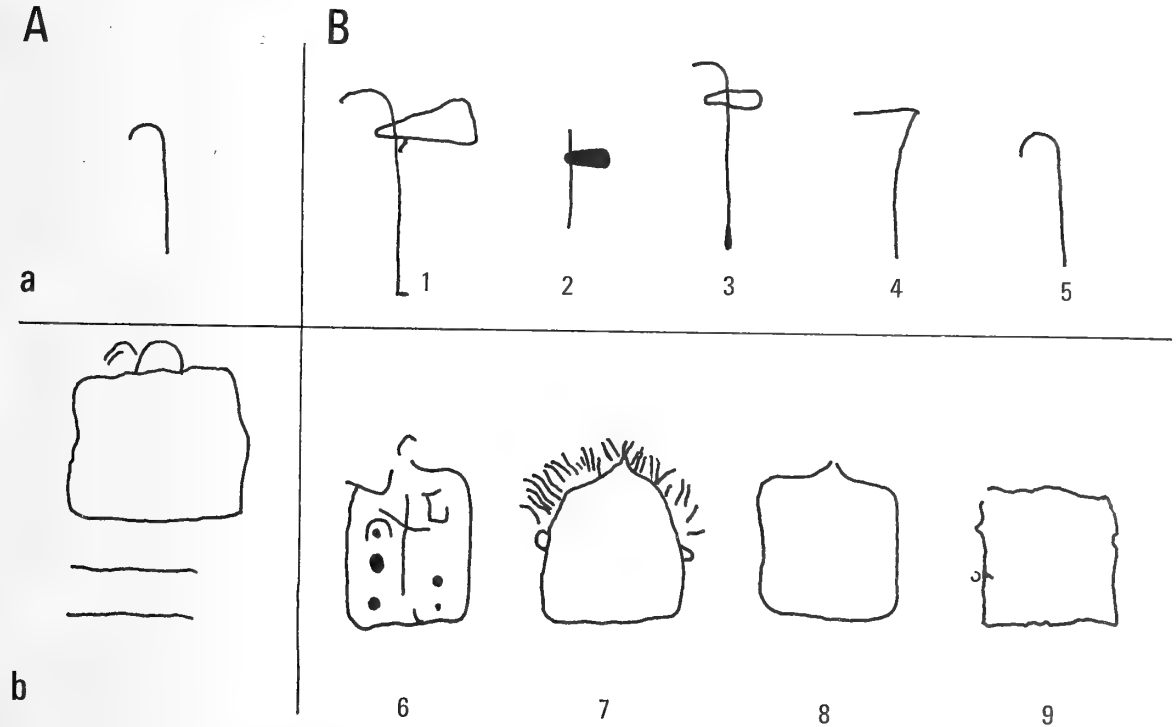


Figure 2. (A) (a) The Stonehenge carved axe, and (b) anthropomorph. (From Castleden, 1993). (B) Some Breton carvings. 1-5 axes. 1, Mané Kerioned East; 2, Barnenez; 3, Mougau-Bihan; 4, Mané Kerioned East; 5, Mané Lud. 6-9, anthropomorphs. 6, Les Pierres-Plates; 7, Île Longue; 8, Île Longue; 9, Mané Bras.

man would have taken almost three weeks to scrape, pound and polish the minimum of 13,000cm³ of the rectangle. It is most unlikely that the would-be graffitist, even if exhausted, would then have failed to add his name.

In reality, the Stonehenge rectangle with its upper loop is akin to others in the Breton tombs of Île Longue, Mané-er-Hroek, Petit-Mont, Mané Lud and Gavr'inis. A rubbing of it has revealed a double-loop like that at Kermaillard on the Sarzon peninsula (Castleden 1993, 212).

The authenticity of the 'rectangle' is confirmed not only by its close likeness to those known in prehistoric contexts in Brittany but also by the proximity of the 'crook' just above it. In Brittany some handled stone axes known as *houlettes*, 'shepherds' crooks', were economically carved as a simple shaft with a curved head but no axe-blade, in outline resembling Charlie Chaplin's walking stick. One was carved on Stone 57 (Figure 3). Stylised axes and 'goddesses' were frequently set together,

protectress and weapon, in tombs such as Mané Lud, Table des Marchands, Petit-Mont, Grah Niall and Pierres-Plates (Twohig 1981, figs. 99, 102, 126, 128, 147, 148), and their conjunction at Stonehenge is another reflection of that monument's Breton origins.

The trilithon carvings at Stonehenge were planned as a composition. For anyone inside the horseshoe, facing the south-west, the weapons of a dagger and axes on Stone 53 were to the left. To the right were the anthropomorphic depictions and it is not sacrilegious to regard them in the same way as the crucifix is visualised by Christians today, as personified symbols of holiness. Enhancing this impression of sacred space, redolent of life, death, fertility and sunset, the skeuomorph of a chalk axe was recovered from the ramp of Stone 56 alongside the rectangle (Montague in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 399, 403) and a chalk phallus was found close to Stone 57 itself (*ibid.*, 400, 404).



Figure 3. Trilithon 57 before its erection. The rectangular anthropomorph is very clear. The axe is just to its right near the far edge of the stone. Photograph by courtesy of the Trust for Wessex Archaeology.

CONCLUSIONS

The architectural and artistic evidence strongly supports the belief that the sarsen phase of Stonehenge was designed in a Breton style, possibly by Bretons themselves. The geometry and astronomy of the Four Stations have many parallels in Brittany but few in Britain. The trilithon horseshoe is even more compelling proof because British counterparts are hundreds of miles from Stonehenge whereas such settings are more numerous and nearer in Brittany. The grading of the horseshoe towards an astronomical event, the midwinter sunset, is analogous to the aligned and graded *fer-aux-chevaux* of Tossen-Keler, Kergonan and others. The repertoire of representational art: anthropomorphs, axes, dagger and 'crook' has its only source in Brittany.

The entire design of the final Stonehenge was

foreign, revolutionary, and inimical to indigenous styles. It may well have been the handiwork of intrusive and powerful leaders from Brittany. When Cato Worsfold wrote *The French Stonehenge* in 1898 his title may have been more appropriate than he realised.

Stuart Piggott's prophetic words of almost fifty years ago are remarkable. 'We have indeed no option but to regard the Wessex Culture as the result of an invasion from Brittany. By invasion we do not visualise bloody battles in which Breton warriors with grooved daggers ended the lives of archaeologically decadent but stubbornly British beaker-folk. . . . Nevertheless it was more than the entry of a boatload of traders. If not a military conquest, it was at least an annexation . . . a dominant and intrusive aristocracy who for some centuries at least lorded it over the native element' (Piggott 1938, 94).

And built Stonehenge?

Acknowledgements. I am most grateful to Andrew Lawson who located Richard Atkinson's photograph (Figure 3) for me. It is held in the archives of the Trust for Wessex Archaeology, Salisbury, Catalogue No. P51598, Print No. 2036.

Gazetteer

Order of information given and Key: * – uncertain status; name; condition; (1) – well-preserved, (2) – restored, (3) – damaged but recognisable, (4) – destroyed; grid reference or location in Brittany; bearing from mouth of horseshoe to apex; dimensions in metres, depth by width of mouth; architectural features; details of excavation and dating; major bibliographical references; astronomy.

Abbreviations

A	avenue	maj	major
adj	adjacent	MR	moonrise
Astron	astronomy	MS	moonset
cm	cupmark	MdS	midsummer
cn	cairn	MdW	midwinter
conc	concentric	N	north
crem	cremation	Neo	Neolithic
ct	cist	O	outlying stone
emb	embanked	P	portal-tomb
ent	entrance	Q	quartz
equi	equinoctial	R	row
ext	external	rest	restored
fl	flint	S	south
Gr	graded	SR	sunrise
HS	horseshoe	SS	sunset
int	internal	st	stone

ENGLAND

a. Horseshoes

- 1 Arminghall, Norfolk; (4) TG 240060; 229°–49°; 11.6 × 8.7; 8 posts in pairs; lintelled? Gr?; part-exc. 1935; C-14: inside Class I henge, 2490±150 bc (BM-129), c.3100 BC; PPS 2 (1936), 1–51, plan, 6; Astron MdS SR?
- 2 *Avebury North, Wiltshire; (4) SU 103699; SW-NE; c.70 × 105; Gr?; exc. 1937–9; C-14: Outer Circle, Stone 41, 2180±90 bc (HAR-10062); Stone 44, 1920±90 bc, c.2500 BC. Horseshoe probably precedes these dates; Aubrey, I, 44–5, plan; Smith, I.F., 193–205, 224–8, plan, 194; Ucko *et al.*, 224–7, plan, 225; PPS 58 (1992), 203–12; Burl 1995, 84.
- 3 *East Moor, Cornwall; (5); SX 222778; NNW-SSE; 44.6 × 35; some stones across mouth like Kergonan; Johnson and Rose, 29.
- 4 Stonehenge, Wiltshire; (2); SU 123422; 51°–231°; 13.1 × 14; 10 st in lintelled pairs;

part-exc. 1901, 1919–26; C-14: Trilithon 53–4, 2035±45 bc (OxA-4840); Trilithon 56, 1720±150 bc (BM-46); Trilithon 57, 1910±40 bc (OxA-4839), c.2440–2100 BC. Art: anthropomorphs, bronze axes, dagger, hafted Breton axe (inside sarsen circle); Petrie 1880, plan, 37; Atkinson 1979; Burl 1987; Cleal *et al.*, 524, 533; Astron MdW SS: Stukeley 1740, 35, 56; Smith 1771, v-vi, 64.

b. Rectangles

- 5 King Arthur's Hall, Cornwall; (3) SX 130776; S-N; 48.5 × 20.7; emb, ent; *J Anthr Inst* 25 (1896), 5, plan, plate 1; Barnatt, J., 196–7; Johnson and Rose, 28, 29.
- 6 Stonehenge, Station Stones, Wiltshire; (3); SU 123422; SE-NW; c.80.2 × 33.5; Burl 1987, 141–7; Burl 1988, plan, 38; Astron MdS SR, maj N MS: Hawkins 1966, 134; Beltane (May Day) SS: *Antiquity* 50 (1976), 144–5.

SCOTLAND

Horseshoes

- 7 Achavanich, Caithness; (1); ND 188417; 156°–336°; 68.6 × 26; Gr; radially set, ct; Fergusson 1872, 530–1; *RCAHM-Caithness*, 1911, no. 293, plan; Astron maj N MS.
- 8 Broubster, Caithness; (3) ND 048608; SSW-NNE; 43 × 24.4; Gr; radially set; O 40m to SW; *RCAHM-Caithness*, 1911, no. 163, plan.
- 9 Cowiemuir, Moray; (4); NJ 371631; S-N; 16.8 × 7.6; 2 emb terminal stones + earthen HS; *Proc Soc Ants Scotland* 40 (1905–6), 192–4, plan, 192.
- 10 Croft Moraig, Perthshire; (2); NN 797472; NNE-SSW; (a) timber 7.9 × 7, (b) stone, 9.1 × 4.2; Gr; Q; art: cms; within bank and St C; exc. 1965; PPS 37 (1971), 1–15, plan, 14; Astron MdS SR?
- 11 Haerstones, Moray; (4); c.NJ 27.60; ?; ?; PSAS 40 (1905–6), 204.
- 12 * Latheronwheel, Caithness; (4); c.ND 179342; ?; ?; conc HS within 2 R; *Trans Inverness Sci Soc* 7, 1915, 343.

IRELAND

Horseshoes

- 13 Ballynoe, Co. Down; (1); J 481404; WSW-ENE; 12.8 × 9.6; exc. 1937–8; crem,

- Carrowkeel ware, int cn inside stone circle; *Palaeohistoria* 18 (1976), 73–104, plan, 82.
- 14 Lugg, Co. Dublin; (4); O 032246; SW–NE; 18.3 × 24.4; 3 timber trilithons?; exc. 1939. Neo sherds within henge + A; *PRIA* 53C (1950), 311–32, plan, plate XXXIII.
- BRITTANY
- a. *Horseshoes*
- 15 *Péder nec, Côtes-du-Nord; (4); 12km WSW of Guingamp; E–W; 495 ('250 toises') × ?; adj 8.5m high menhir; Gilbert 1962, 201–3; Burl 1985, 40, no. 19b.
- 16 Tossen-Keler, Côtes-du-Nord; (2); originally just W of the Château d'Eau, 13km NE of Lannion; E–W; 29 × 31; ent?, cn; art: chevrons, axe, anthropomorph; exc. 1963–4, Multi-phase: (a) hearths, 2550±250 bc (Gif-280), (b) HS, (c) cn: *L'Anthropologie* 72 (1968), 5–40, plan, 12–13; Burl 1985, 45–6, no. 33; Burl 1993, 143.
- 17 Lagatjar, Finistère; (2); 9km WNW of Crozon; NE–SW; 63 × 51; 2 ext R; Pontois, 110 plan; Burl 1985, 66–8.
- 18 Landaoudec, Finistère; (4); 2km N of Crozon; NW–SE; ?; A; exc; polished st axe; du Chatellier, 32; Pontois, 115–16, plan, 116; Burl 1993, 55–6, 230.
- 19 Pen-ar-Land, Isle of Ushant, Finistère; (2); 3km ENE of Lampaul; WSW–ENE; 13 × 10; 2 × R; rest 1988; Briard 1990, 50–1, plan; Burl 1993, 245; Astron MdS and equi SR: Briard 1990, 51.
- 20 Tribunal, Le, St. Just, Ille-et-Vilaine; (1); 100m W of the Château-Bû; N–S; 20 × 7; O; Burl 1985, 92–3, no. 110h; Briard *et al.* 1987, 64, 70; Briard 1990, 57; Astron equi SS: Briard, *et al.* 1993, 18.
- 21 Champ de la Croix, Crucun, Morbihan; (2); 4km N of Carnac-Ville; NE–SW?; 40 × 32?; art: 3 stones '*portent des signes gravés*'; O; rest 1926–7; Thom and Thom 1978, 119–20, plan; Kergal 1983, 61; Burl 1985, 131, 167a.
- 22 Er-Lannic South, Gulf of Morbihan; (4); to S and contiguous with Er-Lannic N (no. 38); W–E; c.64 × 69; le Rouzic 1930, planche 1; Burl 1976, 130–6.
- 23 Grand Rohu, Arzon, Morbihan; (4); 6km W of Sarzeau; SE–NW; c.48 × 42; Merlet 1974, 26–9, 31, plan, 29; Burl 1985, 113–14, no. 136a.
- 24 *Graniol, Pen Hap, Morbihan; (4); 9½km WNW of Sarzeau; S–N; 50.8 × ?; emb; Merlet 1974, 19–20, plan; Burl 1985, 113.
- 25 *Kerbourg nec, St. Pierre-Quiberon, Morbihan; (3); 4km N of Quiberon; E–W; 96 × 76; HS or cromlech?; 5 × R; Lukis 1875, 29, 35; Thom and Thom 1977, 7, 22; 1978, 20–1, plan; Burl 1985, 158–9, no. 204b; Giot 1988, 12.
- 26 Kergonan, Île-aux-Moines, Morbihan; (1); 1¼km S of landing-stage; SE–NW; 70 × 95; A?; art: axe, anthropomorph; exc. 1864; Q; 1877 fl flakes: Minot, 26–7; stones across the mouth; Merlet 1974, 7–19, 34, plan, 9; Burl 1985, 114, no. 139a; Astron MdS SS?: Burl 1995, 257–8.
- 27 Kerlescan North, Morbihan; (4); 3¼km NE of Carnac-Ville; WNW–ESE; 235 × 200; Thom and Thom 1978, 92–6, plan, 96; Burl 1985, 141, no. 180c.
- 28 Kerlescan South, Morbihan; (1); 100m S of Kerlescan North; S–N; 78 × 74; 13 ext R with A?; Thom and Thom 1978, 92–7, plans 93, 94; Burl 1985, 139–141, no. 180a; 1993, 140–3, plans, 140, 142.
- 29 Kermario East, Morbihan; (4); 2¼km NE of Carnac-Ville; ?; ?; 'Some remains of the arc of a semi-circle': Giot 1960, 123.
- 30 Ste. Barbe, Morbihan; (4); 1.7km WNW of Plouharnel; ESE–WNW; ?; ext. 8 R; Lukis 1875, 26; Burl 1985, 164, no. 213; 1993, 243.
- b. *Rectangles*
- 31 Landaoudec, Finistère; (4); 2km N of Crozon; NW–SE; ?; adj HS, A; du Chatellier, 32; Pontois, 115–16, sketchplan, 116.
- 32 Lanvéoc, Finistère; (4); 5km NNE of Crozon; E–W; ?; du Chatellier, 32, sketch; Giot 1960, 120; Burl 1993, 54.
- 33 *Parc-ar-Varret, Finistère; (3); 1km NNW of Porspoder; ?; 40 × 15; int st, ext pair; Gilbert 1962, 224, no. 15.
- 34 Phare du Créach, Isle of Ushant, Finistère; (4); 2¼km W of Lampaul; ?; ?; Giot 1960, 120; Giot *et al.* 1979, 410
- 35 Ty ar c'Hur, Crozon, Finistère; (4); 1km SE of Morgat; ?; c.70 × 20; A; du Chatellier, 31, 124; Pontois 1929, 98, 115, 117; Giot 1960, 120; Burl 1993, 55–6; Astron MdW SR?: Lockyer 1909, 486.
- 36 *Cordon des Druides, Ille-et-Vilaine; (5); 5km

- NNE of Fougères; ?; Gilbert 1962, 220–1, no. 6; Burl 1985, 85–6, no. 103.
- 37 Crucuno, Morbihan; (2); 3km NNW of Plouharnel; E–W; 33.2 × 24.9; rest. 1882; Thom *et al.* 1973, 450–4, plan, 451; Burl 1985, 133, no. 171b; 1987, 141–9; Astron MdS SR, MdW and equi SS: Thom *et al.* 1973, 451.
- 38 Er-Lannic North, Gulf of Morbihan; (3); 2km S of Larmor-Baden; SE–NW; 72 × 54; emb; art: axes, anthropomorph?, cms; cove? 2 × O; exc. 1923–6. Chassey and Conguel ware, animal bones, fl, Q: le Rouzic 1930, plan, 4; le Rouzic and Péquart, 42, 76, figs. 7–9; Burl 1976, 130–6, plan, 135; Burl, 1985, 111, no. 132b; Astron Maj N MR, Maj N MS: Burl 1976, 135.
- 39 *Jardin aux Moines, Brocéliande Forest, Morbihan; (2, 5); 2½km ENE of Néant-sur-Yvel; NE–SW; 25 × 6; rectangle or P? exc. 1983. Neo sherds: Briard 1989, 41–56, plan, 43; Briard *et al.* 1987, 76–8; 1990, 12–13.

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The Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement Site at Stockton

by P.R. SAUNDERS

This report describes the results of an excavation undertaken in 1974 on a realignment of the A303 in Stockton parish. Evidence of a 'new' unenclosed Iron Age settlement was revealed. The artefacts, mostly from pits, are recorded, together with a specialist report on the animal bone. The significance of the site is discussed including evidence from at least one pit of a ritual component within Iron Age society.

INTRODUCTION

The Iron Age site here recorded was discovered by members of the Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group on Good Friday, 1974, during the course of field inspection of the then extensive road improvement scheme on the A36 and A303 at Deptford and Wylde. The contractors were well-advanced with their work at the time, much of the initial topsoil stripping and some new sections of road having already been completed. Little worthy of record was noted in the work in the valley of the River Wylde but in Stockton parish some 1.2km south-west of Wylde church, where the A303 was being realigned to meet the Wylde bypass, an extensive scatter of calcined flints, sherds of Iron Age pottery and some animal bones were discovered. Most of the topsoil along the path of the new road had been stripped and the chalk below was in process of being graded in order to provide 'make-up' in the valley below to reduce the level of incline of the new road. Fortunately, the cutting through the chalk escarpment had not been completed by the contractors and where pits of any depth existed they showed clearly in the scraped chalk as patches of very dark soil.

It was decided to excavate several pits and plan as much of the site as possible in order to obtain evidence for the dating and nature of the settlement. Salvage excavation took place on Easter Sunday and Monday in harsh weather conditions.

The site (Figure 1) lies on an Upper Chalk spur, facing north-east, at a height of 120m above sea level. It is centred on ST 99683735.

In 1975 Christopher Gingell was able to record

five further pits. Time permitted two pits to be excavated in a more scientific manner, though unfortunately they were less productive of significant finds (Gingell 1976, 49). The results of his work are incorporated in this report.

All the finds have been deposited in Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum (Accession No. 54/1979).

The excavation

The area in which clearly defined features (pits) were visible in 1974 was approximately 110m by 40m within a 53m wide cutting for the new road. The eastern part of the cutting had had the topsoil removed and slight grading of the chalk beneath had taken place in the south-eastern (i.e. the higher) end: this area is designated Area A to distinguish it from the north-western part of the cutting (Area B) where grading had removed more material (up to one metre of soil and chalk). Although the features in Area B were more clearly defined as a result of this greater depth of grading, it was evident that they had lost up to a metre of their original depth. Indeed, since the whole site had been ploughed for some years it is probable that features might have been destroyed at an earlier date. The features in Area A, although less distinct on the surface, were considered more worthy of close attention, since it was possible that features other than pits might still survive and that the pits available for excavation would be more complete.

Areas A and B were separated by a featureless zone on a north-south axis approximately 11m wide. The western half of this featureless zone had been graded more than the area around Pit 9 and

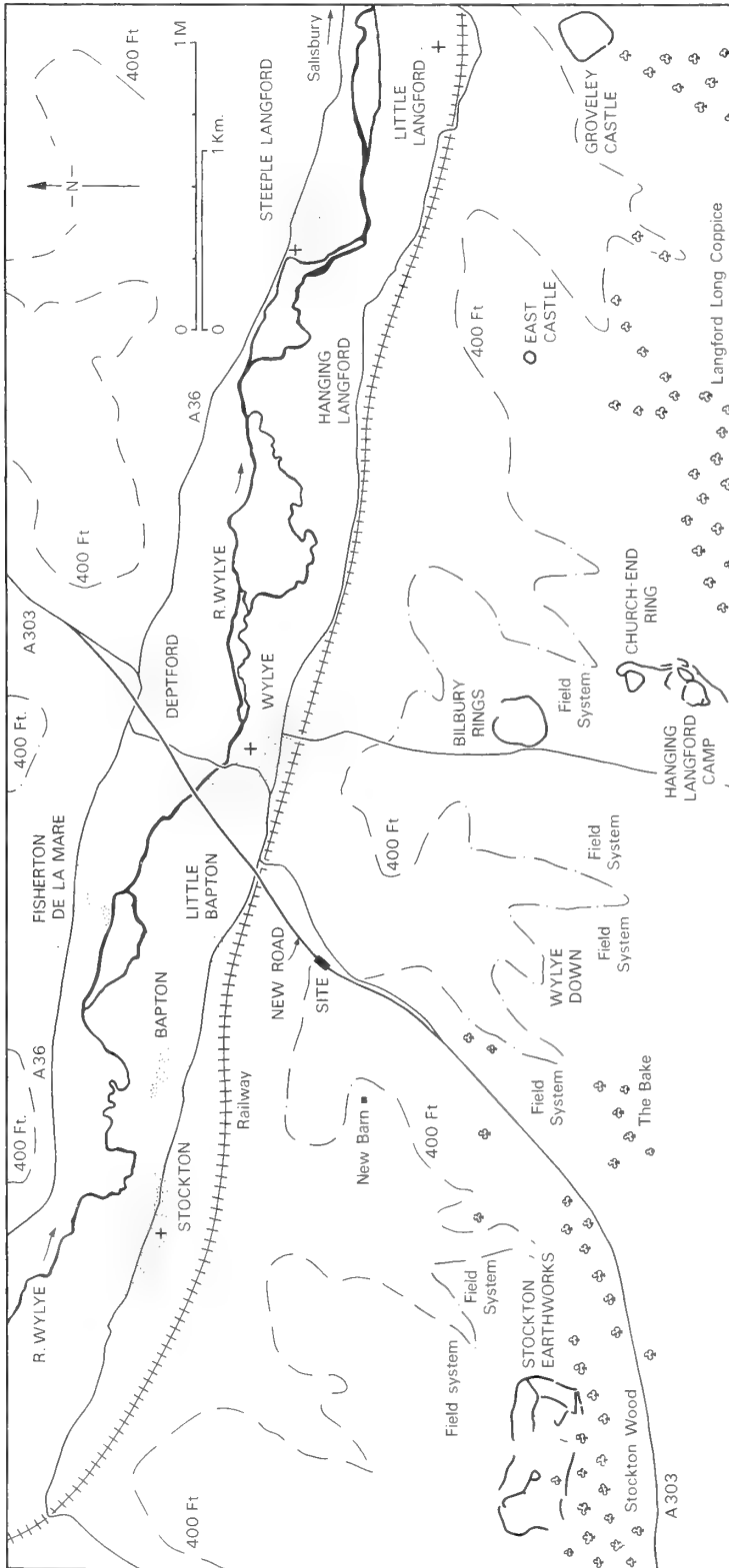


Figure 1. Stockton: site location plan

Pit 7 (see plan, Figure 2), and any shallow pits here may thus have been removed. The eastern half was confused by a scatter of topsoil, calcined flints and indistinct features. The separation of the site into two areas may thus be an artificial distinction. It was not possible to distinguish from the features and artefact evidence two meaningfully distinct settlement areas.

The very limited time available and small size of the labour force did not permit large scale hand-stripping of Area A. After an attempt at selective stripping around Pits 1-4 and 9-10 and the tract between Pits 5 and 8, hope of recovering post holes or features other than pits was abandoned. Earlier ploughing and/or the recent topsoil clearance seemed to have obliterated all trace of any features other than pits, together with any stratification which might have related one pit to another.

Since the pits observed in Area B extended up to the edge of the road cutting, there is reason to believe that the site continues into the field to the west of the road where remains of features other than pits may exist: this has not been investigated on the ground. An examination of the available air photographs revealed no archaeological features on any part of the site. South of the site, however,

traces of a field system have been identified (Wiltshire Sites and Monuments Record No. ST93NE 615).

All the features which could be defined clearly were planned (Figure 2): they comprised 71 pits. As stated above, no definite post holes or other features were found. The failure to locate a ditch section is noteworthy. The contractor's cutting on the west side of the new road was clean and if a ditch had existed it would have been clearly visible in section. The cutting to the east of Area A was not sufficiently well-advanced at the time of the salvage work but no ditch section was observed when the site was revisited at later intervals by the author and by Mr Gingell. It may be concluded, therefore, that the settlement was unenclosed.

The Pits

Only pits which could be clearly defined in the graded area were recorded though certainly more existed (at least twenty estimated), especially at the northern end of Area A where time did not permit the proper examination of indistinct features in the midst of masses of disturbed soil and calcined flints.

In Area A 25 pits were plotted and in Area B 47; to Area A must be added the five recorded

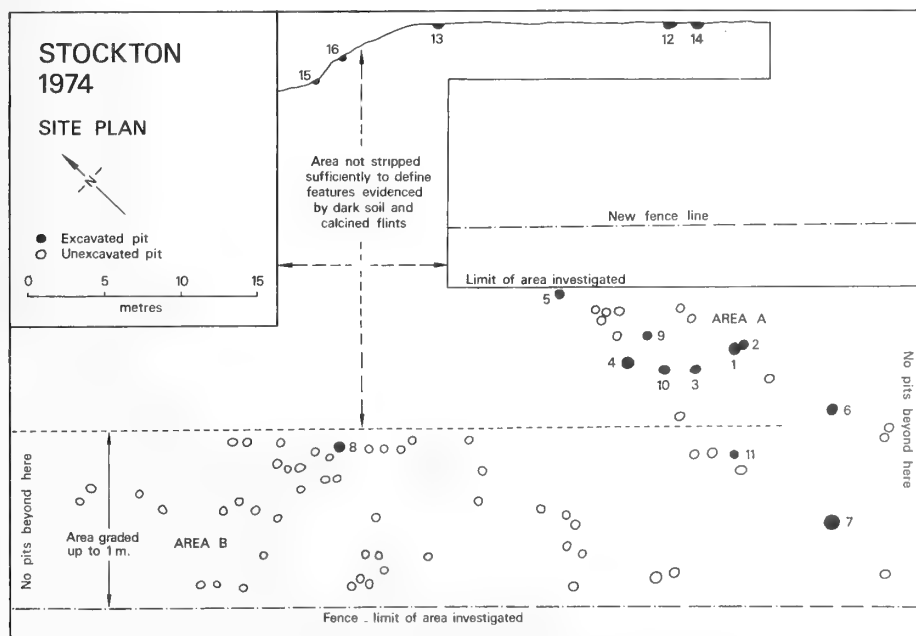


Figure 2. Stockton: plan of area investigated showing distribution of pits

later in 1975. An attempt was made to excavate the contents of 11 pits, 10 in Area A and one in Area B. Pits 1 and 2 were chosen because they were the only pits which appeared from surface indications to be conjoined; Pits 3 and 4 were easily defined at the surface and appeared to be average in size and shape; Pit 5 was the pit visible furthest to the north of Area A; Pit 6 lay to the south-east of Area A; Pit 7 appeared to be the largest; Pit 11, although in Area A, had clearly lost approximately 0.50m and could be compared with pits much graded in Area B; and Pit 8 was selected as typical of Area B.

All the pits selected proved to be roughly circular and near vertically sided. None of these pits demonstrated the beehive shape characteristic of many other Iron Age sites in Wessex. However, erosion and particularly the grading may simply have removed any narrow necks these pits might once have possessed. This hypothesis was supported when Pit 12, excavated in 1975, proved to possess a narrow neck. The diameters of the pits given below are those at the graded land surface. Pits 1-6, 9 and 10 had been stripped of topsoil only; Pit 11 had been graded an estimated 0.50m; Pit 7, 0.40 m; and

Pit 8, 1m. Unfortunately, Pit 7, which proved to be larger and more productive of finds than anticipated, could not be completely emptied in the time available. No evidence for basketry lining was found, although the wall of Pit 3 had been lined with clay, in places surviving intact for the entire depth of the pit.

No evidence for the nature of the materials stored in the pits was recovered. In all cases the excavated pits appear to have been used as receptacles for domestic rubbish when their otherwise useful life was ended. All the pits except Pit 8 contained much calcined flint in addition to chalk rubble, soil and domestic debris.

Pit 9 was of especial interest: the skulls of a horse and four cattle appeared to have been placed deliberately in the bottom of the pit in a circular arrangement, suggestive of a possible ritual purpose (see discussion, below, p.24).

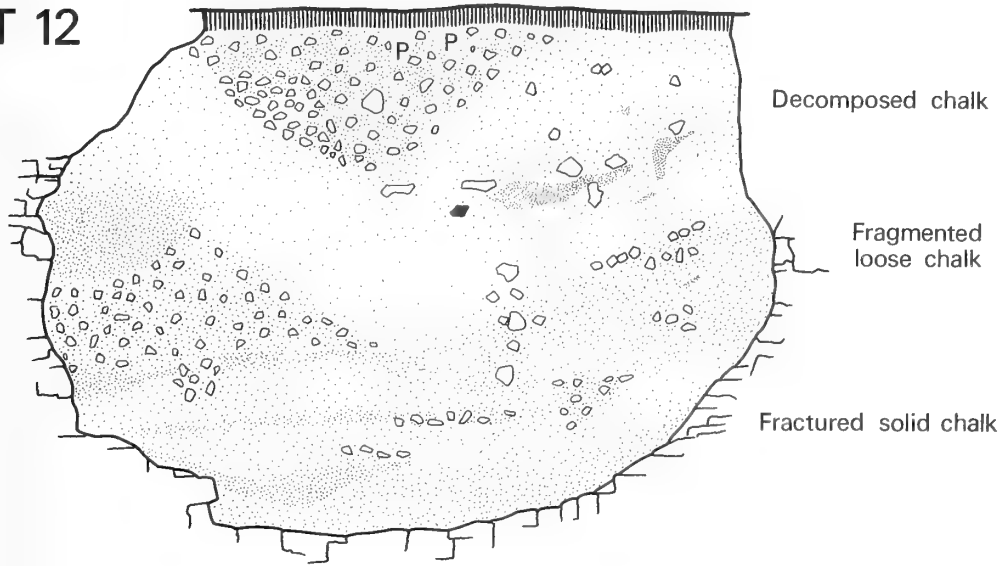
Although Pits 12-16 were relatively unproductive of significant finds their more careful excavation is demonstrated by the recovery of more charcoal samples and small animal bones, both of which the writer feels tended to be overlooked in the rapid salvage excavations of Pits 1-11.

Table 1: Schedule of Pits

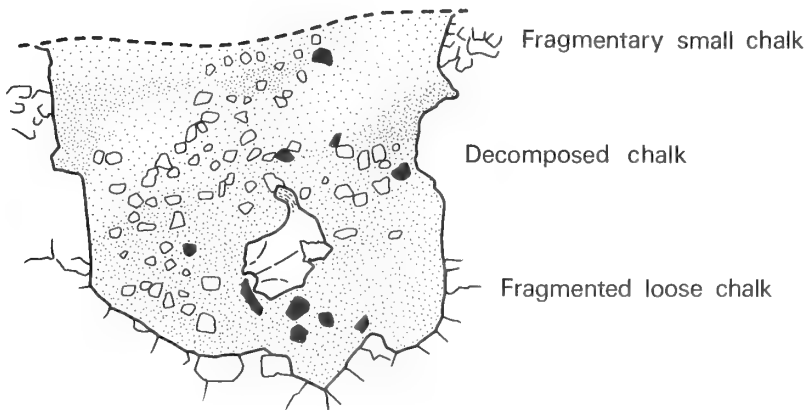
<i>Pit</i>	<i>Diameter (m)</i>	<i>Depth (m)</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1.	1.50	1.50	Cut by Pit 2.
2.	1.70	1.30	Cut Pit 1.
3.	1.20/1.30	1.35	Slightly oval in plan. Lined with clay.
4.	1.50	0.60	
5.	1.00/1.25	0.30	Slightly oval in plan.
6.	1.30	1.10	
7.	2.00	1.90+	Excavation abandoned before bottom reached.
8.	1.60	0.46	Very irregular scoop at base.
9.	1.40	1.00	
10.	1.10	0.40	
11.	1.05	0.25	
12.	1.40	1.35	Sectioned (Figure 3)
13.	1.20	0.90	Sectioned (Figure 3)
14.	1.40	Not recorded	
15.	1.00	Not recorded	
16.	1.00	Not recorded	

STOCKTON

PIT 12



PIT 13



- | | | | |
|---|-------------|---|----------------|
| ● | Bone | P | Pottery |
| ○ | Chalk lumps | ● | Burnt red clay |

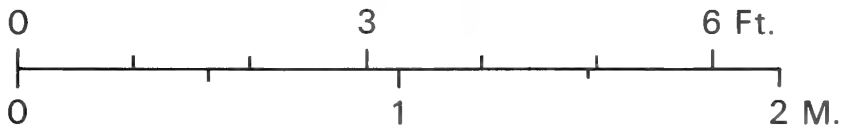


Figure 3. Stockton: sections of Pits 12 and 13

The Finds

POTTERY (Figures 4 and 5)

Some 617 sherds of Iron Age pottery, weighing 10.974 kg, were recorded; they mostly comprised indeterminate body sherds, of which the more significant are catalogued below. All excavated pits, except Pit 16, produced pottery. Only one completely restorable pot (Figure 4, no. 2) was recovered. All the pottery from Pit 4 was derived from a single pot which had been heated externally and not cleaned before deposition.

Much of the pottery is poorly made and was very friable in its damp excavated state. Most became more stable upon drying but nevertheless much seems to have been poorly fired. Sandy and coarse dark grey, flint-gritted fabrics predominate. 'Finer' ware comprises six sherds of haematite-coated vessels and a bowl fragment with unusual grooves incised in the rim (Figure 4, no. 8). Apart perhaps from the latter, most of the pottery is likely to have been produced locally.

Figure 4

1. Rim and eleven body sherds from a large jar of compact, sandy paste, tempered with small grits. Brown externally, grading to black internally where there are traces of a sooty deposit. The largest vessel recovered. Pit 3.
2. Jar of coarse paste with large flint inclusions. Dark grey throughout with some brown externally. Surfaces broken by inclusions. Traces of a sooty accretion survive around the rim externally and inside. The only complete vessel recovered. Pit 3.
3. Rim sherd of sandy paste with few flint inclusions. Dark grey internally, black externally with black core. Finger impressions below rim. Sooty residue on exterior surfaces. Pit 7.
4. Rim sherd of compact sandy paste with few flint inclusions. Black throughout. Pit 3.
5. Small rim sherd of sandy paste, tempered with flint and quartz grains. Grey surfaces with brown core. Pit 9.
6. Two sherds from a jar with counter-sunk lug handle. Coarse paste, heavily tempered with crushed flint grits and quartz. Dark grey surfaces with brown/grey core. Surfaces, especially internal, leached. Pit 5.
7. Rim sherd from a carinated vessel of coarse paste with few flint inclusions. Well fired. Pit 7.
8. Rim sherd from a bowl of compact sandy paste with quartz and crushed flint inclusions. Dark grey internally, grey/brown externally with brown core. Well burnished surfaces. Two incised grooves run round the top of the rim. The paste, burnishing and firing are very similar to a rim sherd from Harnham Hill (Pit E), which although not grooved like this sherd, does possess unusual incised decoration (Piggott 1939, 520 fig. 4 no. 7). Pit 3.
9. Rim sherd from a jar of sandy paste tempered with flint. Dark grey surfaces with brown/grey core. Lightly burnished externally. Pit 7.
10. Nine rim and 36 other sherds from a jar of coarse sandy paste, tempered with fine grit. Dark grey surfaces with variable brownish and grey core. Evidence of finger wiping internally. Pit 4.
11. Rim sherd of coarse paste with grit inclusions. Dark grey throughout. Some inclusions protrude through the surface which is also rather leached. Pit 7.
12. Rim sherd from a thin, shouldered vessel of coarse over-fired paste with few flint and quartz inclusions. Grey throughout. Finger wipe impressions below pressed-down rim. Pit 6.
13. Two joining sherds of a jar with rim slightly flattened. Coarse paste tempered with flint. Dark grey throughout. Crudely formed but well-fired. Pit 6.
14. Rim sherd of sandy paste with chalk tempering. Orangey-brown surfaces with grey core. Band of vertical finger wipes below rim. Pit 6.
15. Small rim sherd of sandy paste tempered with grog and flint. Light orange throughout. Traces of finger wipes below rim. Pit 7.
16. Rim sherd and three small body sherds from a jar of well-fired coarse paste tempered with chalk and flint. Even light brown throughout, grass-wiped externally, leached internally. Pit 2.
17. Rim sherd from a jar of sandy paste tempered with flint. Dark grey throughout. Crudely made and with finger impressions between rim and shoulder. Pit 7.
18. Small rim sherd of coarse paste, tempered with chalk and flint. Reddish-brown externally, orangey-brown internally with brown core. Horizontal band of finger-tip impressions just below the rim. Pit 6.
19. Rim sherd of flaky paste, tempered with abundant flint and crushed shell. Orangey-brown externally, light brown internally with brown core. Pit 11.

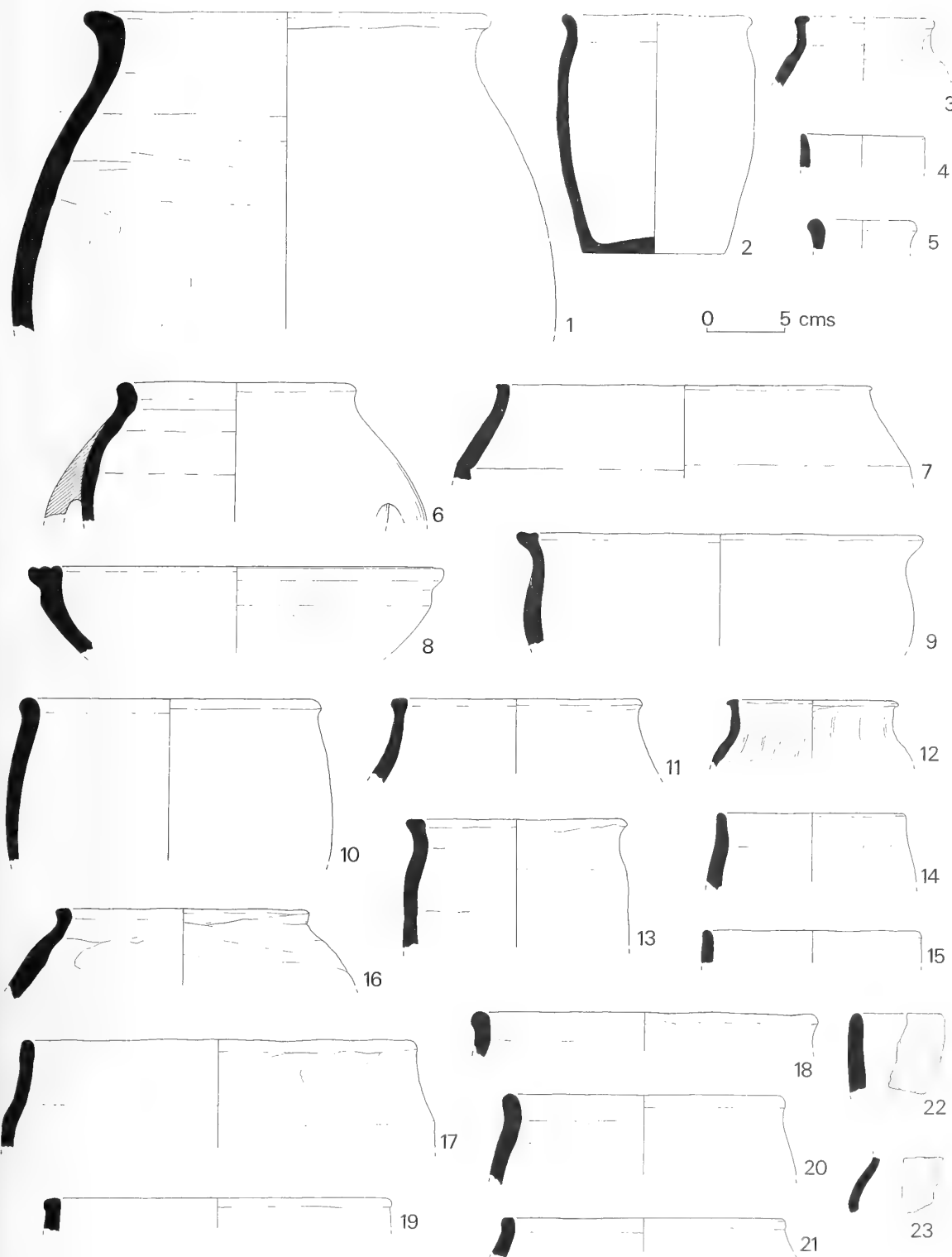


Figure 4. Stockton: pottery from Pits 2-7, 9 and 11. Scale 1:4

20. Rim sherd from a jar of sandy paste, tempered with flint and quartz grains. Grey brown internally, dark grey externally with brown core. Pit 5.
21. Small rim sherd of fine paste with small grit and flint inclusions. Grey brown throughout. Pit 2.
22. Rim sherd from a nearly straight-sided vessel of sandy fabric, tempered with flint and quartz grains. Dark grey surfaces with brown core. Pit 7.
23. Body sherd from a haematite-coated bowl. This has been examined by Miss Carol Crook under a polarising microscope and fine grains of quartz, calcite and flint have been shown to be present. There are also small amounts of grog and black grains of what is probably crystalline haematite (Fe_2O_3). Pit 6.
24. Body sherd from a haematite-coated bowl. Pit 6.
25. Two joining base angle sherds from a large jar of coarse sandy paste with quartz inclusions. Dark grey/brown throughout. A white residue adheres internally. Pit 7.
26. Two base angle sherds of fine sandy paste, tempered with quartz and flint. Orangey brown internally, grey externally with brown/grey core. Pit 7.
- 27 and 34. Two base sherds of coarse paste, tempered with few flint inclusions and quartz grains. Orangey-brown externally, dark grey internally with brown core. Pit 6.
28. Five base sherds of coarse paste, heavily tempered with crushed flint. Dark grey internally, patchy brown externally with dark grey core. The bottom of the base is heavily grass-impressed. Pit 7.
29. Base angle sherd of crumbly paste, tempered with flint and quartz grains. Dark grey throughout. Pit 7.
30. Base angle sherd of coarse paste, tempered with flint and quartz grains. Black internally, orange externally with brown core. Area A: unstratified.
31. Base angle sherd of very friable paste, tempered with crushed shell and flint. Reddish brown

Figure 5

24. Body sherd from a haematite-coated bowl. Pit 6.
25. Two joining base angle sherds from a large jar of coarse sandy paste with quartz inclusions.

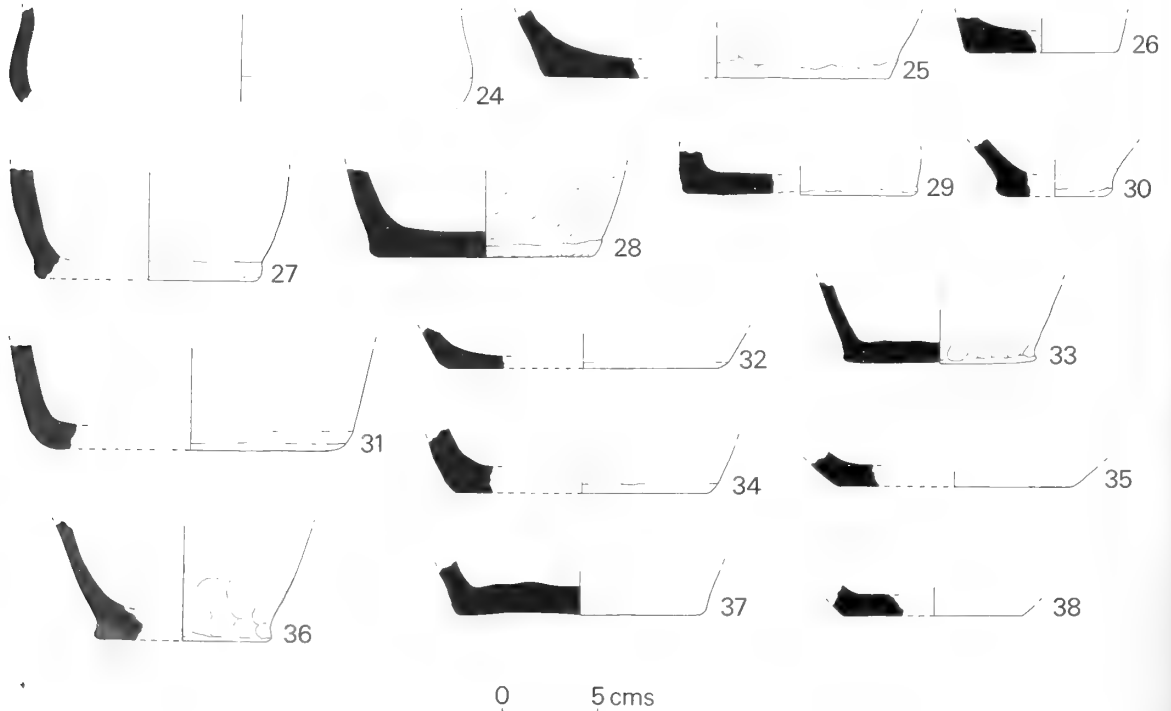


Figure 5. Stockton: pottery from Pits 2, 3, 6, 7 and 9; and Area A. Scale 1:4

externally, black internally with brown core. Poorly made and fired. Pit 3.

- 32. Base angle and three body sherds of highly gritted paste. Grey internally, light brown and highly burnished externally with brown/grey core. Pit 3.
- 33. Base sherd of coarse paste with few flints and quartz inclusions. Slight finger or thumb impressions around base. Pit 3.
- 34. See no. 27, above.
- 35. Small base angle sherd of coarse paste with large flint and chalk inclusions. Dark grey internally, brown/grey externally with dark grey core. Pit 9.
- 36. Base angle and fifteen body sherds of coarse friable paste with few flint inclusions. Dark grey

internally, brown externally with dark grey core. There are clear finger prints where the base has been pressed down. Pit 7.

- 37. Base sherd of coarse laminated paste, tempered with flint and quartz grains. Dark grey throughout with brown patches on surfaces. Pit 7.
- 38. Base sherd of coarse paste, tempered with flint and grog. Orange-brown surfaces with dark grey core. Pit 2.

BONE AND ANTLER OBJECTS (Figure 6)

- 1. A comb, 130mm long, with a perforation 4mm in diameter through the handle which is decorated with transverse incised lines.

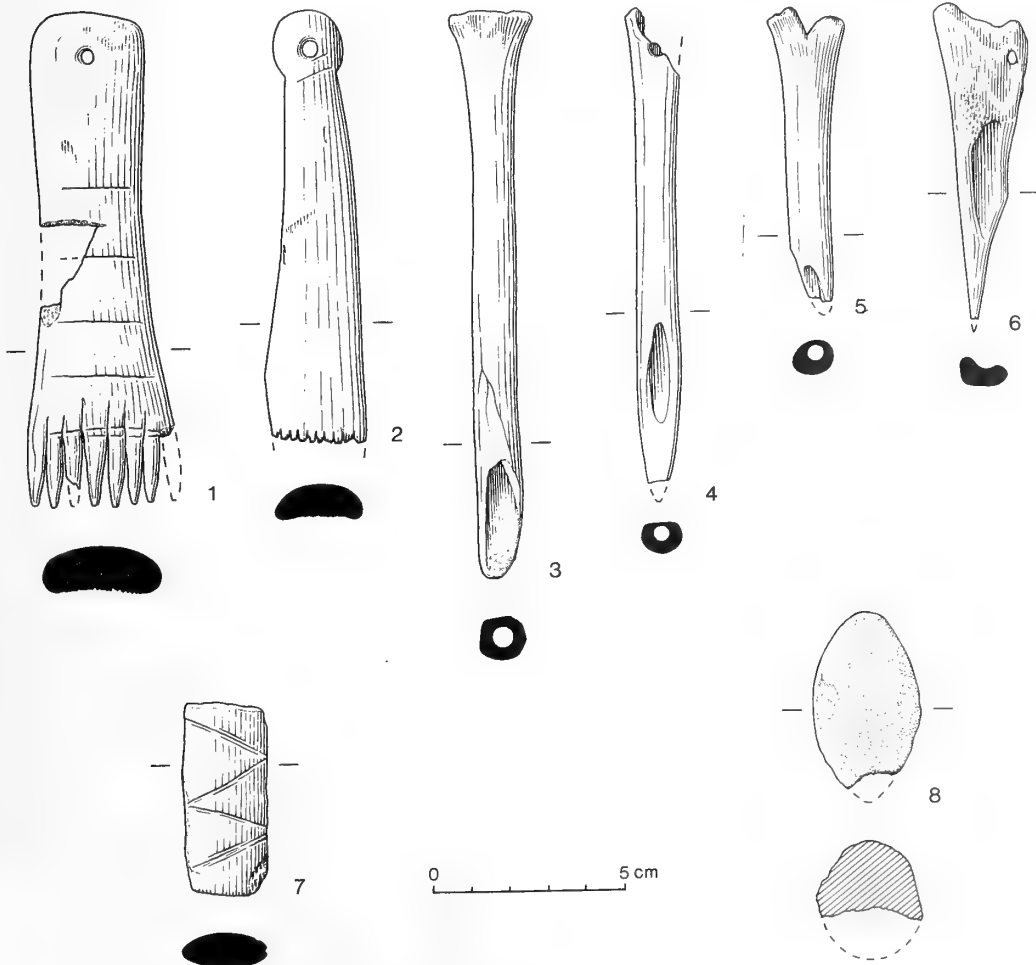


Figure 6. Stockton: bone and chalk artefacts. Scale 1:2

Although the teeth are slightly blunted, the comb is little polished and appears to have had little use. Made from a horse or bovine long bone, possibly a radius. Pit 7.

2. A comb, 113mm long, with undecorated handle, expanded at its end around a perforation 5mm in diameter. All the teeth, of which there were a minimum of ten, are missing. The handle is highly polished, probably through use. Made from red deer antler tine. Unstratified in Area B near Pit 8.
3. A gouge or scoop, 148mm long and slightly polished. Made from a sheep tibia. Pit 3.
4. A socketed knife 124mm long, made from the tibia of an immature sheep. Polished but with the greater part of the socket and the extreme tip missing. Pit 9.
5. A fragmentary socketed gouge, scoop or knife, 78mm long and quite highly polished. Pit 9.
6. An awl, 85mm long. Made from a bovine metacarpus. Pit 7.
7. A fragment of a rib, 50mm long, with incised decoration, polished and with worn edges. Possibly part of the handle of a 'rib-knife'. Pit 2.

STONE OBJECTS

1. A fragmentary sling missile of pointed, egg-shaped form, estimated original length 49mm. It is approximately 65% complete and weighs 25 grammes. Carved from chalk, showing longitudinal knife cuts. Pit 6 (Figure 6, no. 8).
2. Fragment of Upper Greensand, possibly part of a quernstone or grain rubber. Pit 10.

BAKED CLAY AND CHARCOAL

1. Five indeterminate pieces of baked clay, together weighing 110 grammes. Pit 4.
2. Two pieces of baked clay, together weighing 11 grammes. Pit 9.
3. Fragments of charcoal were recovered from Pits 7, 12, 13 and 14.

SLAG

Fragments of slag, possibly smithing slag, weighing 27 grammes. Pit 6.

HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS

1. Shaft of femur. Pit 7.
2. Part of mandible. The roots of the first molar and the whole second molar remain only. Suggested age about 30–35 years. Pit 7.

ANIMAL BONE

by M.S. MOODY and R. MOODY

The bone from this chalk site is well preserved. The recovered bone weighs 21,375 grammes, of which 13,605 grammes comprise identifiable and measurable material. The worked bone is described separately under 'finds'.

Some bones possess an 'ivory' texture: that is, a harder and whiter than normal, non porous, somewhat translucent surface. Coy (1975) suggests that this is due to roasting. Some of these bones (notably from Pits 7 and 9) are sheep-sized long bones which often lack their ends and show signs of gnawing, presumably by scavenging animals. A little bone is blackened through burning, including fragments from Pits 7, 9 and 13 and a horse tooth from Pit 1.

The almost total lack of cattle vertebrae is noteworthy and suggests that animals were butchered before arrival at the site or at least this part of it. There are few complete cattle long bones: most seem to have been smashed, not sawn. A few show signs of cuts: one cattle horn core is deeply chopped at its base and another is knife-cut at its base (both from Pit 9).

Several bones are of pathological interest. From Pit 9 a dog metatarsus, which had been broken, had re-united and become fused to an adjacent metatarsal. Two fragments of cattle long bone from Pit 7 show signs of infection and damage and Baker and Brothwell (1980, 73–4 and fig. 8) have noted local areas of osteomyelitis of the skull following polling in a cattle skull from Pit 9. One bovine tooth (from Pit 9) has a pea-sized swelling below the crown. A sheep/goat mandible (from Pit 7) is swollen below the molars.

Dog is sparsely represented in Pits 7, 9 and 13 where individual bones are not duplicated. It is possible, though not certain, that they may be the remains of a single animal and Pits 7, 9 and 13 may, therefore, have been open at the same time. The same may also have applied in Pits 3, 5 and 10 where single bones, possibly from the same pig, were found.

The minimum number of animals represented by the bones recovered is given below. Since the number of pits sampled in relation to the total is small, these figures probably greatly under-represent the numbers actually present on the site as a whole.

Horse (*equus*): two. The mandible length (395mm) of that from Pit 9 might suggest an animal of New Forest pony size. Incisor wear indicates an age of 20+ years (Ryder 1969, 43).

Cattle (*bos*): six, ranging in age from calf to adult. A right tibia from Pit 9 is longitudinally ridged, indicating an aged animal. Most are in the young adult range.

Sheep/goat (*ovis aries L/capra hircus L*): four, of which only one is definitely goat represented by a radius/ulna from Pit 7 (identified by Miss J. Coy) and a basi occipital from Pit 9 (Miss B. Noddle). Some bones were from a very young animal, perhaps foetal, and it is possible that some of these could be of roe deer.

Roe deer (*capreolus L*): two

Pig (*sus*): one, represented by an atlas (from Pit 5), a scapula (Pit 3), a fragment of mandible (Pit 10), and scapula, calcaneum and canine from Area A.

Dog (*canis*): one. A mandible from Pit 7 falls in the middle of the length range for Iron Age dog (Harcourt 1974). A withers height of 450mm is suggested for this animal.

The remaining small animals came from Pits 12 and 13 which were carefully sectioned by Mr Gingell. The absence of very small bones from Pits 1 to 11 is probably due to the very rapid coarse sampling and serves to emphasise the inevitable loss of information inherent in salvage excavation.

Rabbit (*oryctolagus cuniculus L*): at least one animal, represented by a single humerus from Pit 14.

Water vole (*arvicola amphibius*): one, represented by a femur fragment from Pit 12.

Field vole (*microtus agrestis*): one, represented by a complete skull from Pit 13.

Frog (*rana sp*): one, represented by a tibia + fibula from Pit 12.

Toad (*bufo sp*): one, represented by a tibia + fibula from Pit 12.

Discussion

The settlement appears to have been unenclosed and to date from around the fifth to fourth centuries B.C.

Whilst the Iron Age/Romano-British camps and celtic field systems to the south of the Wylle valley are numerous and relatively well-known, less is known about the farmsteads in this vicinity. The large number of pits on this site need not imply a settlement of more than a very few huts. At Tollard Royal, for example, one hut generated 34 pits (Wainwright 1969, 140). The settlement may, therefore, have been as small as one family unit. The date range of the pottery does not indicate a very long-lived settlement. The few haematite coated sherds and lack of late pottery types suggest a date perhaps a generation or two around 400–300 B.C.

Unenclosed settlements of the early and middle Iron Age in Wessex are not prolific so this 'new' example assumes greater significance than is at first apparent. I am indebted to Mark Corney for his observations (pers. comm.) on this point, drawing attention to the very few settlements of this date in south Wiltshire: Fifield Bavant Down (Clay 1924), South Mill Hill, Amesbury (McOmish 1989), Bishopstrow Farm near Warminster – a complex site with enclosed and unenclosed phases (McOmish 1989), Woodminton Down (Corney 1990, fig. 3 no. 6) and Prescombe Down, Ebbesbourne Wake (RCHME forthcoming). When ploughed-out this type of site is often difficult to locate as crop/soil or parch marks, yet it does appear through the accident of road construction as here at Stockton or at Winnall Down near Winchester, discovered during the construction of the M3 (Fasham 1985). The latter site, although beginning as an enclosed settlement in the early Iron Age, was unenclosed in the middle Iron Age and showed good evidence for 'zoning', with pits and residential areas separated.

Mark Corney (pers. comm.) also points out that the settlement

... is located on the one part of Grovelly/Great Ridge where there is good evidence for activity before the later Iron Age. Not far to the south is Dinton Beeches, the only spot on the Ridge to produce quantities of middle to late Bronze Age metalwork (Grinsell 1957, 63). Stockton Earthworks has also produced early Iron Age material, notably some All Cannings Cross pottery (Nan Kivell 1926, pl.V, 'u' and 'v') and when re-surveyed by the RCHME a univallate hillfort was found underlying the late Iron Age and Roman settlement (Corney 1994, fig.1). All the other known Ridge-top sites (excepting Grovelly Castle), such as Ebsbury, Hamshill

Ditches and Hanging Langford Camp are of late Iron Age date.

The economy of the settlement seems to have been based on mixed farming. The presence of an ox metacarpus with expanded distal end from Pit 3 indicates the use of plough oxen. There are abundant field lynchets around the site and although these are not dated it is worth recording that in 1909 a celtic coin was found in a lynchet at approximately ST 992381 (Grinsell 1957, 129). The majority of the pits examined could have been used as silos for the storage of grain and this is their most probable use prior to their being used for the deposition of rubbish. A fragment of stone from Pit 10 might be part of a quernstone. The vast quantities of fire-crackled flint found across the site may indicate the use of heated flints for several purposes including not only cooking but also the drying of ears of corn by indirect heat.

The presence of cattle, sheep, goat and pig bones, a few showing signs of butchery, indicates the domestication of these animals on or near the site. The sling missile suggests the possibility of hunting which may be supported by the presence of dog.

Hide, wool, fat and bone were available. The two bone combs suggest weaving on site, although no spindle whorls or loom weights were found. Some of the other bone tools could have been used in leather working: the socketed knives suggest the skinning of hides, for example.

No metal objects were found, though Pit 4 produced both a nodule of iron ore and a fragment of iron-stained chalk. From Pit 6 came a piece of slag which strongly suggests iron-working on site. No evidence of bronze founding was discovered but close by at New Barn, Bapton at approximately ST 990370, a La Tène I bronze fibula was found in 1938 (Shortt 1955).

Most pits produced fragments of stone, most frequently Vale of Wardour Purbeck. Of the latter, several pieces from Pits 7 and 8 showed signs of burning.

In common with other Iron Age settlement sites in south Wiltshire, such as Fifield Bavant Down, Swallowcliffe and Yarnbury (Clay 1924; 1925; and Cunnington 1933), human skeletal remains seem to have been allowed to litter the site. The femur and mandible fragments from Pit 7 were possibly deposited accidentally along with domestic rubbish, though the possibility of their deliberate deposition for ritual purposes should not be discounted (see

Hill 1995, 11–13).

The nature of the excavation precluded detailed recording of stratigraphy and artefact positions within the fill of the pits. The discovery in Pit 9 of four cattle skulls and a horse skull, apparently deliberately placed, is remarkably similar to a deposit at Swallowcliffe Down where, in Pit 54, the skulls of four cattle, two horses, one sheep and one dog lay close together (Clay 1925, 69). Cunliffe (1992 and 1995, 80–86) sees this type of ‘structured’ placing within pit deposits as part of a ritual of purification and propitiation prior to the abandonment and/or backfilling of such pits. The Pit 9 deposit may be seen as part of the growing body of evidence for viewing the placing of animal remains in pits as a ritual component of Iron Age society in Wessex.

The finds to the west and north-west of the site might well repay further archaeological investigation should the opportunity arise, since the site clearly continues to the west beyond the road cutting.

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Archaeological Investigations at Tockenham, 1994

by P.A. HARDING and C. LEWIS

with contributions by

MICHAEL J. ALLEN, GEOPHYSICAL SURVEYS OF BRADFORD, M. HENIG,
ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF ENGLAND and
R. SEAGER SMITH

Geophysical and earthwork surveys, sample excavations, fieldwalking and an environmental auger survey have confirmed the presence and extent of a previously unexcavated Romano-British complex at Tockenham. Surviving only in plan, it has been extensively robbed and damaged by ploughing. The work, which has made a significant contribution to knowledge of the Roman occupation of north Wiltshire, was carried out as part of a Channel Four Television series, Time Team.

INTRODUCTION

In January 1994 the producers of the Channel Four programme, *Time Team*, were investigating potential locations for inclusion in the television series. Following discussions with Roy Canham, Wiltshire County Archaeologist, the Tockenham site was selected for consideration. Finds of mosaic and tile fragments had indicated the presence of a villa or other important site and further information was needed to ascertain how it should be managed in the long term.

The project aimed to examine the extent, date and function of the Romano-British occupation and to establish its state of preservation with a view to listing the site as a Scheduled Ancient Monument.

Topography and Geology

The site is on the north side of Tockenham, at SU 039797 (Figures 1 and 2). It occupies relatively flat land, at approximately 120m OD, overlooking the source of the Cowage Brook, 600m to the north-east. The geology is mapped as Upper Calcareous Grit of the Corallian series (Geological Survey of England Sheet 266). At the time of the investigations the field was under long-term ley pasture which was due to be ploughed as part of a programme of land improvement. No archaeological evidence is visible on the surface, except for the slight remains of a ridge and furrow field system.

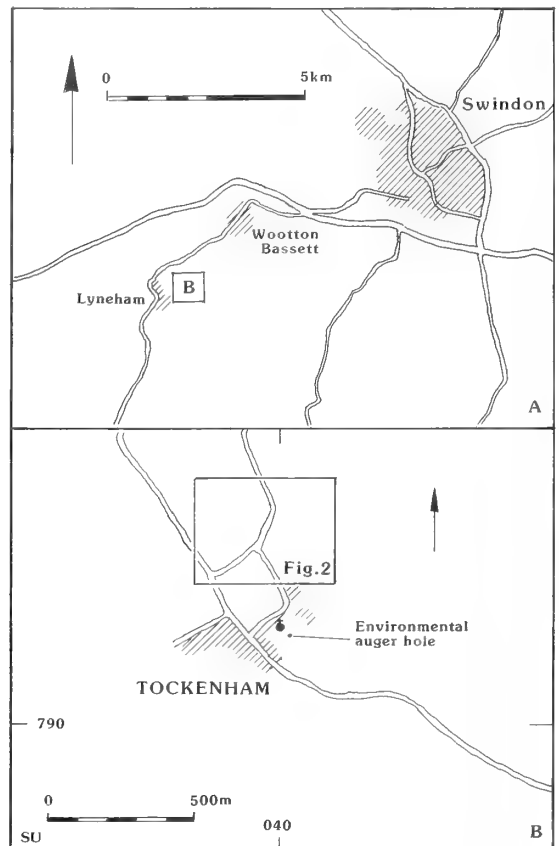


Figure 1. Tockenham: site location

Archaeological and historical background

Romano-British activity in the Tockenham area was known from two entries on the Wiltshire County Sites and Monuments Record (SMR). A figure in relief (SMR SU07NW304) set into the wall of Tockenham Church has been known since the 17th century. It was originally identified as St Christopher but was later interpreted as Aesculapius until Toynbee (1978) recognised its true significance. It shows 'a genius (household god), togate, with shoulder length hair, holding a cornucopia in his left hand and, in his right hand, a patera. By his right side is an altar around which a snake is coiled' (M. Henig pers. comm.).

A further SMR entry (SU 07NW301), recorded from the Wilts. Archaeological Register for 1974 (WAM 70/71 (1975/76), p.136), notes tesserae, tile fragments, including box flue tiles, and pottery from a field at SU 03927963 found by the landowner, D. Barnes, following a season of deep ploughing. Bryn Walters carried out a geophysical survey soon afterwards which suggested that the plan of the site might be recoverable.

Methods

The Time Team investigations consisted of five major elements:

- i) a geophysical survey to investigate whether areas of occupation could be defined;
- ii) a survey to record extant earthworks and to provide an accurate grid for coordinating the project;
- iii) a fieldwalking survey to establish the extent of the complex on the eastern side;
- iv) trial excavation to test the results of the geophysical survey and to establish the condition of preservation at the site; and
- v) the sampling, by auger, of a spring-fed pond immediately south-west of the church (Figure 1) to establish the sedimentary sequence and to determine whether environmental data might be preserved which could indicate former land use in the area.

These exercises are summarised here. Full reports are held in the site archive which has been deposited, with the finds, at Devizes Museum.

Results

GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY

This work was carried out by John Gater of Geophysical Surveys of Bradford. Two areas were

investigated (Figure 2) using resistivity and fluxgate gradiometry over a 20m grid. The resistivity survey, which was concentrated in the northern area, produced a remarkably clear plan of a possible multi-phased Romano-British villa aligned north-west to south-east and measuring 50m by 25m (Figure 2). Individual walls, rooms and corridors were visible including one room with an apsidal end. Additional buildings along the south-eastern and south-western field boundaries were tentatively indicated. A similar sub-rectangular structure, aligned on a slightly different axis, may have stood in the centre of the survey area. These structures were all poorly defined and were probably robbed-out.

The gradiometry survey of the same area identified a ridge and furrow field system trending north-east to south-west; however, a series of magnetic anomalies was aligned parallel to this system. These anomalies probably represent a complex of ditches which define a series of enclosures, fields or gardens offset from them. Several large pits were also identified. A distinct area of signal characteristic of brick, tile and other building debris, was surveyed using the resistivity technique.

The gradiometry survey subsequently confirmed the continuation of archaeological features to the south-east. It identified a probable field system, in the extreme south-west corner, laid off from a ditched trackway, aligned to the north-west, together with several probable pits. Five parallel linear features may constitute a form of entrance for the complex identified to the north.

EARTHWORK SURVEY

Survey of upstanding earthwork remains (Figure 2) by S. Ainsworth and B. Thomason of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) indicated the presence of two phases of ridge and furrow ploughing aligned approximately north-west to south-east with the (third) phase, identified in the geophysical survey, perpendicular to these. Most significant, the survey established that a linear feature, aligned south-west to north-east, north-west of the Romano-British complex, predates all phases of ridge and furrow. This feature, discernible as a substantial change in the field surface level, is oriented not only on the Romano-British complex but also on a number of current field boundaries around the site; it is likely,

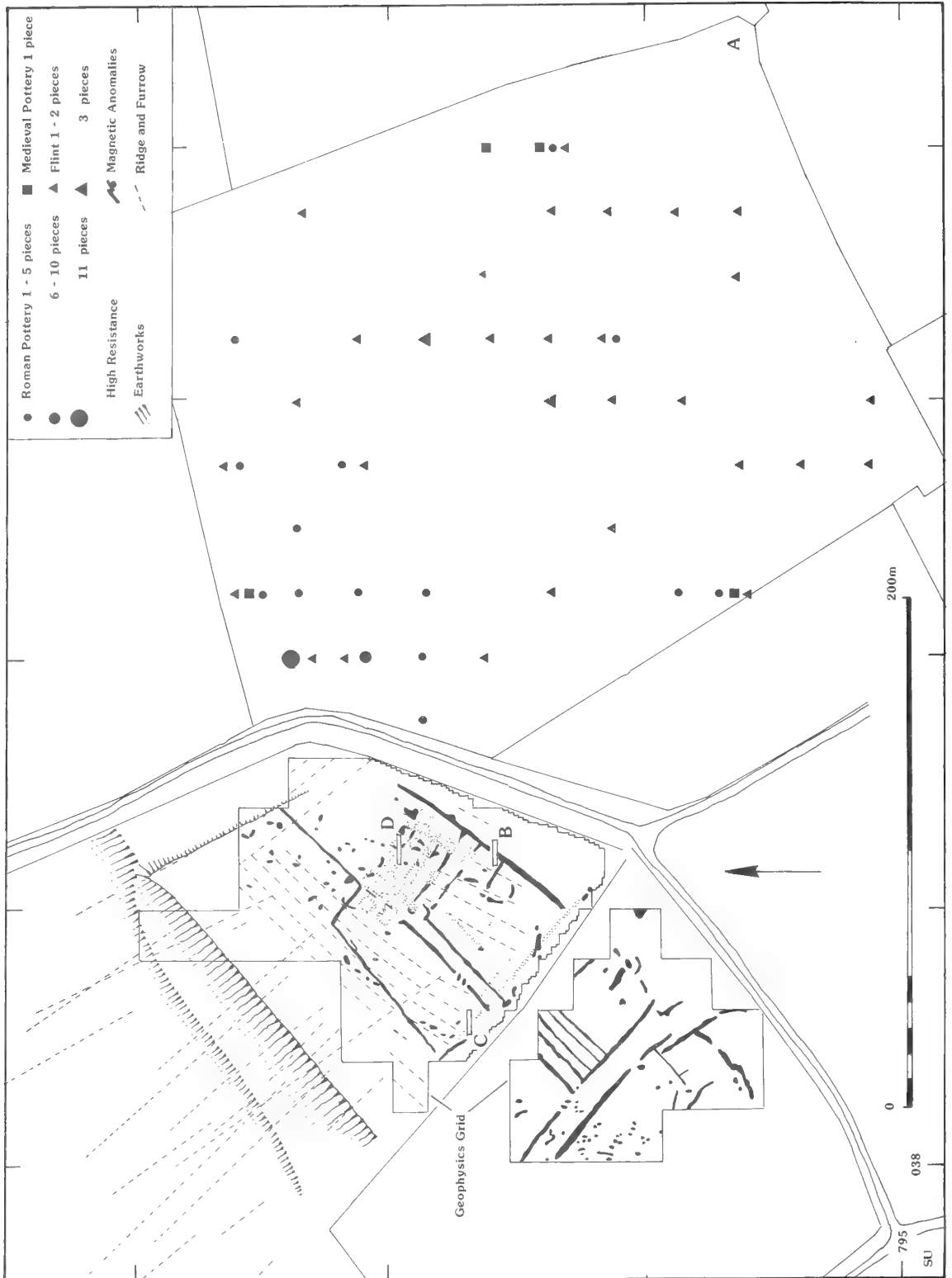


Figure 2. Tockenham: site plan showing areas of geophysical survey and results, earthworks, fieldwalking data and evaluation trenches

therefore, that these boundaries may also be associated with those of the Romano-British landscape.

FIELDWALKING SURVEY

A collection was undertaken of material from the surface of an elongated, north-west facing field of approximately 6ha, recorded as Area A (Figure 2). At the time of the survey the field had been cultivated and was lightly weathered, allowing adequate visibility. The field was surveyed by local volunteers, most of whom had no previous experience, using a line walking technique on a 25m grid providing approximately 96 collection units.

A higher density of Roman pottery was found bordering the villa complex on the east side. Most finds were of heavily plough-abraded isolated pieces; however, a maximum of eleven sherds was retrieved from a 25m transect. The concentration of Roman pottery was found within an even distribution of prehistoric worked flint and post medieval pottery, brick and tile.

EXCAVATION

Three trenches (Figure 2, B, C and D), each 1.5m wide, were excavated on the main site using a wheeled J.C.B. excavator fitted with a 1.5m toothless bucket. Following the removal of topsoil, trenches were cleaned by hand and selected features excavated and recorded.

Trench B (Figure 3) measured 16.5m long and was aligned east-west across the linear feature which defined the south-eastern side of the complex. The section revealed a sequence 0.80m thick of dark, grey to brown silty clay loam topsoil (context 1) overlying subsoil horizons (2) and (3). These two subsoils were differentiated by increased quantities of Corallian Limestone pellets in the upper horizon.

The base of the subsoil on the east side of the ditch was marked by a covering of iron pan. A series of parallel striations, lying at a slight angle to the linear ditch, was preserved in this surface. Their crude, asymmetrical form is similar to those of ard marks which have been recorded at Brean Down (Bell 1990, 19-23, fig. 22) and Ashcombe Bottom, Lewes, East Sussex (Allen 1994, 80) and their presence may represent a significant discovery in Wiltshire. It was, however, impossible to establish a clear stratigraphic relationship with either the iron pan or with the villa complex so that their date is

unknown. The fact that they score the iron pan suggests an iron tipped ard, an implement which was identified at Slonk Hill, West Sussex (Reynolds 1978, 99) and that they are likely to be of late Romano-British or medieval date.

The linear ditch measured approximately 4m across and c.1.10m in depth; it sloped gently down on the western edge but was apparently undercut on the eastern edge. The complete section was obscured below 0.40m by water but was reconstructed by augering. The fill comprised grey to brown, stone-free silty clay (6), 0.20m thick, overlying dark grey organic clay (7) which included small sub-angular Corallian Limestone fragments and charcoal towards the base.

Approximately 3m west of the ditch a circular feature (8), 1m in diameter, was apparent. It was defined by dark grey-brown loam with Corallian Limestone blocks up to 0.15m across. It was recorded but was not excavated.

Trench C (Figure 3) was positioned to examine a linear feature which had been recorded by resistivity survey and appeared to form the south-western side of an enclosed area. It also coincided with an area of increased magnetic signal and a concentration of pottery and building material noted following former ploughing (B. Walters pers. comm.). The trench measured 10m long and 1.5m wide and was orientated east-west. The section was characterised by 0.8m of dark brown loamy topsoil which thickened to 1.15m at the west end, coinciding with a headland. A shallow ditch, 0.80m wide and 0.50m deep, with sloping sides and a flat base, was aligned north-west to south-east across the trench. It was filled with dark brown loam with Corallian Limestone fragments. The eastern end of the trench had been disturbed and included mixed Corallian Limestone and Pennant Sandstone fragments. This spread of material may coincide with the increased signal detected during the geophysical survey and the spread of pottery and rubble noted on the surface. The full extent could not be established nor did time allow excavation.

Trench D (Figure 3) measured 13m long and was located east-west across an octagonal room on the north-east side of the intra-mural complex, apparently within the residential range. The section showed dark brown loam topsoil, 0.22m thick, directly overlying archaeological features, the upper parts of which had been ploughed away. A large

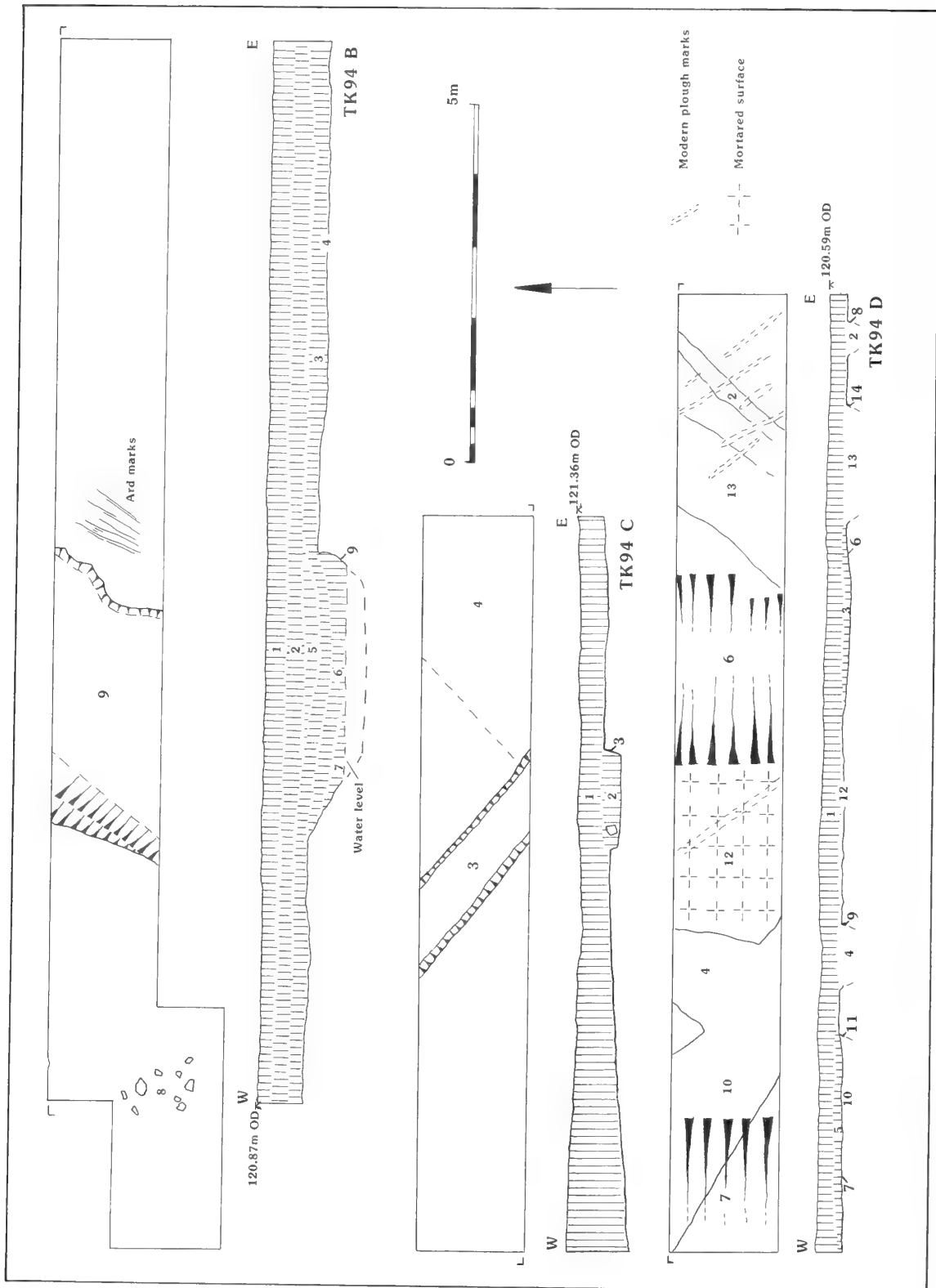


Figure 3. Tockenham: Trenches B, C and D in plan and section

quantity of material, particularly tesserae, pottery, window glass fragments and Pennant Sandstone roofing tile was recovered from the machined ploughsoil. Additional damage to the site had been caused by two parallel furrows (6 and 7), approximately 2.5m wide and aligned north-south. These features were 0.15m deep and were filled with dark brown stone-free loam (3 and 5). Modern ploughing, aligned north-west to south-east, continues to score the deposits below the topsoil.

A series of wall alignments was apparent in the form of robbed wall foundation trenches. Two of these (11 and 14) were, on average, 1.38m across and represent the position of the octagonal room. A third robbed wall foundation trench (9), 0.90m across, intersected with wall 11. A smaller trench (8), which measured 0.30m across, was aligned parallel to wall 14 and lay to the east of it. These features were all filled with dark brown loam with sub-angular blocks of Corallian Limestone up to 0.20m across. These features were not excavated.

The area contained within walls 9 and 14 was characterised by a compacted light brown/creamy,

coarse, sandy, mortared surface (12) with chalk inclusions up to 0.12m across. There were no indications of a tessellated surface.

The finds

The total number of finds from the project, with the exception of pottery, is shown in Table 1. The pottery from the fieldwalking and each of the excavated trenches is summarised by chronological period in Table 2. Full details of all finds are contained in the archive.

FLINT

Fifty pieces of worked flint, including two cores, were found during the project, most of them evenly distributed from the fieldwalked Area A (Figure 2). The collection, made from small nodules of residual flint, has no clearly diagnostic pieces; however, features of the technology are informative. The presence of platform abrasion as a means of core

Table 1: Total number of finds (excluding pottery) shown by number/weight (in grammes)

	<i>CBM</i>	<i>Stone</i>	<i>Worked flint</i>	<i>Burnt flint</i>	<i>Bone</i>	<i>Other finds/ comments</i>
<i>Field walking</i>	59/985	70/1413	45/247	10/43	2/5	26 glass frags 6 clay pipe frags 11 metal frags
<i>Trench B</i>	45/2619	14/416	2/11	1/4	54/627	1 R-B coin 2 nails 1 glass frag 1 shell
<i>Trench C</i>	3/57	3/44	1/60	—	—	2 slag frags 1 Cu. alloy frag
<i>Trench D</i>	139/1467	27/1418	2/4	1/18	8/51	5 glass frags 1 slag frag 1 wall plaster frag 1 Cu. alloy frag 11 Fe. frags

CBM from Trench A comprises principally modern brick, drain and tile

CBM from Trenches B and D includes tesserae

Stone from Area A includes slate. All other stone is Pennant Sandstone

preparation, several blade fragments and a possible crested piece, produced during blade manufacture, indicates a comprehensive knowledge of flint technology. Flaking of this type is typical of the Mesolithic and early Neolithic. Additional material, including diagnostic Mesolithic artefacts, has been discovered 500m to the south-west (Lewis pers. comm.).

POTTERY

by R. SEAGER SMITH of *Wessex Archaeology* with the assistance of comments made by R. CLEAL and L. MEPHAM

A total of 277 sherds (2366g) of pottery was recovered. This includes 96 sherds (875g) found during fieldwalking; the remainder were from the three trenches. The assemblage contains sherds dating from the Bronze Age to the post-medieval/modern periods but is predominantly of Romano-British date.

Full analysis of the fabrics and forms was not undertaken. All the material was rapidly scanned and spot-dated on a context by context basis. The results of this scan are summarised by chronological period below.

The majority of sherds are comparatively small and abraded (mean sherd weight 8.5g), with little difference in the condition of those from the fieldwalking and the excavated contexts. However, larger sherds in good condition were found in two of the excavated features, ditch 9 in Trench B and linear feature 8 in Trench D. Few featured sherds are present amongst the assemblage.

Romano-British

Romano-British sherds represent 71% (197 sherds) of the total number recovered. Of these, only 42 sherds were found during fieldwalking, indicating a rapid tailing off in Romano-British material to the east of the villa. The range of fabrics identified indicates activity in this area from the 1st to 4th centuries AD.

The assemblage is dominated by body sherds of sandy grey and oxidised coarse wares. These probably derive from a number of different sources and span a wide date range. Kilns to the west of Swindon are known to have been producing sandy grey wares from the early 2nd century until the end of the 4th century AD (Anderson 1979). A large sherd from a necked jar with a girth groove, found in the primary filling of ditch 9 in Trench B is

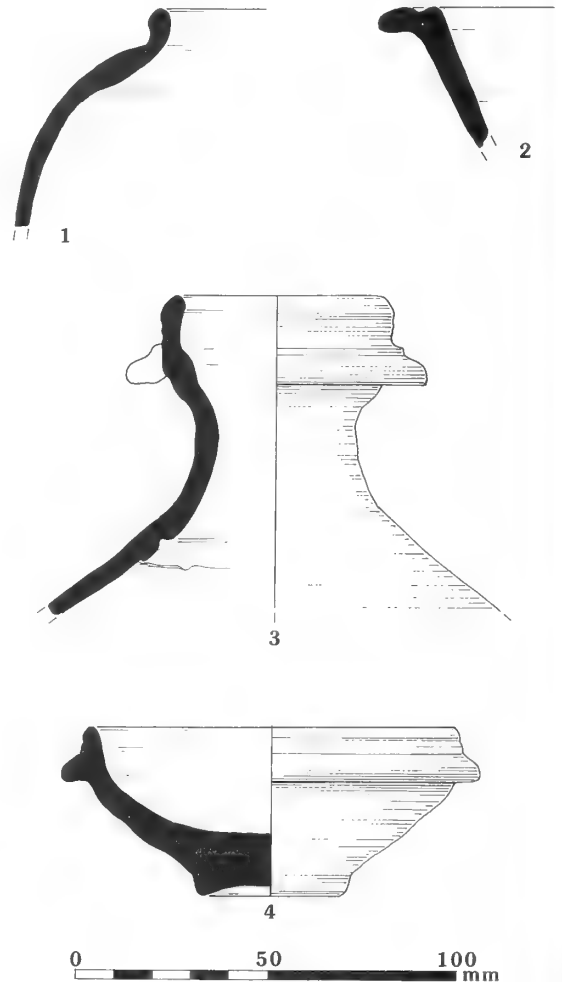


Figure 4. Tockenham: Roman pottery

probably a local product and can be paralleled by numerous 1st to 2nd century AD vessels from Wanborough (Seager Smith in prep., fig. 71, 72, 213, 216, 217, 224 and 225) and Cirencester (Rigby 1982, fig. 52, 100, fig. 53, 135, fig. 55, 210–211, fig. 60, 349–350). Other forms include bead and everted rim jars and shallow, straight-sided dishes. Small quantities of Savernake ware, produced near Mildenhall, in the Savernake Forest (Annable 1962, 142–55) and Black Burnished ware, from the Wareham/Poole Harbour region of Dorset, were also recognised. The Black Burnished ware forms are all of 2nd century AD date and include a 'pulled' bead rim jar (Figure 4.1) and straight-sided bowls/dishes with flat and grooved

flanges (Figure 4.2) from the upper fill of ditch 9 in Trench B.

The range of slightly better quality wares typical of Romano-British assemblages in southern England is represented at Tockenham by a sherd of white-slipped red ware found during fieldwalking and several sherds of an orange sandy fabric with a grey core. A beaker base sherd in the latter fabric was found during fieldwalking while the upper part of a flanged flagon (Figure 4.3) and a small flanged bowl (Figure 4.4) similar to an Oxfordshire oxidised ware form (Young 1977, 195, fig. 72, 032), were found in the filling of linear feature 8 in Trench D. However, a local origin is perhaps more likely for these sherds, a similar fabric being produced at the Purton and Shaw Farm kilns near Swindon, also of 2nd to 4th century AD date (Anderson 1979, 12–14). A list of vessel forms occurring in this fabric at the Box villa site includes beakers, flagon and bowls (Borthwick 1987, 46) although no precise details are offered.

Continental imports are limited to sherds of Southern Central Gaulish samian, and a single sherd of Dressel 20 amphora which was found during fieldwalking. The majority of samian sherds occur in Trench B (10 sherds); two came from Trench D and a single, very abraded fragment was found during the fieldwalking. A Dragendorff 33 cup, a Dragendorff 18/31 platter and a tiny scrap from a decorated form are represented but most samian sherds were too small and abraded to be identifiable. Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware (Young 1977, 122) was the only British fine ware present. The rim of a Young type C100 vessel (*ibid.*, 174, fig. 67), dated to *c.*AD 300–400, represents the only mortarium in the assemblage.

Medieval

Five medieval coarseware sherds were recovered, all of 12th–13th century AD date. The four sherds from fieldwalking all occur in a fine vesicular fabric; the fifth sherd found in the subsoil (3) in Trench B, was of a fine flint-tempered ware.

Post-medieval/modern

A total of 52 post-medieval/modern (18th–20th century AD) sherds was recovered, predominantly from fieldwalking although two sherds were found in the topsoil (1) of Trench D. Fabrics include glazed red earthenwares, white wares and blue and white wares.

Sherds of indeterminate date

A total of 23 sherds was recovered that cannot be

assigned with certainty to a particular chronological period; a sherd of limestone-tempered fabric came from the topsoil of Trench C and the remainder from Trench B. The latter include 13 from the subsoil (3) in a sandy fabric with large irregular voids, which may represent leached grog, and three other sherds in a fine flint-tempered sandy fabric. One piece has finger-nail impressions. While it is probable that these sherds are of Bronze Age date, Saxon activity is known in the area and thus the possibility that they are post-Roman cannot be excluded, as too few of the chronologically diagnostic features of either period survive on this material.

Five sherds, of a fine, dark grey sandy fabric, including the rim of a shouldered jar, may belong to the Middle to Late Iron Age.

DISCUSSION

The Romano-British pottery recovered indicates activity on this site throughout the Roman period; the presence of samian and Saverlake ware suggests that this was established at least by the late 1st or early 2nd century AD, and continuity into the 2nd century AD is implied by the Black Burnished ware. While most of the other fabrics cannot be precisely dated within the 2nd to 4th century bracket, the Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware provides a clear indication of 3rd to 4th century occupation. The contents of the assemblage are broadly comparable with those of other sites in the vicinity (Borthwick 1987; Seager Smith in prep.); and it contains the usual range of fabrics and forms typical of rural sites in southern England. The quality and status of the occupation indicated by the results of the geo-physical survey are not apparent in the ceramic assemblage.

It is likely that the presence of medieval and post-medieval/modern sherds is the result of the common practice of manuring arable fields with domestic refuse, and that they are associated with the later occupation of the village of Tockenham.

The presence of prehistoric/Saxon pottery in the assemblage is also interesting and, whatever its date, suggests that this area may have served as a focus of settlement over long periods of time although no discrete areas of activity were identified by the distribution of this material. If these sherds are of prehistoric date, their presence and comparatively good, unabraded condition may indicate that earlier features survive within and beneath the Romano-

Table 2: Quantification of pottery by chronological period

	<i>Romano-British</i>	<i>Medieval</i>	<i>Post-med/modern</i>	<i>Prehistoric/Saxon</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Field walking</i>	42	4	50	–	96 = 875g
<i>Trench B</i>	95	1	–	22	118 = 786g
<i>Trench C</i>	15	–	–	1	16 = 315g
<i>Trench D</i>	45	–	2	–	47 = 390g
<i>Total no.</i>	197	5	52	23	277 = 2366g

Table 3: Quantity of tesserae by colour and material type

<i>Trench</i>	<i>White</i>		<i>Off-white</i>		<i>Blue/grey</i>		<i>Brown</i>		<i>Orange/red</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	No.	Wt.	No.	Wt.	No.	Wt.	No.	Wt.	No.	Wt.	No.	Wt.
<i>Trench B</i>			5	80g			1	22g	11	109g	17	211g
<i>Trench D</i>	7	71g	17	254g	23	297g	7	130g	44	667g	98	1419g
<i>Total</i>	7	71g	22	334g	23	297g	8	152g	55	776g	115	1630g

British complex. A Saxon date on the other hand would suggest continuity of occupation into the post-Romano-British and subsequent periods.

BUILDING MATERIALS

Tesserae

Tesserae were found in Trenches B and D; the quantity from each trench is shown in Table 3. Tesserae of not less than five different colours and materials were recovered.

1. White: chalk; occurs within 5km of the site, forming the Marlborough Downs.
2. Off-white or pale grey: fine grained limestone, probably white lias; outcrops to the west of Malmesbury/Bath.
3. Blue/grey: fine-grained limestone, probably blue lias; a source to the west of Malmesbury/Bath is likely.
4. Brown: ferruginous sandstone; small pockets occur within 5km south and east of the site, near Broad Town and Clyffe Pypard, with a larger outcrop in the area of Compton Bassett.

5. Orange/red: fired clay, cut from fragments of roofing tile.

The presence of the tesserae indicates the original presence of at least one mosaic floor within the complex although no traces of *in situ* tessellated surfaces were found during the investigation.

Ceramic building materials

In addition to the tesserae cut from roofing tile, a further 76 (2739g) fragments of Romano-British brick and tile were recovered. Four of these (100g) were found during fieldwalking, while 29, 3 and 40 pieces (2412g, 58g and 169g) were recovered from Trenches B, C and D, respectively. Full details are in the archive.

The majority are featureless fragments too small to be assigned to a particular type. However, three tegulae fragments indicate the use of clay roofing tiles while three pieces of brick were also recognised. Two pieces of box flue tile, one with combed keying, were found in the primary filling (7) of ditch 9 in Trench B, indicating the presence of a hypocaust heating system within the complex. Two small fragments from the topsoil of Trench B also have combed keying and may be derived from tiles of this type.

Two flat fragments, one from the upper filling (6) of ditch 9 in Area B and one from the topsoil of Trench C, occur in an unusual, coarse grog tempered fabric with partially oxidised surfaces and a grey core. All the other fragments occur in the poorly-wedged, orange/red fabrics typically used for ceramic building material during the Romano-British period.

THE SCULPTURE

by M. HENIG

The stone figure of a genius in the north wall of the church has already been described. A second stone sculpture of considerable importance was, however, identified during the project.

The sculpture (Figure 5), in Oolitic Limestone, is a water spout in the form of a fish which measures 0.65m long and 0.29m wide at the head. It was found not far from the presumed villa by the land owner. Apart from a scratch which was caused during its recent removal from a pond, it is in good condition. The fish has a gaping mouth flanked by barbels, with pug-like nostrils and protruding circular eyes with carefully sculpted pupils. The gills are large and extended. It has a narrow body which rested on a solid support, and is somewhat rectangular in section with well defined scales. There are no fins and it seems that the back part of the animal, which was connected to an entry pipe 0.12m in diameter, was probably never shown.

The sculpture incorporates characteristics of several fish species. Its head resembles a monk fish (Thompson 1947, 221–2) with its large mouth, broad snout and upward-looking eyes. The overall form has similarities with the European catfish (Maitland and Campbell 1992, 238–40; Thompson 1947, 233–5), while the barbel (Maitland and Campbell 1992, 189–91; Thompson 1947, 25–6) has barbels and prominent scales. It is, however, perhaps best seen as an imaginative creation of the sculptor.

Stylistic affinities

While nothing remotely similar has come from the region, features of the sculpture are known locally. The Bacchic figures of the famous Corinthian Jupiter Column have protruding eyes (Henig 1993, 8–9, no. 18) as has the Gloucester Attis (Henig 1993, 31, no. 91). Well defined scales feature on the serpentine or

piscine monster from Cirencester (Henig 1993, 57, no. 170) and on architectural imbrications from Cirencester (T.F.C. Blagg in Henig 1993, 70–71, nos. 212, 214 and 215) and Gloucester (Blagg *op. cit.*, no. 217).

A fountain spout in Oolitic Limestone of a dolphin, which is blander in conception than the fish from Tockenham, is known from the *natatio* of the Fortress Baths at Caerleon (Zienkiewicz 1986). It has a simple pipe-like mouth and a rather featureless head with a flat plinth on which waves are indicated.

Conclusions

The relief in the church wall and the water spout represent important examples of Roman sculpture in the area. The former represents a deity within an *aedicula* and was presumably intended to preside over a small shrine. This is just as likely to have been from a domestic context as from a sanctuary as the finding of a relief at the Stonesfield villa, Oxfordshire (Henig 1993, no. 42) makes clear. The affinities of the Tockenham piece are with stone carving in the Cotswold area and Toynbee (1978) compares it with a relief in Chedworth Manor House. Cunliffe and Fulford (1982, 28, no. 104) and Henig (1993, 13–17, nos. 32–42) provide additional parallels from the region.

The fountain spout could have come from any site with running water but like the comparanda from the Mediterranean world (Kapossy 1969), its context fits best in a well appointed house or villa with ornamental pool or pools or from the baths of a villa (see Keppie and Arnold 1984, 55, no. 151 for a fountain-head or gurgel in the form of a water-nymph from the military bath-house of Duntocher, Dunbartonshire). It is almost inconceivable that the Romans would not have made practical and ornamental use of the spring-fed pond nearby.

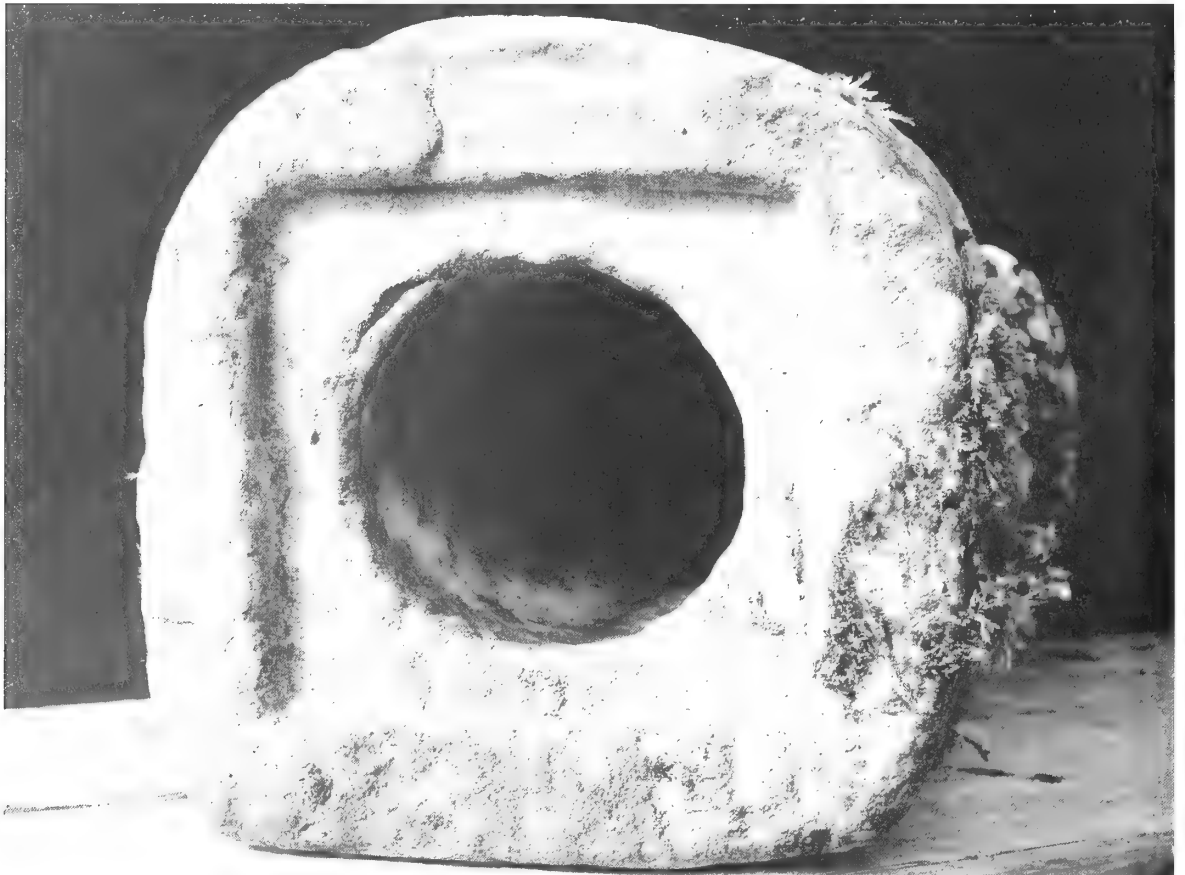
In Britain the only close comparison is with the dolphin from the pool in front of the Fortress Baths at Caerleon, though the Tockenham piece is very much finer and, indeed, an important addition to the repertoire of the Cotswold School of sculptors.

THE COIN

A coin was recovered from the fill (6) of ditch 9 in Trench B and the following identification has been given by Paul Robinson (Devizes Museum).



Figure 5. Tockenham: Roman water spout: limestone, length 0.65m, width at head 0.29m; detail below showing rebate for water pipe, diam. 0.12m



Rome. Anonymous issue of the period AD 330–335

Denomination: AE 4

Mint: Trier

obv. CONSTAN TINOPOLIS bust of Constantinopolis facing left

rev. Victory on prow. In exergue TRS

ref. Carson, Hill and Kent 1960, 59.

auger with a 1m long chamber, recovered a deep stratigraphic sequence (hole 2) about 6m north of the pond by the church (Figure 1). An organic horizon, which was present at 0.80–0.85m, was confirmed in a second core at 0.50–0.75m and was sampled (sample 12). The main stratigraphic sequence, using terminology outlined by Hodgson (1976), from auger hole 2 is described below, in Table 4.

AUGER SURVEY AND ENVIRONMENTAL MATERIAL

by MICHAEL J. ALLEN

The auger survey, using a 0.03m diameter gouge

Four small ‘bulk’ samples of c.250ml were extracted from the core and floated on to a 500 micron mesh sieve. Plant remains recovered from the flot at 0.50–0.75m are shown in Table 5.

Table 4: Stratigraphy from auger hole 2

Depth in m	Description
0–0.50m	Topsoil, brown earth over clinker, stones and modern backfill – post 1968.
0.50–0.80m	Organic stone-free silt loam, some fine sand, occasional charcoal fragments. Pond deposits.
0.80–0.85m	Thin band of waterlogged silty peat, some plant macrofossils, some fine sand present. Pond deposits. Sample 12 from second core.
0.85–1m	Waterlogged sand with very rare, very small greensand fragments. Sample 1: gleyed with manganese and organic staining. Sample 8: this is redeposited greensand, possibly late glacial or periglacial in origin.
1–1.50m	Wet clean compacted greensand; derived deposit. Possibly Devensian or earlier. Redeposited under fluvial meltwater conditions. Nearest outcrop 4km to the SE.

PLANT REMAINS

(identifications by ROBERT G. SCAIFE)

The most significant discovery was the presence of over 50 carbonised plant remains (Table 5). They indicate the presence of a rich deposit, or dump, of burnt grain. Such a concentration of material must be associated with settlement in the close vicinity. The cereal grains were dominated by emmer/spelt wheat, the latter being very common on Romano-British sites and often diagnostic of the Romano-British cereal economy. Barley was also present.

Among the charred elements were two non-cereal remains, both seeds of *Epilobium cf. montanum* (broad-leaved willow herb) which is common in hedgerows, walls and woods. More interesting were six waterlogged seeds of *Zanichellia palustris* (horned pond weed) which indicates that the charred cereal remains may have been deposited in a local freshwater pond, rather like the pond that exists today.

Table 5: Plant macrofossils from the band of organic silt (sample 12)

Charred crop remains

Caryopses (grain)

<i>Triticum</i> indet.	7
<i>Triticum spelta</i> / <i>T. dicoccum</i> type	15
cf. <i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	2
indet. frags.	29

Spikelet forks

<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	1
--------------------------	---

Charred seeds

<i>Epilobium cf. montanum</i>	2
-------------------------------	---

Waterlogged seeds

<i>Zanichellia palustris</i>	6
------------------------------	---

Misc.

Bryophyte	1
-----------	---

The deposit of charred grain, in the absence of other settlement activity, must belong to either the Romano-British or medieval periods, though the former is preferred because of the composition of the assemblage. The grain was largely cleaned, indicating that it had been harvested and prepared for storage, trade or consumption. All the cereals could have been grown locally and possibly cultivated in the fields adjacent to the villa. The clay-rich and tenacious nature of the local soils may have required the deeper rip-arding perhaps indicated by the ard marks in Trench B. Evidence of animal husbandry was lacking due to the non-calcareous nature of the soils which did not facilitate the survival of bone.

Discussion

The results of the archaeological investigations carried out at Tockenham have considerably increased our knowledge and understanding of the site. The geophysical survey showed that the extent of the site was considerably greater than had been supposed after the original finds of pottery and mosaic fragments, and clearly indicated the plan of the site.

Towards the north-eastern limits of the survey area a well defined domestic range included a large apsidal-ended room which, on analogy with similar features in other villas, may be presumed to have been a dining room or *triclinium*. This room is likely to have housed an elaborate mosaic, many fragments of which were present around this area. To the south-east a series of smaller rooms was arranged around a rectangular intra-mural courtyard, which appears to have incorporated an elaborate octagonal entrance structure on the north-east. Adjoining this courtyard range another block of less distinctly defined structures to the south-east may be remains of a bath suite. The whole of this residential range is coherently planned and regularly laid out on a consistent north-west to south-east orientation. The presence of at least one mosaic floor and other finds, such as fragments of window glass and painted plaster, attest to the wealth and aesthetic aspirations of the occupants. It is unfortunate that none of the mosaic survives *in situ*, as knowledge of the design(s) would have provided a clearer indication of the real quality of social indicators as well as of the workshop affinities of the floor(s). The presence of the carved piscine water

spout end, an item of exceptional quality, does, however, suggest that this site was by no means one of the poorer rural villas.

The domestic residential range formed the north-east side of a large rectangular enclosed area bounded by a deep ditch which may have served also to drain water away from the site, a function it still facilitates today (pers. comm. D. Barnes and A. Gaisford). Most of the interior of the enclosed area revealed no evidence for surviving structures during resistivity or gradiometry survey. The presence of buildings tentatively indicated along the south-eastern and south-western sides of the enclosed area invites comparison with other west country villas such as Frocester Court or Pitney (Branigan 1976). At such sites a range of residential buildings formed one part of a farm complex which included a large enclosed rectangular farmyard and numerous farm buildings as well as baths, accommodation for labourers and gardens.

The interpretation of the Romano-British complex at Tockenham as a farmyard villa is supported by other evidence from the *Time Team* investigations on and around the site. The identification, resulting from field survey and the gradiometry survey in the adjacent field south-west of the villa, of tracks and field boundaries whose alignment conforms to that of the villa-farmyard complex, indicates the presence of a number of rectangular fields served by tracks which are contemporary with the villa complex.

The alignment and form of this gridded field pattern is followed by many other boundaries which survive in the modern landscape across much of the parish of Tockenham (see Figure 6). It is plausible to suggest that much of the surviving medieval field pattern preserves elements of the Romano-British layout, which appears to have extended for a considerable distance away from the site of the villa. This area may have been reserved exclusively for the villa's fields, as regular (albeit cursory) examination of the fields to the north has revealed no evidence for Romano-British settlement less than one kilometre from the site. In contrast, to the north-east, the area has yielded evidence for at least three separate concentrations of Romano-British pottery; separated by c.200–300m, the existing field boundaries are of a much more irregular form and arrangement (Figure 6). It seems significant, in this context, that the quality of arable land here is significantly poorer than that occupied by the villa fields (pers. comm. D. Barnes, land owner).

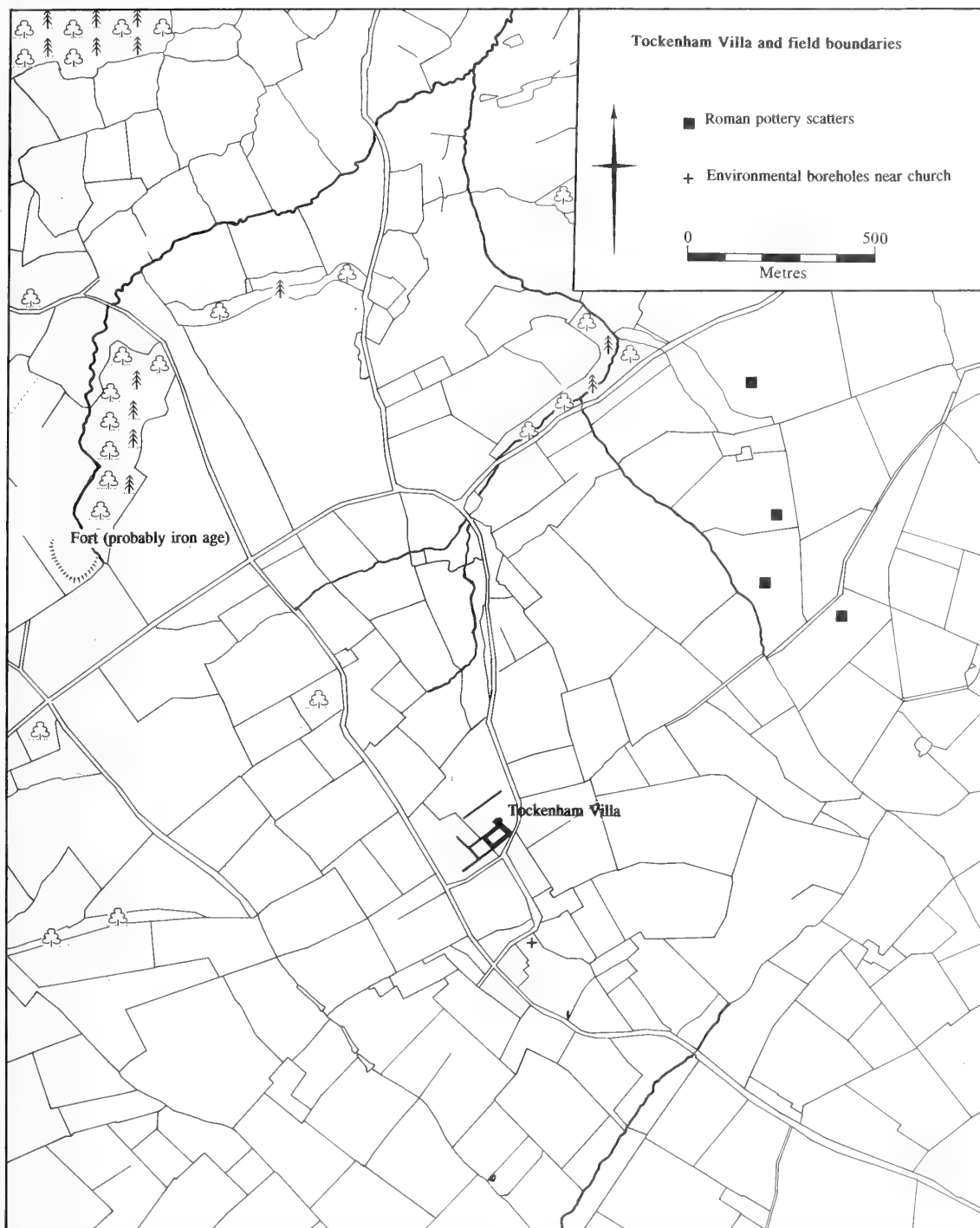


Figure 6. Tockenham: villa and field boundaries, showing the north-west to south-east alignment of the villa and 19th-century rectilinear fields around it. Fields in the north-west are more irregular and result from medieval woodland clearance. To the east are the sites of four small Romano-British settlements, indicated by pottery scatters

Wheat grains found in the borehole near the church are likely to be of Romano-British date, and suggest that the villa lay in an open landscape. It probably supported a mixed economy including woodland to the north-west, towards which many of the tracks through the field system ultimately led (Figure 7).

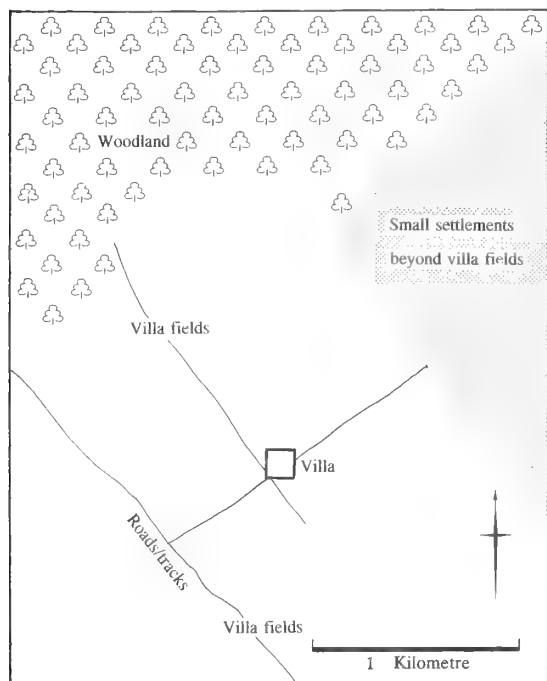


Figure 7. Tockenham: possible late Romano-British land organisation: showing areas of fields around the villa, linked by tracks to woodland more than 1km to the north-west and, to the east, an area where smaller settlements lay on the poorer land beyond the villa fields

The most extensive pre-medieval activity so far discovered at Tockenham dates to the Romano-British period; the site has, however, clearly been the focus of activity over a considerably longer period. A small quantity of prehistoric worked flint and, possibly, pottery sherds recovered during fieldwalking and excavation demonstrates that the Romano-British occupation was not the earliest activity on the site, and a small concentration of Mesolithic worked flint noted c.500m south-west of the villa site suggests that the area generally was exploited in some way from a very early date. An earthwork enclosure more than 1km north-west of

the villa, defined by a bank and slight external ditch, probably dates to the Iron Age.

Pottery recovered during fieldwalking and excavation on the villa site indicates Romano-British occupation ranging from the mid 2nd to the 4th century. It is plausible that the most extensive activity on the site relates to the later part of this period. Oxfordshire ware, which dominates the assemblage, was in most prolific production in the 4th century, and such a date for the latest and most opulent phase of villa occupation fits in well with the pattern of villa development in the region generally. Second century villas are rare in the West Country (Branigan 1976; Scott 1993), and Tock-enham is some distance from any major roads (Margary 1955) or towns (Wacher 1974; Hingley 1989, 27), situations which attracted many of the earlier villas. The 4th century, however, saw a *floruit* in the number of villas in the region. Similarly, mosaic floors are uncommon in the region before the 4th century, and the example at Tockenham is likely to be the work of the Cirencester or (perhaps less likely) Dorchester schools, both in production in the region in the early to mid 4th century (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 220–4). Thus, while the villa site was evidently occupied from at least the 2nd century, the construction of the villa itself may well be a 4th-century development.

The history of occupation on the site following the 4th century is unclear. Evidence for activity in the pagan Saxon period is, unusually in this area, apparently not absent but its significance is difficult to evaluate. First, pottery recovered from Trench B could be of either prehistoric or early Saxon date, and may, if the latter is the case, provide evidence for some continued occupation after the Romano-British period. (It should be noted that it is often difficult to identify Saxon pottery in this region with certainty.) Secondly, a 9th-century charter (Edwards 1988, no. 125; Sawyer 1968, no. 96) refers to a tumulus close to a ten hide estate at Tockenham, which may indicate early activity as such features are sometimes reused in the pagan Saxon period either for burial or as boundary markers (Bonney 1979). This evidence for early Saxon activity is, however, clearly less than categorical. The evidence for the middle Saxon period is little better: the exact find spot of a coin of Cuthred (AD 740–756) found in the parish (SMR number SU07NW03) is unfortunately not known.

From the later Saxon period onward, however, the part of the parish closest to the villa site was once again the focus of activity. A Saxon estate at

Tockenham was an entity from at least AD 755. The parish church and a moated site lie close to the villa; both use stone from the villa in walls which are otherwise 13th-century or later in date. The use in the middle ages of the area around the villa as the focus of activity in the parish, and the apparent continued use of Romano-British field boundaries in the medieval open field system suggest that occupation may have been more continuous at Tockenham than the paucity of evidence for the Saxon period might otherwise indicate.

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A Reappraisal of the Roman Coins found in J.W. Brooke's Excavation of a Late Roman Well at Cunetio (Mildenhall), 1912

by T.S.N. MOORHEAD

In 1912, Joshua Brooke, a Marlborough collector and amateur archaeologist, excavated a Roman well on the south side of the Roman town of Cunetio (Mildenhall). Finds included an important assemblage of late Roman pottery and about 100 Roman coins. This article reassesses the excavation from a numismatic stance as the coins are important in their own right and are also a means of dating the other deposits. The author argues that the well was back-filled in a single, deliberate, act in the 370s or 380s, and that the debris contained an unusual mixed silver and bronze coin hoard, probably originally deposited soon after 375. This hoard, when viewed alongside other coin finds in the region, further underlines the importance of Cunetio, and the Wiltshire region, in late Roman Britain.

THE EXCAVATION

Brooke gave a short account of the Mildenhall well excavation in *WAM* 41 (1920–22, 151–52), where M.E. Cunnington also provided a lengthy report on the important late Roman pottery (1920–22, 153–59). The finds were acquired by Devizes Museum in 1916, apart from the coins which were presented at a later date. Only 80 of the c.100 coins found are in the collection.

A day-to-day account of the excavation appears in Brooke's archaeological notebook which briefly lists the finds made and the depths at which they were discovered (Brooke 1912, 53–55). It should be stated that there are some inconsistencies in coin totals in Brooke's accounts, but this does not preclude a meaningful analysis of the material.

Brooke tells us (1920–22, 151) that the well appeared as a hole in the field, approximately '12 chains [264yds] east of Cock-a-troop Lane to Werg and 3 chains [66yds] north of . . . Chopping Knife [Lane]'. This places the well about 80m south of the south-east sector of the 4th-century fortified town. It could have been just south of a possible Roman road leading eastwards (see Figure 1).

The well was dug on eleven days between 12 February and 27 March, 1912, using the 'spit' system. This was a swift operation, given that the well was almost 4ft wide and 67ft deep. We are told the depths reached on each day, the number of men working (normally three) and the expenditure on

labour and beer; the total cost of the excavation was '£15 to 16' (Brooke 1912, 53–4). Brooke does acknowledge the damage caused to pottery by workmen trampling in a confined area and it is possible that the battered condition of several otherwise unworn coins was caused by the excavators (*ibid.*, 54). Sadly, Brooke only records the finds of coins and metal objects by spit, the finds of pottery, glass, leather, animal bones, and molluscs being generally overlooked in his field notes (*ibid.*, 53). It is important to note that there was much building material found – roof, pan and hypocaust tile, brick and squared freestone (*idem*, 1920–22, 151). There is no mention of soil types and textures. However, it is possible to reconstruct a diagrammatic section of the deposits in the well, and Figure 2 represents the writer's interpretation of Brooke's field notes and published accounts.

THE COINS

The material

Details about the coins appear on all three pages in Brooke's notebook (1912, 53–55) and in *WAM* 41 (p. 152). There are some anomalies to explain. Sadly, Brooke's full list of coins, mentioned in *WAM* 41, does not survive (p. 152, note 1). One has to ask whether Brooke returned to the coins when he prepared his *WAM* report or whether he just used his notebook entries of some years before. The list to which he refers might be that on page 55 of his

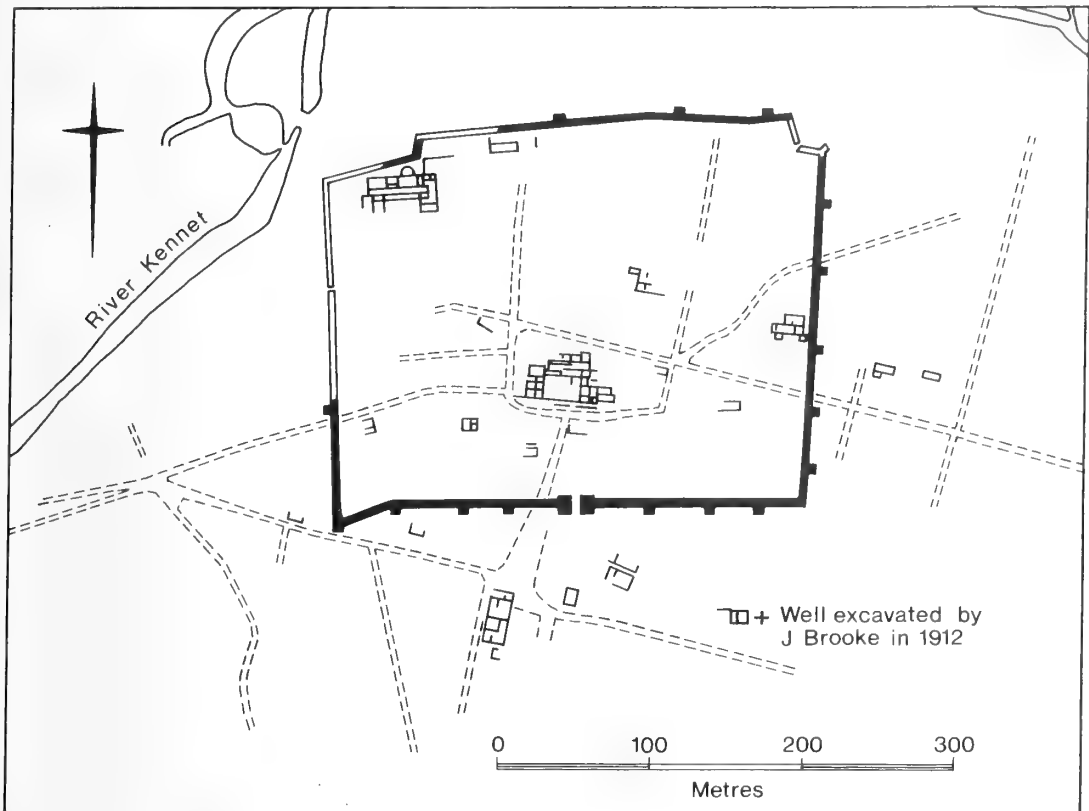


Figure 1. Plan of *Cunetio*, based on excavation and air photography, showing location of well excavated by J.W. Brooke in 1912 (after Corney, in press).

notebook, but on pages 53–4 he also gives varying details for either 93 or 102 coins. About 102 coins are listed on page 55, but one cannot be sure how reliable Brooke's tallies are on this page. Only 100 coins are published in *WAM* 41 (the Sabina sestertius and possibly the British tin coin are omitted). Eighty coins, most of which have been cleaned, survive in Devizes Museum. Only 101 coins are listed in the catalogue for this article; there are numerous possible permutations, but they do not really change the overall significance of the group.

It is impossible to reconstruct the precise coin-list using Brooke's records and the surviving coins. Brooke's descriptions are either too brief or inaccurate. There is one knotty problem concerning the silver coins. Brooke lists 13 Julian siliquae on page 55 of his notebook and in *WAM* 41. It seems churlish to doubt him, but only eight are explicitly mentioned on page 53 of the notebook. For 20

March 1912, Brooke apparently records four coins including a silver coin of Valentinian, although this coin does not seem to be mentioned again. One could argue that the entry means four silver coins (therefore of Julian) in addition to four other coins, the Valentinian piece becoming a bronze coin. This, however, causes problems with the totals.

In his notebook, Brooke refers to '4 Gaulish No. 3' ('AR & AE imitations' in *WAM*), '1 British Tin' and '3 British AE'. The 'British Tin' was possibly excluded from the *WAM* report and seems not to have survived; the other coins apparently become '3 British PA' (1912, 53 and 55; 1920–22, 152). These pieces are quite likely to be 4th-century barbarous copies, for in *WAM* 41, Brooke refers to the 'Britons' filling in the well which means that he was not necessarily referring to the Iron Age when he wrote 'British'. Furthermore, in Brooke's day it was believed that 4th-century barbarous coins were

Figure 2. Diagrammatic section of the Cunetio Well excavation (based upon Brooke 1912, 53-4 (FDN))^a

Date	Feet	Coins	Other Finds	Spit Levels
	0	6 coins:		
	2			
	4			
12.2.12	6		Pottery Bones Oyster shells Nails Buckle	
	8	9'3" - ?AE3 of CI 9'8" - AE sest. of Sabina		
	10	11'1" - AE 3 of CI, BEATA TRANQVILLITAS 11'7" - AE 3 of Fausta		
	12	12'1" & 12'9" AE3 of VI		13'
	14			
?	16			16'
		2 coins - only one recorded:	Ring & Glass Bead from sandal clip and a perforated piece of ornamental bronze (illus. in FDN)	
20.2.12	18	19'6" - CII(c)?, CAES. NOST. VOT X, T.S.B.		
	20			22'4"
		2 coins: AE of Cn AE3 of Vn		
21.2.12	24		Glass	
	26			27'3"
		4 coins: 4 'Gaulish imitations of British coins'		
23.2.12	30			30'6"
		4 or 8 coins: ?4 siliquae of Jn ^β 1 silver or AE3 of VI 1 Tetricus 2 "bad"	Hypocaust tile Iron celt	
20.3.12	34			35'8"
	36	5 coins: 1 siliqua Jn 1 "British" (oval) AE 2 AE3 VI 1 "bad"	Piece of lead, (ornamental?) AE pin, piece of AE chain, silver ring ^c	
21.3.12	38			39'6"
		17 coins: 1 siliqua Jn 4 AE3 of VI 1 or 2 of Tetricus (II?) 4 Constantinian 1 Constantinopolis	Parts of 'fibula', silver ring ^c	
22.3.12	40			
	42			
	44			
	46			46'2"
		37 coins: (width of well - 3'11")		
	48	'A pile of 6 siliquae of Julian'		
25.3.12	50			
	52			52'2"

Date	Feet	Coins	Other Finds	Spit Levels
		9 coins ?+ 9 coins: ^γ (width of well – 3'5")		
	54			
26.3.12	56		Glass stand Part of spoon Flue tiles	
	58			
	60			60'1"
		3 coins		
27.3.12	62			
	64			
-----				64'7"
		2' of water		Water Level
27.3.12	66			
=====				67'1"
				Lowest level reached (probed – apparently solid and undisturbed) ^δ

Notes: For abbreviations, see introduction to Catalogue, p. 50.

^α There are inconsistencies in totals between Brooke 1912, p. 53 and p. 54.

^β It is possible that these 4 siliquae of Julian do not exist and that there was a siliqua of Valentinian I.

^γ Brooke 1912, p. 53 lists two entries of 9 coins; p. 54 only gives 9 and a total of 93;

9 extra would make a total of 102.

^δ 4 coins found during filling-in.

^ε Paul Robinson informs me that the surviving ring in the archive is base metal.

struck in the sub-Roman period. Therefore, it seems that '3 British AE or PA' were mid 4th-century barbarous copies (see no. 26ff. in Catalogue) and it could be that the 'Gaulish imitations' were copies bearing Gallic mintmarks (see Cat. nos. 26–7, 30–1). I do not cite coins with the mintmark of Arles (CON) because Brooke thought that this signified Constantinople (1920–22, 152). This does not solve the problem of Brooke's mention of at least one silver piece amongst these 'Gaulish' pieces. All of this said, one must not rule out the possibility that Iron Age coins were found in the well (and are amongst the missing coins) as other Iron Age coins have been found at *Cunetio*.

It is possible to identify 79 of the 80 surviving coins, many of which are the 22 coins that Brooke listed as 'undecipherable' and can now be identified after cleaning. In considering the missing coins, a total of up to c.101 pieces can be reached (see Table 1 for a synopsis of the coins). It is not possible to make a finite list of the missing coins, but it is hard to exclude any of them outright. It is still not certain that there were in fact originally 93, 100 or 102 coins, but it is safest to include with reservations rather than exclude without proof. In the Catalogue, the surviving coins are numbered, the missing coins lettered.

Deposition of the coins

That the well was filled in all at once seems to be indisputable. There does not seem to be any evidence of gradual deposition, the presence of late 4th-century coins close to the bottom and earlier coins further up being the significant factors. Therefore the idea proposed by Brooke that the coins were thrown down 'to propitiate the Gods' (1912, 54) does not seem appropriate in this case. It would seem odd for small parcels of coins to be thrown into a well during its infilling, unless of course it *was* an attempt to appease a nymph who was losing her sanctuary! A study of the diagrammatic section (Figure 2), shows that coins were found at all levels. This suggests that there were coins already in the material that was being used to fill the well – probably a demolished building. It is quite likely that there were some stray pieces (e.g. the Sabina sestertius, Cat. no. 1), but it does seem certain that a hoard was in the fill when it was deposited in the well. Between depths of 35ft 8in and 60ft 1in, 68 to 77 coins were found, including probably all of the 9 or 13 Julian siliquae (6 of which were in a 'pile'), and most of the Valentinianic bronze. Brooke also notes that, in all,

Table 1: Breakdown of the Cunetio well coins by period and mint

Notes: nos. in () are tentative attributions to a mint
 nos. in [] are coins identified by Brooke which do not apparently survive in the archive
 PB = Possibly Barbarous
 Barbarous category includes both Barbarous and Probably Barbarous coins

Period	British Gaul	Trier	Lyons	Arles	Rome	Aquileia	Siscia	Thess.	Uncertain	Barbarous	Total
1st Cents BC/AD [1?]											1?
AD 117–138					1						1
260–275		2[1?]									2/3
275–296	1?										1?
296–317									[1?] ^α		1?
317–330							[1?]		3[2]		5/6
330–347/8 (307–337)		2(6/1PB)		1(1)	(1)				3/1PB	2	18
347/8–361			1PB(1PB)						[1?] ^β		1?
360–363				1					1	10	13
364–375/8			5(3)	19(4)		5	1		[11]	1	13
Uncertain: 3rd/4thCent.?									2[1?]	1	40/41
									1?	1?	2
											c.99–101

^α The coin of Licinius is listed under 296–317, although it might be 317–330

^β The coin of Constantine I could belong to any of three periods between 296 and 347/8

‘four bunches of coins were found corroded together’ (1920–22, 152). The argument for a hoard is further supported by the unworn nature of most of the bronze coins.

The hoard

It seems that forming the core of the hoard were the 9 or 13 Julian siliquae (AD360–63) and 40 Valentinianic bronze AE 3 coins (AD364–75/8). Because the possible siliqua of Valentinian I would probably not post-date any of the bronze coins, it will not be mentioned again in the discussion. From the evidence of other hoards from the later 4th century, like Shapwick, Wrington and Bishops Cannings, it is quite likely that many of the c.48 earlier 3rd- and 4th-century coins were included in the hoard. (Shapwick had 156 pre-AD361 coins, including 4 radiates, out of 1,111; Wrington had 73 out of 1,283; Bishop Cannings had 49 radiates out of 1,568 coins. For references, see Table 2, note ^a).

The latest coins in the well are the ‘PCON, SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE’ bronzes of Arles (see Cat. nos. 68/9 and possibly 64) which *The Roman Imperial Coinage* and *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* claim straddle the 367–75 and 375–8 periods (see catalogue references: RIC and

LRBC). It may be that further research will relocate part of this particular issue earlier in the series. However, that there are no other coins later than 375 does suggest that these coins also belong to the 367–75 period. The fact that there is no record of clipped siliquae, and that there are no post-375 siliquae, and no later AE 4 coins does argue strongly for a *terminus post quem* some time in the mid to late 370s. Brooke himself argues on numismatic evidence for a closing down of the well c.375 (Brooke 1920–22, 152). However, it is possible that later coins were not recovered, especially the small AE 4 coins which are often the latest pieces present (Wrington’s latest piece is an AE 4 piece of Gratian, dated 378–383). It is also possible that the *Cunetio* coins were deposited at about the same time as the Wrington hoard, but not much later as otherwise there would be many AE 4 coins and also probably siliquae of later emperors (as in the recent Bishops Cannings hoard dated to the late 4th or early 5th century).

The archaeological evidence might support a deposition of the hoard some time in the 370s if the well was filled as part of the rebuilding programme at *Cunetio*; if so, it would mean that this filling-in occurred very soon after the coins were hidden. On

the other hand, it is quite possible that the hoard remained concealed until a later filling of the well any time in the late 4th or early 5th century, though one might have expected some later coins as stray finds if the well were filled in later than the 370s or early 380s. One can imagine various ways in which the coins escaped the notice of those filling the well, while the possibility that the hoard was originally much larger and most pieces were, in fact, retrieved cannot be ruled out.

If the hoard is indeed dated to the 370s or the early 380s, and contained no later coins than the PCON issue of Arles, it is a most unusual find for Britain. There are no mixed silver and bronze hoards from this period on record, the closest being 2 siliquae and 3,333 bronze coins from Oldcroft (c.AD358) and 1 siliqua and 1,139 bronze coins from Wiveliscombe (c.AD388) (R. Bland, pers. comm., with ref. to Robertson, forthcoming). Comparison with other large hoards of the late Roman period in the locality shows that the Cunetio well hoard is plausible. Pre-361 coins are

represented in significant numbers (see above); Julian siliquae have been found in numerous other hoards, most recently 122 at Bishops Cannings. Finally, the mint proportions of Valentinianic coins conform with the figures from several hoards and site assemblages (see Table 2) and the overall pattern for all of Britain displayed by Richard Reece (1978, 138, fig. 1).

Therefore, it would be possible to argue that a mixed silver and bronze hoard, comprising mainly Julian siliquae and Valentinianic bronze was concealed in the 370s or early 380s and was deposited with other debris in the well at some later date.

Individual coins of significance

The only regular coin of interest is an extremely rare FELICITAS ROMANORVM bronze for Valentinian I from Aquileia (Cat. no. 79; Fig. 3d) which shares the same dies as the British Museum specimen from Richborough. The irregular siliqua of Julian (Cat. no. 38; Fig. 3b) is unusually heavy at 2.29gm. There are several other irregular coins,

Table 2: Comparative mint (percentage) distribution of coins of 364-78 from various finds in and near Wiltshire^a

	Trier	Lyons	Arles ^β	Rome	Aquileia	Siscia	Eastern	Sample
Cunetio Well		21.60	62.20		13.50	2.70		40
<i>Hoard</i>								
Bishops Cannings	1.02	23.05	51.5	3.80	12.9	7.00	0.68	885
Wroughton (Avon)	0.57	23.11	56.64	3.53	9.93	6.21		1047
Shapwick III (Soms.)	0.99	22.66	50.06	6.49	12.87	6.49	0.44	909
Lydney (Glos.)	0.83	23.70	54.62	4.27	10.19	6.40		844
All Cannings		34.37	53.12		9.37	3.12		32
<i>Votive deposit?</i>								
Urchfont (Wilts.)	2.56	29.48	51.28	1.28	5.12	10.25		78
<i>Site-finds</i>								
Cunetio		25.00	68.75		6.25			16
Euridge (Wilts.)		25.71	62.86	5.71		5.71		35
Broad Hinton (Wilts.)	3.70	37.03	44.44	3.70	3.70	7.41		27

^a Reports for these sites: Bishops Cannings: Bland *et al.*, forthcoming; Wroughton: Hudson 1992; Shapwick III: Pearce 1939; Lydney: Pearce 1932; All Cannings: Moorhead, forthcoming; Urchfont: coinlist being prepared for publication by T.S.N. Moorhead; Cunetio: coinlist by C.E. King, available at Devizes Museum; and Broad Hinton (1983) and Euridge (1990): coinlists by T.S.N. Moorhead at Devizes Museum. (Euridge might also be a votive deposit.)

^β It really should be mentioned that there will always be a slight bias in favour of Arles because this was the only mint that struck the GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI issue for Gratian.



Figure 3. Selected coins from the *Cunetio* well: a: No. 26; b: No. 38; c: No. 65; and d: No. 79. Scale: actual size

amongst which are a fine FEL TEMP REPARATIO 'Emperor on Galley' piece (Cat. no. 26; Fig. 3a) and an unusual 'SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE' piece of Valens (Cat. no. 65, Fig. 3c).

THE POTTERY

Although outside the scope of this article, dating of the Oxford red and brown colour-coated wares found in the well and published by M.E. Cunnington (1920–22, 153–6 and pls. I–IV) does support the numismatic evidence. The demi-rosette stamped decoration probably post-dates *c.*340 (*ibid.*, pl. II; Young 1977, 132), and other wares illustrated by Cunnington are also consistently late, according to Young. Young's forms C52 (*c.*350–400+), C75 (*c.*325–400+) and C98 (*c.*350–400+) (Young 1977, 60, 165–6 and 173) were all present in the well (Cunnington 1920–22, pl. I, 1, 4 and 2). This supports the view that the well was back-filled in a single act, and does not stand in the way of a date after *c.*375 for that event.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WELL

The nature of the well deposits seems to confirm that it was filled in all at once in the late 4th century, most likely in the 370s or 380s. The well was probably originally dug to serve some of the buildings which are known to have existed to the south of the site. The presence of sherds in the well from at least 217 vessels suggests the clearance of a significant area of occupation, or the presence of a

midden nearby (Brooke 1920–22, 153). It seems logical to suggest that the well was filled in as a result of major redevelopment at *Cunetio*. The large quantity of building material indicates that some buildings were demolished at about the time the well was filled in. One possible explanation is that the 'proposed' road running from the east, to the south gate of *Cunetio*, (see Figure 1, and Burnham and Wachter 1990, 149, fig. 42) was built late in the 4th century, and required the demolition of buildings on its course. Alternatively, the well and buildings might have been victims of a building programme in the second half of the 4th century when *Cunetio* received major fortifications. These fortifications are known to post-date 354–58 because of a coin found in excavation (*ibid.*, 150). It is tempting to suggest that the evidence from the well points towards the 370s for the refortification of *Cunetio* as part of Count Theodosius's restructuring of Britain after the disasters of 367, as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Histories*, 28.3.7). However, one cannot be sure that there were not later coins from the hoard, and that the well was not filled in some time after the hoard was hidden. It does seem that the well may have been filled in slightly later than the building of the fortifications, if they are indeed attributable to Count Theodosius's programme. Whatever the facts of deposition, the evidence from the well further points towards the importance of *Cunetio* in the late 4th century.

It is important to note that Valentinianic bronze coins seem to be relatively more numerous in the Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset region

than elsewhere in the country. This is apparent from the author's own research, for sites like Urchfont, Euridge and Broad Hinton have a high proportion of Valentinianic bronze coins. There are a few other sites in Britain with a high proportion of Valentinianic coins, notably Caernarvon (Reece 1991, site 121), Piercebridge in Yorkshire (*ibid.*, site 116), and Hockwold and Fisons Way in Norfolk (Davies and Gregory 1991, 69 and 73, fig. 3), but only in Norfolk does this seem significant. There are also large hoards with a significant number of Valentinianic coins from the south-west region, Shapwick III, Lydney, Wrington and Bishops Cannings being the notable examples (see Table 2). Likewise, there is a major concentration of late silver hoards in this region (Hudson 1992, 343-4, especially note 4). J-P. Callu suggests that in this period the bronze coins were issued to finance the military, especially on frontier projects. He goes on to state that, increasingly, the soldiers preferred payment in silver (1980, 105-6). This might suggest that this region in western Britain – effectively the province of *Britannia Prima* – was a focus of much official and military activity in the late 4th century, and it is perhaps fitting that one of the very few known mixed silver and bronze hoards has come from *Cunetio*, where major fortifications of an unusually late date attest to keen interest from the Roman authorities.

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Postscript. It has been brought to the author's attention (M. Corney, pers. comm.) that there are also important late-Roman defences at Kenchester (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 76) and Alcester (Booth, forthcoming), both of which are towns in *Britannia Prima*. Research is already under way on several other fronts to elucidate further the history of Wiltshire and her neighbouring counties in the late Roman period: Bryn Walters is working on late Roman Wiltshire in general; Mark Corney and Nick Griffiths are studying late Roman buckles in Britain; Tony Clarke is researching the Wansdyke; and Paul Robinson is compiling a register of finds of Theodosian coins in the county. The synthesis of these projects will probably result in the rewriting of the history of late Roman Wiltshire.

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Catalogue of the Coins

The material

Numbered coins are those in Devizes Museum

Lettered coins are ones that are determined from Brooke's reports

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Abbreviations

Rulers:

CI	Constantine I	Jn	Julian II
CII	Constantine II	Mag	Magnentius
Cn	Constans	VI	Valentinian I
CsII	Constantius II	Vn	Valens
Dec	Decentius	(c)	caesar
Gn	Gratian	(a)	augustus

Mints:

Tr	Trier
Ly	Lyons
Ar	Arles
R	Rome
Aq	Aquileia
Sis	Siscia
Thes	Thessalonika

Symbols and Miscellaneous:

- () surround unclear features, or less likely rulers/references
- [] surround indeterminate or inferred features
- . . . some unclear or illegible letters
- //- field and exergue
- + footnote
- * illustration
- barb. barbarous/irregular *Note:* references for barbarous coins are to coins of similar type or appearance, not to exactly similar coins.
- ch. chipped
- fr. fragment

Catalogue**Section A: 1st–3rd centuries**

Details are given in the following order: coin no.; ruler; mint; denomination; reverse legend/type; (below) reference.

A.+ 'British Tin'

1. Sabina, 117–38 Rome AE Sestertius [PIETAS/VESTA]S C; Pietas/Vesta std. 1.
cf. RIC 1029/1034/1036; and BMC 1870–4/1885–6/(1882)
 2. Victorinus, 269–71 Mint II, Issue II AE Antoninianus ?[SALVS AVG]; ?Salus 2
cf. Cunetio 2567/8; Normanby 1432/3; Elmer 732
 3. Tetricus II, 271–4 Mint I, Issue V AE Antoninianus (SPES) [AVGG]; Spes 1b
Cunetio 2647; Normanby 1533; Elmer 791
- B. 'Tetricus II'**
4. ?Carausius, 286–93 ?mint AE Antoninianus

Section B: 4th century

Details are given in the following order: coin no; reverse legend/type & date; (denomination); (diameter & weight); mint & date; mintmark; ruler; and reference.

C. 'Lincinius I', 308–324**D.+ 'Constantine I', 307–337**

?VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP, 319–320 (AE3)

5. ?mint ?-/- CI(a)

BEATA TRANQVILLITAS, 321–23 (AE3)

6. ?mint ?-/- CI(a)

E. 'Constantine II(c), BEATA TRANQVILLITAS' (AE3)

CAESARVM NOSTRORVM, 323–24 (AE3)

7. ?mint -//.. CII(c)

F.+ 'Constantine II(c), CAESARVM NOSTRORVM, T.S.B.'

(*cf.* RIC Thessalonika, 87ff.)

G.+ 'Fausta', 324–6 (?AE3)

GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 standards), 330–5 (AE3)

8. Trier, 332–3 -//TR•S CII(c) RIC 539

GLORIA EXERCITVS (1 standard), 335–340 (AE3/4)

9. Trier, 330–35 -//TRS(?)•TRS• ?CsII(c) *cf.* RIC VII 592

10. ?Trier, 337–40 -//?(TRP..?) CII(a) *cf.* RIC VIII 81

11. ?Tr/(Ar), post–April 340 ?M//? Cn/(CsII)(a) *cf.* RIC VIII, Tr 106/111; (Ar 51/2)

12. Possibly barbarous

?Tr/(Ar), post–April 340 ?M//... CsII/Cn(a) *cf.* RIC VIII, Tr 105–14; (Ar 51/2)

13. ?Trier, 337–41 -//?(TRP) CII/CsII(a) *see* RIC VIII, 43–5

14. Ar, ?337–40 X or Chi-Rho ?CII/CsII/Cn *cf.* RIC VII, 394ff. and 402ff.;

VIII, 8–24; 43–50

15. ?Ar, 337–40 o//.. CII/CsII/Cn *cf.* RIC VII, 412–4; VIII, 1–7

16. Probably barbarous (fr. 14/(10)mm; 0.86gms)

?mint, 337–41 ?-/- ?CII/CsII(a) *cf.* Colch., pls. 10–11, nos.

25–40 and 1–12

A. This coin was not included specifically in the *WAM* list, although '3 British PA' are listed. It seems not to have survived.

D. This is probably a missing coin; Brooke apparently thought that no. 6 belonged to CII(c) rather than CI (FDN, p. 54).

F. Brooke lists a coin of CII: 'CAES. NOST. VOT X T.S.B.' The mintmark for Thessalonika for this issue ends in VI or VIII so it is probably not no. 7 before cleaning. Brooke probably only transcribed the letters of the mintmark.

G. Only recorded in notebook (Brooke 1912, p. 53) for 12. 2. 12: '3rd Br. of Fausta'.

- VRBS ROMA; Wolf & Twins, 330-40 (AE3)
17. ?mint --/?
CONSTANTINOPOLIS; Victory 1., 330-40 (AE3/4)
18. ?mint --/?
19. Barbarous (13/14mm; 1.16gms)
'Lyons, 333-4' -*//PLG *Type as RIC VII, Ly 266; cf. Colch., pl. 9, nos. 17, 20-21*
- PAX PVBLICA, 337-40 (AE4)
20. ?mint --/?
PIETAS ROMANA, 337-40 (AE4)
Helena
21. ?Rome --/(?) (R?) . . . Theodora *cf. RIC VIII 28 & 54*
VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN, 347-8 (AE4)
22. ?Trier [?]/(TR.)? Cn *cf. RIC 180ff.*
23. ??Trier (M??)/(TR.)?? Cn *cf. RIC 182*
24. ??Trier ?/(TRP)?? Cn
25. Possibly barbarous: ?GLORIA EXERCITVS (one standard) or VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN, 335-41 or 347-8
?mint ?-/-
- FEL TEMP-(P?)RI(sic)PARATIO, Emperor & Galley, 348-50 (AE2a)
- 26.* Barbarous (22/23 mm; 6.09gms)
'Lyons, 348-50' --//PLG 'Cn' *Type as RIC Ly 71; cf. Easterton 86*
VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE(S), 351-3
- 27.+ Probably barbarous (fr. c.20mm; 1.81 gms)
'Trier, ?352' --//TRP 'Mag' *for type, see RIC 312, 315 and 316A; cf. Wokin. 899-902, 910, 1083-4*
28. Probably barbarous (fr. & ch., c.15mm max; 0.70 gms)
?'mint' --/? Mag/Dec *cf. Boon, no. 150*
- H. 'Constantius Gallus', 351-4
FEL TEMP REPARATIO, Fallen Horseman type, c.353-363 (AE3/4)
The following coins are all for Constantius II, as augustus
29. Probably barbarous (15/16mm; 1.39gms)
'Trier, 353-5' --//T. . . *cf. RIC, Tr. 358*
30. Possibly barbarous (16/18mm; 1.72gms)
Lyons, ?355-60 --//GPLG *type as RIC 189*
31. Possibly barbarous (17/18mm; 2.22gms)
?Lyons, 355-60 --/(GSLG)? *cf. RIC 189*
32. Barbarous (14/15mm; 1.62gms)
'Arles, c.355-60' --//TCON *type as RIC 266*
33. Barbarous (15/17mm; 1.31 gms)
'Arles, c.355-60' --/(?C)ON *see RIC 224*
34. Barbarous (13/15mm; 1.06gms)
?'Arles/Trier, 355-60' --//[TR]P or P[CON] *cf. Colch., pl. 12, no. 15ff., esp. 30*
35. Barbarous (fr. 15/16mm+; 1.40gms)
?'mint, c.355-60' --/? *cf. Colc., pl. 12, nos. 19-20*
36. Barbarous ('clipped flan', c.11-12mm; 1.19gms)
?'mint, c.355-60' ?[-/-]

- 37.+ Uncertain piece, possibly of this group
Barbarous (9/12mm; 2.28gms)
'VOTIS/V/MVLTTIS/X' in wreath, 360-3 (AR Reduced Siliqua)
- I-J. Lyons/Trier, 360-3 ?-/- Jn
VOTIS/I(sic)V/MVLTTIS/X in wreath, 360-3 (AR Reduced Siliqua)
- 38.+* Barbarous 17/18mm; 2.229gms; Die Axis 1)
'Lyons/Trier, 360-3' -/[] Jn *cf.* RIC Ly. 218 and 227; Tr. 364-5
VOT/X/MVLT/XX in wreath, 360-3 (AR Reduced Siliqua)
- 39.+ (15/16mm; 1.56gms)
Arles, 360-3 -/(*)CONST Jn *cf.* RIC 309 (and 310-11)
- K-T.+ 5-9 Siliquae of Julian II with unspecified reverses
- U.+ ?Siliqua of Valentinian I
GLORIA ROMANANORVM, Emperor & Captive, 364-78
Note that for nos. 40-75: 364-75 = 364-7/367-75
40. Lyons, 364-75 O FII/? VI LRBC 279ff., RIC 10a/20a, iiibff.
41. Lyons, 364-75 O FII/LVGS(?) VI LRBC 284ff., RIC 10a/20a, viii aff.
42. Lyons, 364-75 O FII/. . . VI LRBC 284ff., RIC 10a/20a, viii aff.
43. Lyons, 364-75 O FII/LVGP/S(?) VI LRBC 284ff., RIC 10a/20a, viii bff.
44. Lyons, (364-7)/367-75 O FII/LVGS(D?) VI *cf.* LRBC 307; *cf.* RIC 20a, xivb
45. Arles, 364-7 OF I//CONST VI LRBC 479; RIC 7a (or 7c), iic
46. Arles, 364-7 OF I//CONST Vn LRBC 480; RIC 7d, iia
47. Arles, 367-75 -II/[]N VI *cf.* LRBC 512; *cf.* RIC 16a, xiib
48. Arles, 367-75 OF I/[]CON Vn LRBC 513; RIC 16b, xiiia
49. Arles, ?367-75 OF II/(CON)[?] Vn *cf.* LRBC 513; *cf.* RIC 16b, xiib
50. Arles, 367-75 -/?(SCON) VI *cf.* LRBC 525; RIC 16a, *cf.* xivb
51. Aquileia, 364-7 -A//SMAQP VI LRBC 965; RIC 7a, ia
52. Aquileia, 364-7 -B//[S](MAQ)(P?) Vn LRBC 972; RIC 7b, iia
53. Aquileia, 367-75 -//SMAQP Vn LRBC 1029; RIC 11b, xiva
54. Siscia, 367-75 F R/- A//(?)SISC(?) VI *cf.* LRBC 1408-10; RIC 14a
55. Uncertain piece, probably of this group
?Trier or Thess., ?364-75 ?-/?(TRP.) or (TES(A))?
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE, Victory advancing left, 364-378 (AE3)
56. ?Lyons, 364-75 OF I[?]/? Vn *cf.* LRBC 283ff., *cf.* RIC 12/21a
57. ?Lyons, 364-75 OF I/? Vn *cf.* LRBC 283ff., *cf.* RIC 12/21a
58. ?Lyons, 364-75 OF ?/? ? *cf.* LRBC 283ff., *cf.* RIC 12/21
59. Arles, 364-75 OF (II?)//(C)[] VI *cf.* LRBC 481ff., *cf.* RIC 9a/17a
60. Arles, 364-75 OF III-[?]/. . . VI *cf.* LRBC 481ff., *cf.* RIC 9a/17a
61. Arles, 364-7 OF []//CONST Vn LRBC 483; RIC 9b, iia-c
62. Arles, 364-7 OF III/-(*)//ON VI LRBC 488; RIC 7b, ivc
- 63.+ Arles, ?367-75 OF(?)II/(-*)//.ON[?] VI *cf.* LRBC 501; *cf.* RIC 17a, xia
- 64.+ Arles, ?367-75/(375-8) (*?)-//PCON Vn *cf.* LRBC 502/(528/533); *cf.* RIC 17b/(19a), ixa/(xiva, xva)

37. This could be one of 3 pieces Brooke listed as 'British AE' (Brooke 1912, p. 55) or possibly the one 'British oval' (*ibid.*, p. 53).

38. Obv. legend (D N CL IVL(I?)-ANVS AVG) of Trier, but Kent (RIC, Lyons, p. 193, 210 note) notes the existence of numerous contemporary imitations of Lyons coins with obverse legends proper to other mints.

39. Although light, probably not clipped. If the hoard was secluded in the 370s, one would not expect to find clipped siliquae.

K-T. Brooke lists a total of 13 Julian siliquae, but there might have been only 9. See discussion of the coins on p.43.

U. This coin's existence is very questionable. See discussion on p.43.

63. Dot very close to Victory's skirt; probably Victory's wing in front of II rather than third I.

64. Dot very close to Victory.

65. Altogether of crude style.

- 65.+* Probably barbarous (17/18mm; 1.53gms)
 'Arles, 367-75' OF I-[?]/CON Vn *cf.*LRBC 516; *cf.*RIC 17b, xiiia
66. Arles, 364-7/367-75 OF II/-(*)//CON Vn *cf.*LRBC(492)/516;*cf.*RIC (9b, ivb)/17b, xiiib
67. Arles, 367-75 -//[C]ON(*?) VI/Vn *cf.*LRBC 518-20; *cf.*RIC 16a/b
68. Arles, 367-75/375-8 -//PCON Vn LRBC 528/532; RIC 17b, xiva/19a, xva
69. Arles, 367-75/375-8 -//PCON[?] Vn *cf.*LRBC 528/532; *cf.*RIC 17b, xiva/19a, xva
70. ?Arles, 364-75 (OF) I/? VI *cf.*LRBC 481ff., *cf.*RIC 9a/17b
71. ?Arles, 364-75 OF II/? Vn *cf.*LRBC 483ff., *cf.*RIC 9b/17b
72. ?Arles, 364-75 OF II/(CON?)[?] Vn *cf.*LRBC 486ff., *cf.*RIC 9b/17b
73. ??Arles, 367-75/375-8 -//(PCON)?? Vn *cf.*LRBC 528/532; *cf.*RIC 17b/19a
74. Arles or Lyons, 364-75 OF ?/? ? Vn
75. Aquileia, 364-7 *-//SMAQS Vn LRBC 999; RIC 9b, xb
- GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI, Emperor standing, 367-75 (AE3)
 All coins are from the mint of Arles, 367-75, and in the name of Gratian
76. OF II//CON LRBC 517; RIC 15, xiiib
77. OF II//CON* LRBC 523a; RIC 15, xiiib
78. -//TCO(N)[?] *cf.*LRBC 529/(505); RIC 15, *cf.* xivc (and xb)
- FELICITAS ROMANANORVM, Victory advancing left, 367-75 (AE3)
- 79.+* Aquileia, 367-75 -//SMAQP VI LRBC 1007; RIC 16a; Rich., p. 314, 30745
80. Uncertain coin, probably 3rd/4th century barbarous
- V.+ Uncertain coin: 'Silver coin with reverse LAETITIA'

Total number of coins in Devizes Museum: 80

Total number of missing/possible coins: 21

Total of coins in Catalogue: 101

79. Same dies as the Richborough coin (in the British Museum), but a better specimen.

V. Brooke, 1912, p. 54 notes this coin with no other details. It could be from one of several periods, but it is probably c.260-296.

Excavations at The Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon

by C.A. BUTTERWORTH and
RACHAEL SEAGER SMITH

with contributions by

WENDY J. CARRUTHERS, SHEILA HAMILTON-DYER, JACQUELINE I. MCKINLEY,
C. NEWMAN and NICHOLAS A. WELLS

Archaeological excavation in advance of development revealed deposits and features of Roman date. Much of the site was covered by a deep, dark soil through and below which were cut small numbers of post-holes, pits and ditches and a quarry. Two incomplete Romano-British infant burials were found in the dark soil. Small quantities of later Mesolithic, Late Neolithic, Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age and early Anglo-Saxon material were also found.

INTRODUCTION

An archaeological excavation was undertaken on the site of The Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon (centred on SU 1590 8375; Figure 1) which was to be redeveloped as sheltered housing. The excavation was commissioned and funded by Jephson Homes Housing Association Limited, and was carried out by Wessex Archaeology between 26 September and 28 October 1994. It was hoped that further evidence might be found for the nature and extent of the known Saxon settlement which appears to have been concentrated to the east of the High Street.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND by C. NEWMAN

There is evidence of archaeological activity in the Swindon area from the prehistoric period onwards. Palaeolithic flint tools have been found around Swindon Hill. Other prehistoric finds are mainly of unstratified flint tools and pottery sherds, but also include Bronze Age burials and an Iron Age pit (Chandler *et al.* 1989; Grinsell *et al.* 1950, 9).

The first evidence for settlement within Swindon Old Town dates to the Roman period. Excavation has revealed the presence of Romano-British buildings and burials. The settlement appears to have been small (Chandler *et al.* 1989, 24), and was possibly established at least partly to supply the 'small town' of *Durocornovium* (Wanborough) with quarried stone

(Chandler 1992, 15; Grinsell *et al.* 1950, 16). Pottery is known to have been made in the area to the west of the Roman settlement during the 2nd century AD.

There was also early Saxon settlement in Swindon, although there is no evidence for continuity from the Roman period. Pagan burials have been found in the area of the Old Town (Chandler *et al.* 1989, 35). Excavations around the Market Square and to the rear of Lloyds Bank on the High Street revealed evidence of Saxon sunken floored buildings, dating from around AD 600 (Canham and Phillips n.d.). Excavations on the site of the new doctor's surgery in 1993, in the grounds of The Hermitage, revealed another sunken floored building, as well as a medieval building and a Roman burial (Chandler 1993).

By the 13th century, Swindon was an established small town, its growth promoted by the de Valence family, lords of the manor of High Swindon (Crittall *et al.* 1983, 105). A market is recorded in the mid 13th century, and in 1289 the town was known as Chipping Swindon, Chipping meaning market. The medieval town was located around an area formed by Newport Street, High Street, Wood Street and Devizes Road (then known as Short Hedge). The Market Square lay to the east of the High Street, and was defined by Mill Lane to the south and Dammas Lane to the north (*ibid.*, 108). To the east of the Market Square was The Lawn, formerly Swindon House, which was demolished after the Second World War. This house almost certainly stood

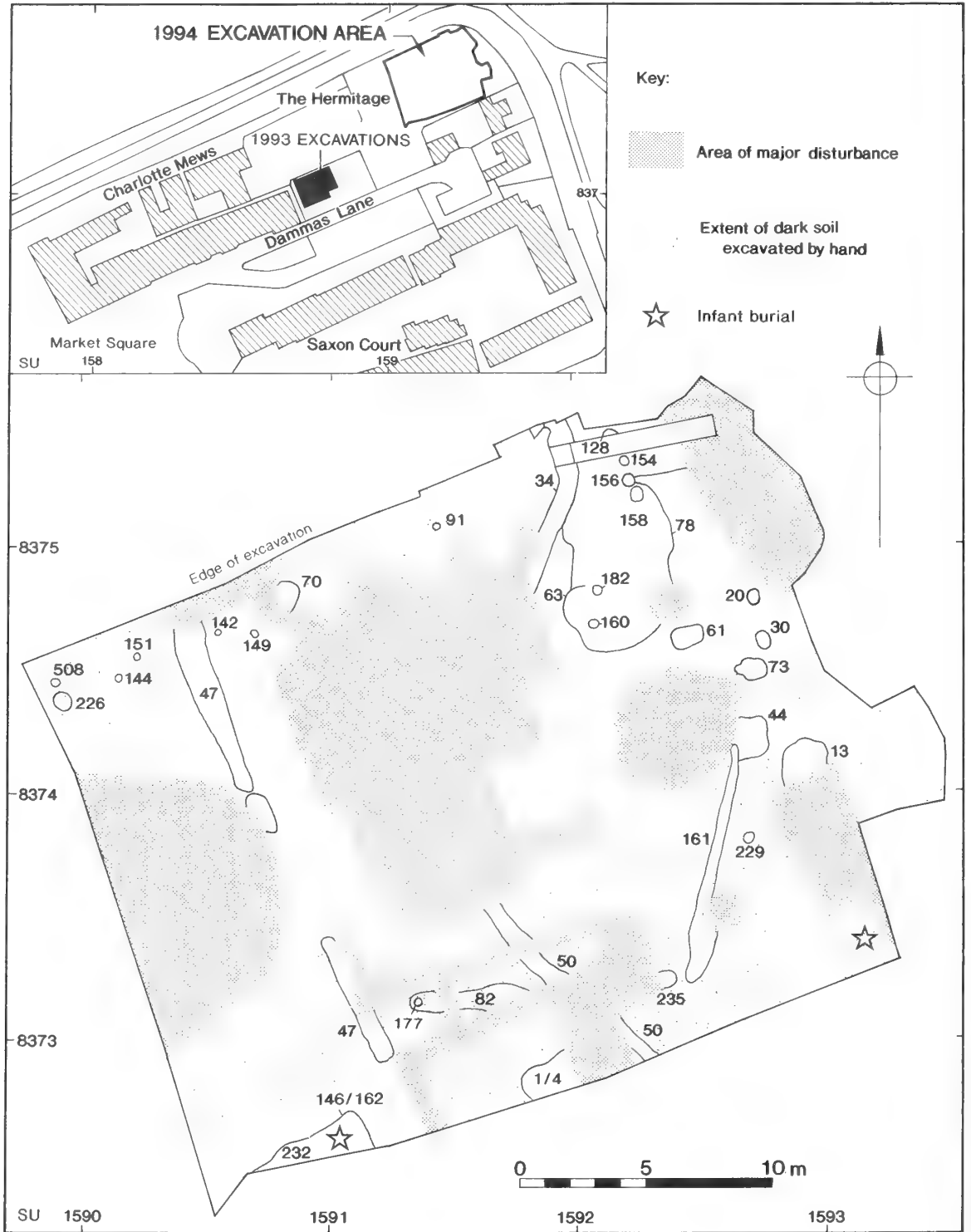


Figure 1. The Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon: site location and plan of all excavated features

on the site of the medieval manor house (*ibid.*, 120), with the former parish church of Holy Rood and a mill standing close by. The Hermitage was a large neo-Tudor house situated in grounds to the north of Dammas Lane. It was in existence by 1848, when it was described as a 'pretty residence' (*ibid.*, 105).

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The redevelopment area lies towards the eastern end of the ridge of Old Swindon Hill. The ridge, capped by protective Portland and Purbeck Beds (Arkell 1948), rises above the underlying Kimmeridge Clay on which much of modern Swindon is built. The site lies within an area of Portland Beds, consisting principally of sand interleaved by thin, intermittent layers of stone. Ground level in the area is *c.*137m above OD.

EXCAVATION METHODS

The Hermitage was demolished to ground level before the start of excavation leaving the walls of two cellars, foundations and drains *in situ*. Demolition debris, modern deposits, including large areas of disturbance around a soakaway to the east of the larger cellar, a deep feature to its west, and as much as possible of the remaining foundations and services were removed by machine. Archaeological deposits had been destroyed in many of these areas. Underlying modern levels was a dark soil, some of which was also excavated by machine. The excavation area had maximum dimensions of 34m (west-east) by 25m (*c.*725m²).

The site was then cleaned by hand and, where possible, the remaining modern features were fully excavated or excavated to below the level of the natural sand. Discrete features were half-sectioned and representative sections of larger or linear features excavated. The remaining areas of dark soil were excavated by hand in 5m grid squares, each 5m square being given its own context number.

Results

Two broad phases of activity were defined. Figure 1 shows all excavated features.

PHASE 1: ROMAN

Phase 1 is divided into three sub-phases on the basis of perceived stratigraphic relationships. These were

not clearly defined, however, and analysis of the pottery shows a broad date distribution, often within individual features, in each sub-phase.

Phase 1a

A number of features were only recognised where cut into the natural sand. The fill of almost all of them was indistinguishable from the dark greyish-brown or brown sandy loam soil above, and they were quite probably cut from a higher level.

A cluster of four post holes, 142, 144, 149, and 151, a small pit, 226, and the base of a Roman pottery vessel, 508, set upright and apparently *in situ*, were excavated at the north-western corner of the site. The post holes were 0.18–0.3m in diameter and not more than 0.07m deep; pit 226 was 0.8m long, 0.75m wide and 0.3m deep. A few sherds of Late Iron Age/very early Romano-British pottery and 32 sherds of later Roman pottery were recovered (Table 1). No cut was visible for pottery vessel 508, the base of a large storage jar, 335mm in diameter and probably of 1st–2nd century AD date. It contained a shallow deposit of dark grey clay, 27, amongst which were a few sherds from other vessels. Two very small fragments of possibly human bone were found beneath its base.

Gully 161 ran roughly north-west from a butt end for a distance of *c.*10m before petering out by a modern soakaway. It was up to 1.35m wide and 0.1m deep. Sections of a second gully, 82 and 235, were interrupted by modern foundations, but ran westwards, roughly at a right-angle to and from within *c.*0.35m of the southern end of 161 for an overall distance of *c.*11m. The gully was *c.*1m wide and survived to a maximum depth of 0.15m. A post hole, 177, appeared to cut the western butt end of gully 82 and contained soft, decayed pieces of limestone, possibly packing but very similar to naturally occurring higher 'islands' of stone. Late Iron Age and Roman pottery was recovered from gully 82, as well as two pieces of earlier prehistoric and a single sherd of Saxon pottery. A further shallow post hole, 20, (0.6m in diameter, 0.15m deep) and a pit, 61 (1.2 × 0.7 × 0.37m), lay to the south-east of the Phase 1c feature 78.

Phase 1b

A homogeneous dark brown to dark greyish brown sandy loam soil, up to 0.6m deep, was preserved beneath modern deposits over much of the southern half and along part of the northern side of the site (Figure 1). It contained predominantly Roman

pottery with small quantities of earlier prehistoric, Late Iron Age/very early Romano-British, Saxon and medieval sherds (Table 1). Manual excavation of this soil in 5m square blocks showed a concentration of finds in the southern part of the site, although it should be noted that less soil was removed in this area by machine. The relationship of features to the buried soil was difficult to determine although some were seen to cut it. An incomplete infant burial, 84, was recovered from the dark soil at the extreme south-eastern corner of the site. No grave cut was recognised, but the burial may have been associated with a few stones set on edge slightly above a natural (horizontal) stone layer.

Phase 1c

Most features of this phase were ill-defined, shallow and filled with dark, greyish-brown to brown sandy loam.

An area of ill-defined, shallow and heavily truncated pit bases and/or layers, 146, 162, 232 (Figure 1), 221 and 223, was investigated at the south-western corner of the site but it was impossible to establish their sequence or extent. 'Pit' 146 was the most clearly defined (0.98m long, 0.78m wide and 0.15m deep) and was marked by a concentration of charcoal and unburned limestone fragments. A second incomplete infant burial was recovered from 162. The pottery was predominantly of later Roman date (Table 1).

Two ditches (47 and 50) crossed the western half of the site. Ditch 47, up to 1.55m wide and 0.3m deep, was filled with dark greyish-brown silty sand. Ditch 50 was much interrupted by later disturbance but was at least 1m wide and 0.5m deep. It was filled with very dark greyish-brown to dark brown loamy sand. Both features contained predominantly Romano-British pottery.

The Phase 1b dark soil was cut in various places by ill-defined, shallow features (e.g. 13, 30, 44, 73), at least two post holes (91 and 229) and a pit (70). Pottery of Late Iron Age to later Roman date was recovered from these features, with a single Saxon sherd also from feature 73 (Table 1).

A large, irregular feature thought to be a quarry, 78, may also have cut the Phase 1b soil. It extended almost 9m into the trench from the northern edge of the site; two sections were excavated through it (c.6.5m and c.4.5m long). Surviving to a maximum depth of 1.35m, the quarry was vertical- or steep-sided and, although uneven in the softer sand at its

southern end, had a generally level base. A few blocks of a natural, horizontal layer of stone remained *in situ* at the bottom of the northern section, but the stone had almost certainly been removed elsewhere although it was not visible in the southern section or at the southern end of the feature. Given the instability of the sand into which it was cut, this feature cannot have remained open for long and, indeed, showed evidence of having been quickly and deliberately backfilled. Dumps of brown or yellowish-brown sandy loam and redeposited yellow sand were recorded in the opposed northern sections, which were only 1m apart but showed little consistency. The southern section showed a broad spread of interleaved sand and sandy loam layers dumped from the east. Given the volume of material excavated, finds from the feature were relatively few and most of the pottery was of later Roman date (Table 1). Two post holes, 160 and 182, cut the base of 78 near the south-western corner. They were 0.3m and 0.25m deep respectively.

A gully, 34 (1.05m wide and 0.2m deep), cut the western edge of quarry 78, curving from the south-west, to run northwards out of the trench. Four post holes, 128, 154, 156 and 158 also cut the upper fills of feature 78. These ranged from 0.3–0.7m in diameter and only one (128) was deeper than 0.13m (0.38m).

PHASE 2: MODERN and POST-MEDIEVAL

All site sections showed modern material, associated either with The Hermitage and its demolition or with the landscaping of the grounds of The Lawn, to a maximum depth of c.1m. Very few discrete features of this latest phase remained, but a shallow, stone-lined soakaway, 63, cut the western edge of quarry 78, while pit 4, containing the articulated skeleton of a dog, appeared to cut an earlier pit, 1, which contained Roman material.

The finds

POTTERY

by RACHAEL SEAGER SMITH

The pottery assemblage comprises a total of 2812 sherds, weighing 40887g. Most sherds are of Roman date although small quantities of prehistoric, Saxon,

medieval and post-medieval pottery are also present. In general, the condition of the assemblage is good, with many large sherds and comparatively little surface abrasion being observed. The mean sherd weight for the assemblage is 14.5g. The distribution of fabrics by feature is shown in Table 1.

The assemblage has been analysed in accordance with the Standard Wessex Archaeology recording system for pottery (Morris and Mephram 1994). It was divided into seven broad fabric groups on the basis of predominant inclusion type: calcareous fabrics (Group C), grog-tempered wares (Group G), flint-gritted wares (Group F), sandy wares (Group Q), shelly wares (Group S) and organic-tempered wares (Group V), in addition to a group of fabrics of known type or source (Group E). These groups were further subdivided into different fabrics based on the range, frequency and size of the inclusions present, and each was assigned an individual fabric code. The following terms are used to describe the frequency of inclusions present: rare less than 2%; sparse 3–7%; moderate 10–15%; common 20–25%; and abundant 30%+.

Sherds from Phases 1a, 1c and 2 were further examined and assigned a form type; additional attributes from selected variables were recorded where appropriate. A site-specific vessel type series (Figures 2 and 3) was constructed; brief descriptions are contained in this report (Table 3), while fuller details and parallels can be found in the archive. Unstratified sherds and those from the dark soil deposits (Phase 1b) were recorded in less detail; only the vessel forms present by fabric, and any unusual features, such as uncommon decorative motifs or evidence of re-use or repair, were noted.

Grooved Ware

The two sherds of Late Neolithic Grooved Ware (Figure 2, 1 and 2), belonging to the Durrington Walls sub-style (Longworth 1971, 55–70), were found in an unstratified context in the north-west corner of the site. Both occur in a well-fired grog with quartz sand-tempered fabric with exterior surfaces varying in colour from orange to buff enclosing a dark grey core. Differences in decorative style make it uncertain whether the sherds belong to the same or different vessels.

Other prehistoric pottery

All the sherds in this group are likely to belong to the 1st millennium BC, although precise dating is

hampered by the comparatively small quantity and paucity of diagnostic sherds among this material. A total of 20 sherds was assigned to this group. Three fabric types were identified:

- Fabric F1 Soft, moderately fine-grained; moderate, well-sorted calcined flint, up to 1mm, sparse grog/clay pellets <2mm, sparse quartz <0.5mm in matrix containing common micaceous sand or mica <0.125mm across. Handmade. Exterior surface and margin oxidised orange-brown in colour, rest of sherd unoxidised, very dark grey. 2 sherds, 84g.
- Fabric G1 Soft to moderately hard; moderate grog/clay pellets <5mm, sparse to moderate amounts of quartz <1mm, rare to sparse ferrous grits <1mm. Handmade. Exterior surface generally oxidised, rest of sherd unoxidised; colour varies from pink to orange-brown to very dark grey. Fabric group, possibly containing sherds from more than one source. 5 sherds, 45g.
- Fabric Q1 Soft to moderately hard; variable quantities of poorly-sorted quartz <2mm, and rare iron oxides <0.5mm. Handmade. Irregularly fired, colour varies from orange-brown to very dark grey. Fabric group, possibly containing sherds from more than one source. 13 sherds, 63g.

The two sherds of flint-tempered ware (Fabric F1) are from a single jar, probably of Late Bronze Age or earlier Iron Age date, the exterior surface of which is lumpy and very roughly finished. At least one of the Fabric Q1 sherds, a shoulder sherd from a jar form decorated with finger-nail impressions, is of Late Bronze to Early Iron Age date but no other diagnostic sherds occur amongst this group, which may span a wider chronological range. Similarly, the dating of the grog-tempered wares (Fabric G) is hampered by the absence of featured sherds.

All three fabrics are likely to be from local sources (within 10 to 15km). Prehistoric pottery was found in only two of the excavated features, gully 82 and ditch 50 (Table 1). These sherds occurred in association with Romano-British material and must therefore be considered to be residual. Of the remaining sherds, 12 were found in the dark soil deposits, predominantly in the south-eastern area of the site where these deposits were deepest, while three were unstratified. Clearly, the focus of prehistoric activity lies beyond the boundaries of the current site.

30(P)							1 3g												
44(P)							6 74g		5 12g		1 2g								
70(P)						1 6g			21 101g		1 2g							4 16g	
73(P)						1 10g													
146(P)						1 4g	2 39g		18 180g		1 5g		4 70g						
162(P)						3 34g		19 273g					1 7g						
146						1 13g		3 15g											
162(P)																			
222(P)								1 16g	5 62g										
232(P)								1 10g											
158(PH)								2 6g		1 5g									
182(PH)								2 27g											
229(PH)								1 17g		1 6g									
<i>Total</i>								16 134g	3 8g	176 105g	14 93g	18 97g	23 118g	16 181g	10 129g	7 63g	2 68g		
<i>Phase 2</i>																			
4(P)																			17 726g
<i>Unstrat.</i>								2 21g	3 13g	323 7467g	33 307g	7 47g	2 28g	5 88g	8 75g	3 23g	2 11g		
<i>Overall</i>								2 32g	3 21g	1076 24555g	97 961g	46 273g	19 292g	26 373g	55 323g	14 160g	3 134g		
<i>Total</i>																			

Key:

P - pit

D - ditch

Q - quarry

PH - post hole

Grooved ware

Fabric E1, G1 and Q1

Fabric G100, F101 and M100

Fabric E301 and E304

Fabric Q107

Fabric Q108

Fabric Q110

Fabric E170, E171 and E174

Fabric Q104, Q105 and Q106

Fabric E155

Local etc

Misc dust

Wilt etc

OM wares

Oxid wares

Sav. ware

Grey sandy

BB1

Misc. c'ware

Calc. wares

Shell temp.

Saxon misc. wares

Minety ware

N'berry 'B'

Medieval misc. wares

Post-Med. misc. fabs.

Fabrics Q100 and Q101

Fabric E100

Fabrics F100, M101 and Q103

Fabric C101

Fabric S100

Fabrics C100, F103 and V101

Fabric E423

Fabric E442

Fabrics Q500, Q501, and F500

Fabrics E600, E605, E680, E740 and E750

Late Iron Age/very Early Roman

A total of 23 sherds are likely to belong to this period (1st century BC to 1st century AD) although, again, precise dating is hampered by insufficient chronologically diagnostic sherds. Three fabric types were identified:

Fabric G100 Hard, fine-grained; moderate amounts of poorly-sorted grog/clay pellets <2mm, in matrix containing common mica or micaceous sand <0.125mm and rare quartz and iron oxides, both <0.5mm. Handmade. Unoxidised and dark grey-brown in colour. 1 sherd, 6g.

Fabric F101 Hard, coarse; modern to common calcined flint grits 2–4mm across, variable quantities of poorly-sorted quartz <0.5mm and rare iron oxides <0.5mm. Handmade. Predominantly unoxidised, colour varying from pale brown to dark brown and all shades of grey. Fabric group characterised by coarse flint inclusions. 17 sherds, 249g.

Fabric M100 Soft to moderately hard, fine-grained; common mica/micaceous sand inclusions <0.25mm, and sparse quartz and rare iron oxides both <0.5mm. Handmade. Unoxidised, dark grey. May include products from more than one source. 5 sherds, 36g.

Most sherds are plain bodies. Two rim types were identified, each represented by a single sherd: a plain, flared rim, probably from a jar (Type R105, Figure 2,8) in the grog-tempered fabric, and an upright, rounded rim, slightly expanded externally, from a wide-mouthed jar or bowl/dish form (Type R114, Figure 2, 14) in the coarse flint-tempered ware.

Romano-British

Samian

Sherds of Southern Gaulish (3 sherds, 11g) and Central Gaulish, probably Lezoux (16 sherds, 240g) samian were identified, belonging to the late Flavian to early Antonine period (c. AD 90–150). Two Southern Gaulish sherds, one from a Dr. 18 or 18/31 platter and one probably from a Dr. 33 cup, were found in the dark soil in the south-eastern part of the site, and an unidentifiable body chip was unstratified. Central Gaulish forms include a tiny beaded rim fragment from a closed form from pit 13 and a featureless body sherd from a plain form, in pit 146. The remaining sherds were all unstratified and comprise a single body sherd, probably from a Dr. 33 cup, and 13 sherds from c.50% of a Dr.

18/31R platter with rivet repair holes.

Other finewares

The other finewares recognised amongst the assemblage can be divided into three broad groups: various products from the Oxfordshire kilns, locally produced fineware fabrics, and a range of oxidised fabrics. Eight fabric types were identified, including two from the Oxfordshire region:

Fabric E170 Red/brown colour-coated ware (Young 1977, 123). 42 sherds, 446g.

Fabric E171 White colour-coated ware (Young 1977, 117). 7 sherds, 239g.

The provenance of the remaining fabrics is less certain although at least three are likely to have been local:

Fabric Q107 Very hard, fine-grained; common quartz grains and rare iron oxides, both <0.5mm in matrix containing moderate mica/micaceous sand <0.125mm. Wheelmade. Red colour-coat on exterior surface. Exterior surface and margin oxidised, rest unoxidised; colour varies from red-brown to mid grey to buff. 2 sherds, 6g.

Fabric Q108 Hard, coarse-grained; abundant quartz <0.5 mm and rare iron oxides. Wheelmade. Surfaces coated in thin slurry containing large (<0.5mm) plates of biotite mica. Oxidised. Mica-dusted ware. 3 sherds, 21g.

Fabric Q110 Hard, even-textured; sub-angular quartz grains and rare iron oxides both <0.5mm. Wheelmade. Exterior surface coated with thin, matt colour-coat, usually red to light brown. Generally oxidised. North Wiltshire colour-coated ware (Anderson 1978, 373–92). 3 sherds, 32g.

Fabric Q104 Hard, fine-grained; sparse quartz and red iron oxides <0.5mm, in mica/micaceous sand-rich matrix. Wheelmade. Oxidised, bright orange with cream slip on exterior surface. White-slipped red ware. 2 sherds, 8g.

Fabric Q105 Moderately hard, coarse-grained; abundant rounded quartz <0.5mm, and rare red or black ferrous grits. Wheelmade. Incompletely oxidised; surfaces and margins pinkish-buff, core pale grey. Sandy buff ware. 3 sherds, 23g.

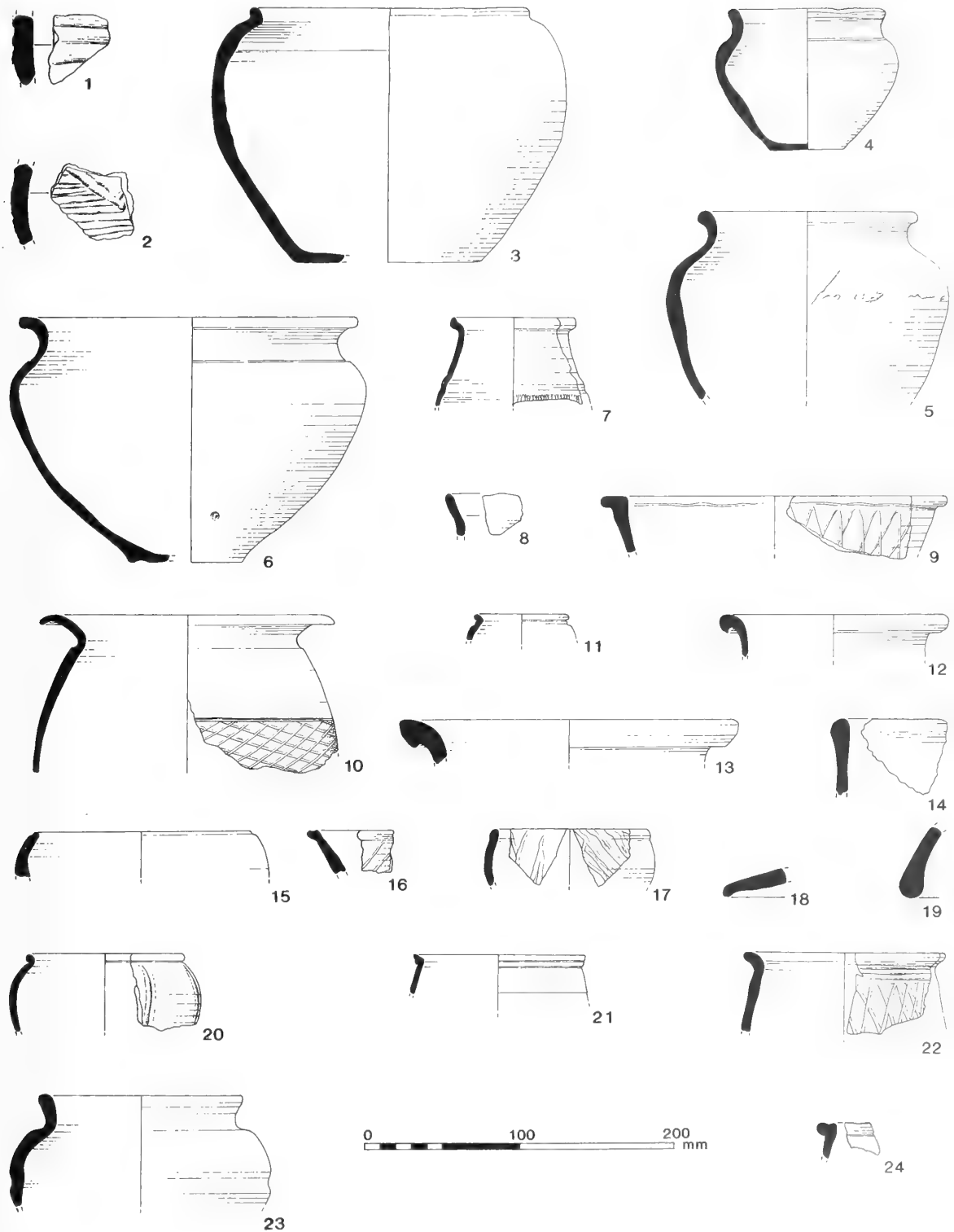


Figure 2. The Hermitage: Late Neolithic (1, 2) late prehistoric and Roman (3-24) pottery

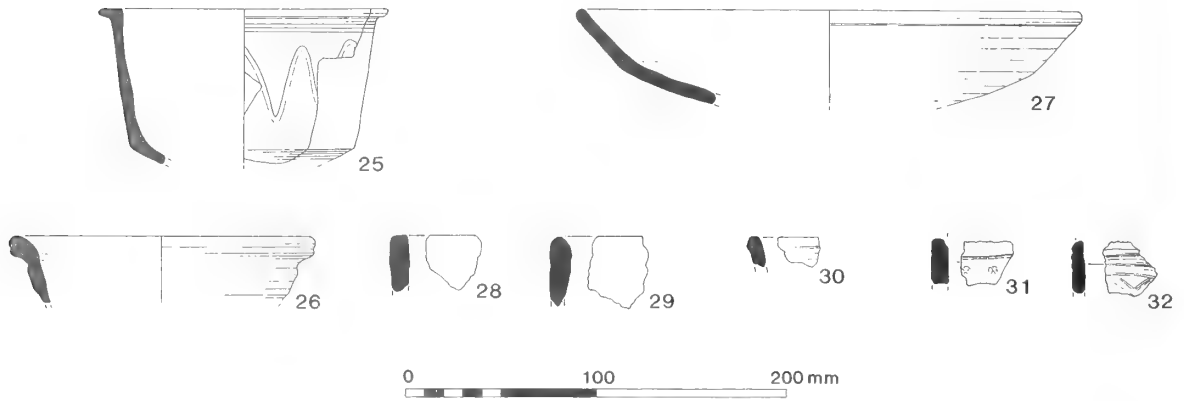


Figure 3. The Hermitage: Roman (25–27) and Saxon (28–32) pottery

List of illustrated sherds

Note: information is given in the following order – Illustration number, vessel type, ware type/name, fabric number, context (C), dark soil (ds), feature (F).

Figure 2

Late Neolithic

1 and 2. Grooved Ware; Durrington Walls sub-style; grog tempered, G1. Area E, unstratified. Possibly from same vessel.

Late Prehistoric and Roman:

3. R101; Savernake ware, E155. C227, F226.
4. R102; Savernake ware, E155. C227, F226.
5. R103; Savernake ware, E155. C77, ds.
6. R103; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C77, ds.
7. R104; sandy buff ware, Q105. C72, F82.
8. R105; smooth, hard greyware, G100. C72, F82.
9. R107; Black Burnished ware, E100. C89, ds.
10. R109; Black Burnished ware, E100. C173, ds.
11. R110; sandy greyware, Q101. C76, F47.
12. R112; shell-tempered ware, S100. C147, F146.
13. R112; shell-tempered ware, S100. C24, ds.
14. R114; flint-tempered ware, F100. C45, ds.
15. R115; mica-dusted ware, Q108. C16, ds.
16. R116; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C24, ds.
17. R117; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C24, ds.
18. R118; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C25, ds.
19. R118; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C25, ds.
20. R119; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C72, F82.
21. R120; North Wiltshire colour-coated ware, Q110. C83, F82.
22. R121; sandy greyware, Q101. C85, ds.
23. R122; Savernake ware, E155. C148, ds.
24. R123; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C89, ds.

Figure 3

25. R124; smooth, hard greyware, Q100. C89, ds.
26. R125; Savernake ware, E155. C89, ds.
27. R128; oxidised sandy coarseware, Q106. Area A, unstratified.

Saxon vessels:

28. R130; limestone-tempered fabric, C100. C38, ds.
29. R130; organic-tempered ware, V101. C38, ds.
30. R131; organic-tempered ware, V101. C79, F78.
31. Body sherd; rosette stamped decoration; organic-tempered ware, V101. Area C, unstratified.
32. Body sherd; shallow incised lines; flint-tempered ware, F103. C141, ds.

Fabric Q106 Hard to very hard, fine-grained; variable amounts of quartz, off-white, non-calcareous particles and rare red and black iron oxides, all <0.5mm. and sparse mica <0.125mm. Wheelmade. Oxidised, generally bright orange throughout, core occasionally light grey. Fabric group, probably containing products of more than one centre. 17 sherds, 170g.

Comparatively few featured sherds occurred amongst the Oxfordshire products which date from *c.*AD 240–400+. Red colour-coated ware includes rim fragments from bead rim bowl/platter forms of uncertain types and a rim sherd from a flanged bowl, copying Dr. 38 (Young 1977, 160, type C51), found in ditch 50. Only body sherds occur among the brown colour-coated sherds, including one from a closed form, probably a beaker, decorated with a narrow rouletted band, a shallow incised groove and barbotine scales. Scale decoration is not common on Oxfordshire products but occurs occasionally on globular or indented beakers from *c.*AD 270 onwards (*ibid.*, 129). This sherd was found in the dark soil. Mortaria sherds occur only in red colour-coated ware and white-slipped red ware fabrics, including two rims from vessels similar to Young's type WC7 (1977, 122) in the latter fabric, one from the dark soil deposit, the other unstratified.

Two plain body sherds from closed forms in local colour-coated ware (Fabric Q107) were found in gully 34 and pit 13. Both are probably of late 1st to 2nd century AD date. A rim sherd from a round-bodied open bowl (Type R115, Figure 2, 15) was recognised in the mica-dusted ware fabric (Fabric Q108) which can be paralleled at Wanborough (Seager Smith forthcoming, fabric 98) although only flagon forms were recognised here. The distribution of the north Wiltshire colour-coated ware (Fabric Q110) is centred upon Wanborough, and it was probably produced at a nearby kiln site (Anderson 1978, fig. 10). The bag-shaped beaker with a grooved, corniced rim (Type R120, Figure 2, 21) is the most common form at Wanborough (Anderson 1978, 378; Seager Smith forthcoming, fabric 25) where it is dated to *c.*AD 125–140/150.

Two vessel forms were recognised among the oxidised ware fabric types (Fabrics Q104, Q105 and Q106), although the remaining sherds are probably from flagons. Two sandy buff ware sherds (Fabric Q105) found in gully 161, are from the rim of a butt beaker with rouletted and grooved decoration (Type R104, Figure 2, 7). Such vessels are paralleled at

Wanborough in mid 1st century AD contexts (Seager Smith forthcoming, fig. 79, 1, 2 and 24–9), and at Cirencester (Rigby 1982, fig. 58, 296). The second form is a bead rim platter/bowl form copying Dr. 18/31 (Type R128, Figure 3, 27) in a hard, fine-grained oxidised ware (Fabric Q106). Similar vessels were produced in oxidised fabrics by the Oxfordshire industry, especially during the 2nd century AD (Young 1977, 196, type O41) and this vessel may be from this source. Kilns at Purton to the west of Swindon were also producing a range of oxidised wares during the 2nd century AD (Anderson 1978; 1979, 14; Swan 1984, mf. 5.667) and may offer an alternative source.

Coarsewares

Nine coarseware fabric types were identified including two of known source. Two further fabrics are 'catch-all' types and include products from more than one source.

Fabric E100 Black Burnished ware (BB1); for fabric description see Williams 1977. 97 sherds, 961g.

Fabric E155 Savernake wares; see Annable 1962, 150; Hodder 1974, 67–84; Swan 1975, 36–47; Rigby 1982, 153–4; Seager Smith forthcoming, fabric 1. 1076 sherds, 24555g.

Fabric Q100 Very hard, fine-grained; rare to sparse quartz and rare iron oxide, <0.5mm and very occasional soft, white, non-calcareous particles <1mm across. Wheelmade. Unoxidised, characteristically blue-grey. 'Catch-all' group for smooth, hard wheelmade greywares. 527 sherds, 5293g.

Fabric Q101 Hard, moderate to coarse grained; variable amounts of quartz sand and rare iron oxides, generally less than 0.75mm. Some contain probable glauconite inclusions. Hand and wheelmade examples. Predominantly unoxidised; includes sherds with dark grey/black surfaces and lighter core and those uniformly coloured throughout. 'Catch-all' group for sandy grey wares. 699 sherds, 5266g.

Fabric F100 Hard; sparse to moderate amounts of calcined flint <2mm, and variable amounts of quartz sand (<1mm), iron oxides (<0.5mm) and fragments of organic material <3mm. Handmade. Predominantly unoxidised. May contain products of more than one source. 13 sherds, 80g.

- Fabric M101 Hard, fine-grained; common to abundant mica/micaceous sand <0.125mm, and rare iron oxides, <0.25mm. Larger (<0.5mm) quartz grains sometimes visible. Wheelmade. Unoxidised; dark grey surfaces, lighter core. 12 sherds, 98g.
- Fabric Q103 Very hard, dense; sparse, translucent quartz, <0.25mm. Wheelmade. Unoxidised; dark grey surfaces, lighter core; margin may be oxidised. 21 sherds, 95g.
- Fabric C101 Soft, coarse; common to abundant limestone, sometimes oolitic, generally <2mm but some fragments may be as much as 6mm, rare shell fragments (<2mm) and quartz sand (<0.5mm) in a matrix rich in mica/micaceous sand. Handmade. Predominantly unoxidised, colour varies from orange-brown to very dark grey. 19 sherds, 292g.
- Fabric S100 Hard, well-fired; moderate to common amounts of poorly-sorted crushed shell (<4mm) and rare quartz and iron oxides. Wheelmade examples predominate although some may be handmade. Some closely-spaced, horizontal rilling on exterior surface. Irregularly fired, colour varies from buff to very dark grey. 26 sherds, 373g.

Two fabrics can be positively attributed to a known source: the Black Burnished ware from the Wareham/Poole Harbour region of Dorset and the Savernake-type wares produced near Mildenhall in the Savernake Forest, south of Marlborough (Annable 1962, 142–55; Hodder 1974, 67–84; Swan 1975, 36–47; Rigby 1982a, 154) and possibly in the area of Toothill Farm, west of Swindon (Anderson 1979). The sandy greywares (Fabrics Q100 and Q101) are likely to include products from the Toothill and Whitehill Farm kilns, which are known to have been producing greywares from the early 2nd century AD until the end of the 4th century AD (Anderson 1979) and may also include vessels from the earlier kilns at Brinkworth (Currie 1986). Oxfordshire and Alice Holt greywares, present in small quantities at Wanborough (Seager Smith forthcoming, fabric 100), may also occur, while the presence of probable glauconite in a few sherds may indicate sources in the Upper Greensand areas in the north and west of the county.

The very hard, wheelmade greyware (Fabric Q103) can be paralleled at Wanborough (Seager

Smith forthcoming, fabric 129) although little is known about its provenance or date range. Shell-tempered wares occur at Wanborough (*ibid.*, fabric 85), Cirencester (Rigby 1982b, 1/5 D10; Keely 1986, 163), Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, 250), and Shakenoak (Brodrigg *et al.* 1971, 68; and 1972, 54) as well as Gloucester, Lydney, and Overton Down and Avebury, Wiltshire. All these sites indicate a late Roman date for these wares but the absence of the shell-tempered fabrics from the make-up levels at The Beeches in Cirencester, suggests that they appear after the middle of the 4th century AD (Keely 1986, 63). A similar 4th to 5th century date is likely for the other calcareous fabric (Fabric C101) at this site, some sherds of which have the closely-spaced horizontal rilling typical of the shell-tempered ware.

Correlations between fabric type and vessel form are shown in Table 2. Vessel forms are predominantly those characteristic of the local Savernake and greyware industries: bead rim jars, necked jars or bowls, sometimes with a girth-groove, necked and bead rim storage jars and lids (Annable 1962, fig. 5; Swan 1975, figs. 2–4; Anderson 1978 and 1979), together with a range of more Romanised forms such as the straight-sided bowls/dishes, flagons, platters and beakers, some copied from Continental prototypes. Sherds from greyware colanders were noted among the unstratified material. The Savernake wares are of 1st to early 2nd century AD date, while the greywares mainly belong to the mid 2nd to 4th centuries AD, their precise dating being hampered by the longevity of many of the forms and the paucity of adequately published stratified groups from the area. The five Black Burnished ware forms are among the most characteristic and widely distributed products of this industry. The flat- and grooved-flanged bowls/dishes (Types R107, Figure 2, 9 and R127 (not illustrated) respectively) are 2nd to early 3rd century AD forms (Seager Smith and Davies 1993, 233–5), while the ‘dog-dishes’ (Type R108, not illustrated), everted rim jars (Type R109, Fig. 2, 10) and dropped flange bowls/dishes (Type R126, not illustrated) are of 3rd to 4th century AD date. The hooked rim of the shell-tempered ware jars (Type R112, Figure 2, 12 and 13) is typical of these wares and can be paralleled at Wanborough (Seager Smith forthcoming, fig. 96, 461).

Two vessels, both of Savernake ware, have post-firing perforations: a bead rim jar from pit 226 has at least four through its base, while a jar of

Table 2. The Hermitage, Swindon: pottery: generalised correlation of Roman, Saxon and medieval vessel forms and fabric types

Vessel form	LIA/ERB		Roman							Saxon		Medieval					
	Misc. fabs.	F101 G100	Mica dust	Wilts c-c	Oxid. wares	Sav. ware	Sandy grey	BB1	Misc. c'wares	Shell temp.	Misc. wares	Minety ware	Misc. fabs.				
			Q108	Q110	Q105	Q106	E155	Q100	Q101	E100	F100	Q103	S100	V101	C100	E423	Q501
100							*	*	*	*	*	*					
101							*										
102							*										
103							*										
104				*			*										
105		*					*		*								
106									*								
107									*	*							
108									*	*							
109									*	*							
110									*	*							
111																	
112									*				*				
113																	
114		*															
115																	
116								*									
117								*									
118								*									
119								*									
120																	
121								*									
122								*	*								
123								*									
124								*									
125								*									
126										*							
127										*							
128														*			
130														*			
131														*			
501														*			*

uncertain form but with a low footing base, from the dark soil, has a single perforation drilled through the wall. One unstratified sandy greyware sherd may have been deliberately trimmed to form a roughly circular counter.

Saxon

Three fabric types, represented by a total of 55 sherds were identified:

- Fabric C100 Moderately hard, fine; rare to sparse limestone fragments, sometimes oolitic <2mm. May include sparse to moderate amounts of sub-rounded quartz and rare iron oxides <0.5mm and rare to sparse carbonised organic material <4mm. Sometimes mica/micaceous sand-rich matrix. Handmade. Predominantly unoxidised. 18 sherds. 107g.
- Fabric F103 Hard, fine-grained; sparse calcined flint, 0.5–1.5mm, sparse grog/clay pellets <1mm and sparse rounded quartz <0.5mm in matrix containing common white mica/micaceous sand <0.125mm. Handmade. Unoxidised. 1 sherd, 6g.
- Fabric V101 Moderately hard; common fine sand/mica <0.25mm, sparse carbonised organic material <5mm, and rare rounded quartz grits and iron oxides, both <0.5mm. Handmade. Unoxidised. 36 sherds. 210g.

This material dates from the early to middle Saxon period (c.5th to 8th centuries AD). A similar range of calcareous and organic-tempered fabrics of this period was recorded at Trowbridge (Mephams 1993, 103–4) and Market Lavington (Mephams in prep.), where a flint-gritted fabric also occurs. Rim sherds derive from baggy vessels with plain rims (Type R130, Figure 3, 28 and 29) or vessels with short necks and upright or slightly everted rims (Type R131, Figure 3, 30); both types occur at Market Lavington (Mephams in prep., fig. 88, 13 and 4–6 respectively). One body sherd in the organic-tempered fabric has rosette stamped decoration (Figure 3, 31), while the flint-gritted sherd is decorated with shallow incised lines (Figure 3, 32) but is too small to reveal the overall design.

No significant patterns were discernible from the distribution of the Saxon sherds across the site; most are from the dark soil in the south-eastern area. Although 23 Saxon sherds are from stratified contexts (Table 1), including one sherd from a Phase 1a feature (gully 82), the presence of earlier pottery in these features suggests that the Saxon

material is intrusive.

Medieval

Five fabric types were recognised among the 85 sherds of medieval pottery:

- Fabric E423 Minety ware (Musty 1973); 58 sherds, 547g.
- Fabric E442 Newbury 'B' ware; identified at Bartholomew Street, Newbury and believed to be from local source (Vince in press); 14 sherds, 160g.
- Fabric Q500 Very hard, moderately coarse-grained; moderate well-rounded quartz grains, often pink in colour, 0.25–1mm across and rare red iron oxides <0.5mm across. Wheelmade. Generally oxidised; pale cream, sometimes with green glaze on exterior surface. Fabric group for moderately coarse sandy wares. Probably Laverstock or Oxfordshire (Mephams pers. comm.). 4 sherds, 12g.
- Fabric Q501 Hard, gritty; modern to common opaque quartz <1mm, rare iron oxides <0.5mm in very fine mica/micaceous sand-rich matrix. Wheelmade. Predominantly oxidised, pale orange to dark greyish-brown. West Wiltshire type sandy coarseware, probably from the Bath or Crockerton areas. 8 sherds, 106g.
- Fabric Q503 Very hard, well fired, very dense; common quartz <0.5mm, rare iron oxides, <0.5mm, soft, while calcareous particles <1mm, carbonised organic material <2mm. Wheelmade. Oxidised with unoxidised core; traces of green glaze on exterior. 1 sherd, 16g.

With the exception of the single sherd of Fabric Q503 which is likely to be late medieval, the medieval pottery recovered is predominantly of 12th- to 14th-century date, although the Minety ware sherds may continue into the 15th century. Vessel forms are limited to cooking pots with everted and generally thickened or clubbed rims (Type R501, not illustrated) although glazed sherds of Fabrics Q500 and Q503 may indicate the presence of jug forms. Medieval sherds are absent from Phase 1a contexts but this may merely reflect the smaller quantities of sherds recovered from these features. Thirty-four sherds were found in Phase 1b and 2 contexts (Table 1) while, as expected, all the medieval sherds from the dark soil deposits occurred in the south-east area of the site.

Post-medieval

A total of 39 sherds, weighing 1017g was assigned to this period (Table 1). No Roman features (Phases 1a and 1c) contained pottery of post-medieval date. Seventeen sherds, 726g, are derived from two vessels of 19th-century date, a shallow bowl with a horizontal rim in a fine cream ware ('china') and a deeper, handled bowl of red earthenware with slip decoration beneath the glaze

on the interior surface. These accompanied the skeleton of a dog in pit 4 (Phase 2). The remaining sherds include red and pink/buff earthenwares, generally glazed inside and occasionally slip decorated, and other fine white wares (including blue and white wares) and are mainly of 18th to 19th century AD date. Of these, eight were from the dark soil and all were found in the vicinity of pit 4 on the southern edge of the site.

Table 3: The Hermitage, Swindon: Vessel Type Series

Romano-British vessels

Type R100	Rim fragments too small to be assigned to more specific vessel type
Type R101	Bead rim jars; wide variety of profiles
Type R102	Small, jar/bowl; high, rounded shoulder, short neck, flared rim
Type R103	Necked jars; upright or slightly everted rims; most plain but some have slight cordon at junction of shoulder and neck
Type R104	Butt beaker; rouletted and grooved decoration; British copy of Continental prototypes
Type R105	Flared rim; squared terminal, probably from jar; small fragment only
Type R106	Platter rims; variety of forms but all local copies of Gallo-Belgic prototypes. Very small fragments only
Type R107	Flat-rimmed, straight-sided bowls/dishes
Type R108	Shallow, straight-sided bowls/dishes; plain rims; 'dog-dishes'. All very fragmentary
Type R109	Everted rim jars; external rim diameter equal to or greater than greatest diameter of body
Type R110	Small beaker or jar; moulded bead rim
Type R111	Large, heavy rimmed storage jars; includes necked and bead rim vessels. Fragmentary
Type R112	Necked jars; hooked rims; rim often triangular in cross-section
Type R113	Flagons; all forms
Type R114	Wide-mouthed jar or bowl; upright, rounded rim, slightly expanded externally
Type R115	Small, round-bodied open bowl; groove beneath rim giving impression of slight bead rim
Type R116	Small bowl/dish; probably carinated, bifurcated rim
Type R117	Round-bodied open bowl; beaded rim
Type R118	Lids; all forms
Type R119	Fine, high-shouldered bead rim beaker; slight, vertical indents with applied ribs. Local vessel loosely copied from ?Rhenish ware forms
Type R120	Bag-shaped beaker; grooved corniced rim
Type R121	Wide-mouthed jar (possibly bowl although interior is untreated); flared rim, no neck
Type R122	High-shouldered, necked jars; girth-groove; rims upright or slightly everted
Type R123	Small jar; probably straight, sloping shoulder, flanged rim, possibly to provide lid seating
Type R124	Flat-flanged bowl/dish; chamfered base
Type R125	S-sided bowls; moulded rims
Type R126	Straight-sided bowls/dishes; dropped flange; small fragments
Type R127	Flat-rimmed, straight-sided bowls/dishes; groove in upper surface of rim. Small fragments
Type R128	Shallow bead-rimmed bowl; British copy of samian form Dr.18/31

Saxon vessels

Type R130	Baggy vessels; plain rims; top of rim rounded or slightly flattened
Type R131	Vessels with short necks, upright or slightly everted rim

Medieval vessels

Type R501	Cooking pots; all forms; generally thickened or clubbed rims, sometimes lid-seated
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METALWORK

Three copper alloy objects were recovered from unstratified contexts: part of the undecorated bow and catchplate of a Roman brooch and two short pieces of wire. A longer piece of copper alloy wire was found in the dark soil and a modern copper alloy thimble and part of a 'silver' button in pit 4.

Most of the 31 iron fragments are not identifiable but 11, possibly 12, nails and two studs or rivets were recognised. The other 16 fragments comprise six indeterminate lumps and seven pieces of flat sheets or strips. A small (30mm diameter) collar, open and slightly twisted, and a very small (40mm long) hammer-head shaped object were found in the dark soil. The latter has one square, flat and one bevelled end; a similar but rather larger example of Late Iron Age date is recorded from Hod Hill (Manning 1985). An incomplete bar or tang with a flattened strip folded acutely back at one end, of unknown function, was found in quarry 78.

METALWORKING RESIDUES

Twenty-six pieces of iron-working slag were recovered, 15 from the dark soil and the remainder from Roman features. The majority of pieces are smithing slag but three small pieces of smelting slag, weighing 44g, were found.

COINS

by NICHOLAS A. WELLS

Two Roman coins were found, one unstratified, the other from pit 1.

1. Vespasian, Æ Sestertius
AD 69-79
Ob. CAESVESPAVG
Laureate bust facing left.
Rev. S/C in field
Spes advancing left.
Very worn on both faces.
2. Constantius II, Æ 4
AD 337-361

- Ob. CONSTANTIVSPFAVG
Bust facing right, pearled diadem with end rosette, cuirassed, in paludamentum.
- Rev. VICTORIAEDDAVGGQNN
Two victories, *vis-à-vis*, each holding wreath.
- Mint D in field, TRP in exergue; minted in First *Officina* of *Treveri* (Trier) mint.
Minted between AD 341-346. Slightly worn on both faces.

OTHER FINDS

Two fragments of worked stone (fine-grained calcareous and ferruginous sandstone), both probably from hones, were found in the dark soil at the south-east corner of the site.

A total of 206 pieces of worked gravel flint was recovered (75% unstratified). The assemblage includes some diagnostically later Mesolithic blades and flakes, three scrapers, one probable burin, a hammerstone fragment and two microliths.

A piece of worked bone from ditch 50 is probably from a pin similar to Type 1 pins from Colchester, where a broad date range of mid 1st to 4th century AD is suggested (Crummy 1983). Part of the polished shaft and plain rounded head remain, although both are broken; a slight facet, as of a knife or rasp mark, can be seen on the surviving part of the head. A plain one-piece ivory handle was found in unstratified soil; smooth rather than polished, it narrows from a broad, oblique-cut end towards the opening for the tang, no evidence of which survives.

HUMAN BONE

by JACQUELINE I. MCKINLEY

Bone from three Romano-British contexts was examined. Age was assessed from the stage of tooth development and eruption (van Beek 1983), the stage of ossification and epiphyseal bone fusion (Gray 1977, McMinn and Hutchings 1985); and the length of long bones (Bass 1987). Sex was assessed from the sexually dimorphic traits of the skeleton (Schutkowski 1993).

Table 4: Summary of identified human bone

Context	Recovery	Skeletal elements	Age	Sex
27	2 small frags.	?		
84	c.46%	s.a.u.l.	neonate (0-6 mth.)	??female
163	c.20%	a.u.l.	neonate (0-3 mth.)	

s. skull, a. axial skeleton, u. upper limb, l. lower limb

The bone was in good condition and, with the exception of the skull vault, not particularly fragmented.

The two neonates had apparently been buried in the dark soil, although no grave cuts were noted in excavation. They were some distance apart (Figure 1) and no contemporaneous features were noted in the vicinity of either. It was not uncommon in the Romano-British period for infants of less than one year to be buried outside formal cemeteries (Philpott 1991), though in this instance there is no evidence to suggest that the burials were associated with any buildings, as is frequently the case.

ANIMAL BONE

by SHEILA HAMILTON-DYER

Animal bone was recovered from 34 securely dated Romano-British contexts. Preservation is moderate; most fragments are slightly eroded but only the

finest of surface details are likely to have been destroyed. Some of the bones show recent fractures but where possible they have been joined and counted as single bones. Identifications were made using the modern comparative collections of S. Hamilton-Dyer. Undiagnostic fragments have been divided into cattle/horse sized and sheep/pig sized, with a further group identified only as mammalian.

A total of 226 bones was recorded from Romano-British contexts. Of these, cattle and sheep bones and fragments of similar size form the bulk of the material. Pig is less frequent and other species are few, four fragments of horse and one each of dog, bird, vole and frog. The species distribution by feature is listed in Table 5. In addition to a fragment of dog humerus in quarry 78, eight bones from ditch, cut and other quarry contexts had been gnawed. Most anatomical elements are represented, although there is a bias against the fragile bones, including the skull; almost none of the later fusing

Table 5: The Hermitage, Swindon: animal bone: species distribution by feature

Feature	Context	Horse	Cattle	Sheep /goat	Pig	Cow size	Sheep size	Dog	Mammal	Bird	Small mammal	Frog	Total
Pits/postholes													
13	12	—	3	1	—	4	4	—	3	—	—	—	15
22	46	—	—	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
44	43	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	3
61	62	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
70	71	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	18	—	1	—	24
73	74	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
146	147	—	—	3	—	1	5	—	11	—	—	—	20
154	153	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
156	155	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
162	163	—	3	7	2	2	5	—	2	—	—	—	21
222	223	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
226	227	1	—	4	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
232	233	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ditches													
34	32,168	1	3	2	1	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	13
47	48, 49	—	4	2	2	5	7	—	—	—	—	—	20
50	39-42	—	—	3	3	4	1	—	—	—	—	1	12
66	67	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	5
82	72, 83	—	—	3	—	3	5	—	—	—	—	—	11
161	165, 167	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
Quarry													
78	10, 15, 28, 35, 58, 59, 69, 122	1	7	3	3	15	3	1	24	—	—	—	57
Total		4	25	37	14	47	36	1	59	1	1	1	226
Percentage		1.7	11	16.3	6.1	20.7	15.9	0.4	26.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	

epiphyses such as the femur and proximal humerus survive: these are spongy bones which do not preserve well and are preferentially gnawed by dogs. Very few bones show evidence of butchery, but those which do are three cattle bones from ditch contexts and a sheep humerus from pit 12. Measurable bones are similarly few (eight: details in archive); the measurements, which follow the methods of von den Driesch (1976), are comparable with other Roman-British material.

There seems to be little difference in species composition or anatomical distribution between feature types. The sample size is too small for detailed analysis; the species proportions fall just outside the polygons illustrated in King (1988) but are closest to Romanised and un-Romanised settlements rather than towns or military sites.

CHARED PLANT REMAINS by WENDY J. CARRUTHERS

A single sample from pit 146 (context 147) was selected for analysis. A 10-litre bulk sample was processed by flotation with both the flots and residues being recovered in 500 micron meshed sieves. The plant remains from the fractionated residues were sorted under a $\times 10 - \times 30$ stereobinocular microscope by Sarah F. Wyles and the unsorted flot examined by the writer. The results are presented in Table 6. Nomenclature and habitat information were taken primarily from Clapham, Tutin and Moore (1987).

Pit 146 was poorly defined, being either a discrete small pit or a layer within large pit 162; it contained in addition to charcoal, unburned limestone

Table 6: The Hermitage, Swindon: plant remains from pit 146

Taxa		Habitat	Residue	Flot
Cereals				
<i>Triticum spelta</i> L.	spelt wheat spikelet fork		—	1
<i>T. dicoccum</i>	emmer/spelt glume base		1	—
<i>T. dicoccum/spelta</i>	emmer/spelt spikelet fork		1	—
<i>T. dicoccum spelta</i>	emmer/spelt wheat grain		—	6
cf. <i>T. aestivocompactum</i>	cf. bread-type wheat grain		—	1
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	hulled barley grain		—	17
Indeterminate cereals			9	85
Other				
<i>Anthemis cotula</i> L.	stinking mayweed	ADh	—	3
<i>Brassica/Sinapis</i> sp.	mustard, charlock etc.	ADY	—	1
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	fat hen	CDn	—	1
Chenopodiaceae	orache etc. embryo	CDn	—	2
<i>Fallopia convolvulus</i> A. Love	black bindweed	AD	1	1
<i>Galium aparine</i> L.	cleavers	DH	2	2
Gramineae <i>Lolium</i> -type	grass, darnel-type	AD	—	3
<i>Lotus/Trifolium</i> sp.	birdsfoot-trefoil/clover	CDG	—	3
<i>Medicago lupulina</i> L.	black medick	GY	—	1
<i>Plantago lanceolata</i> L.	ribwort plantain	G	—	1
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i> agg.	knotgrass	DY	—	1
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	dock	CDG	—	2
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.	elderberry	DYSn	1*	
cf. <i>Valerianella</i> sp.	cf. cornsalad etc.	AH	—	1
<i>Vicia/Lathyrus/Pisum</i> sp.	vetch/tare/bean/pea		12 frags	3 frags
		Total	26	136

Key. A, arable; C, cultivated ground; D, disturbed ground; G, grassland; H, hedgerows; S, scrub; Y, waysides; h, heavy, damp soils; n, nutrient-rich soils; *, not charred.

fragments, pottery and animal bone. The sample also contained a relatively high concentration of charred plant remains (162 items, c.16 items per litre of soil). The assemblage consisted primarily of poorly preserved cereals; the grains were vacuolated and eroded, indicating high-temperature charring and probable damage during redeposition. A small amount of chaff was present, but at high temperatures differential preservation may have caused the destruction of chaff, producing a biased grain to chaff ratio (Boardman and Jones 1990).

Because of the poor state of preservation, most of the cereals were not identifiable as to cereal type, but the general impression was that most were emmer/spelt wheat grains (*Triticum dicoccum/spelta*), with some barley (*Hordeum* sp.) and bread-type wheat (*T. aestivocompactum*). Spelt, usually the predominant cereal on Romano-British sites, was identified from a single spikelet fork. Emmer and barley are often present in smaller quantities and the quantity of bread wheat varies according to the type of site, and possibly also according to the cause of charring. Bread-type wheat is free-threshing and easier to process and is less likely to become charred than the hulled wheats, emmer and spelt, which need to be parched in an oven or over a fire in order to remove the chaff. Bread wheat may therefore be under-represented in many Roman archaeobotanical samples.

The most interesting aspect of the assemblage is the relatively high number recorded of fragments of large legumes. Peas and beans are less likely to become charred than hulled cereals because they do not need to be parched when being processed, although they may have been oven-dried to prolong their storage life. The presence of 15 fragments in just 10 litres of soil suggests that legumes were an important crop. It is often in lower status rural Saxon and medieval settlements that legumes appear to be of greater importance in the diet, perhaps because their high nutritional value makes up for a lack of protein from other sources, such as meat and fish. Unfortunately none of the cotyledons (half-seeds) was in a good enough state of preservation to determine which legumes were being grown, although the square shape and large size of some of the fragments (c.4.5mm diameter) suggests that horse beans (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*) were present.

The sample also contained a relatively wide variety of weed seeds, many of which are small, indicating that some fine-sieving cereal processing

waste may have been present (Hillman 1981). Most of the plants represented were general weeds of cultivated and disturbed soils, providing little specific information concerning the types of soils cultivated, although the stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*) may have been growing in a crop on damp, heavy soils. It is also likely that other types of burnt waste were deposited in the pit, e.g. animal bedding, tinder from fires and ovens etc., since some of the taxa are more typical of grassland habitats. Small legumes, such as clovers (*Lotus/Trifolium* sp.) and black medick (*Medicago lupulina*) often colonise poor, exhausted soils or exposed subsoil, as their nitrogen-fixing ability gives them an advantage over other early colonisers. The single unburned elderberry seed may be a more recent contaminant, although tough-coated seeds have been shown to survive from the Roman period (Moffett 1991); no embryo was present in the seed and it may have been partly mineralised.

In general, this type of charred plant assemblage could have been derived from a single feature e.g. the sweepings from an oven, containing as it does both cereals and possible fuel/tinder remains. However, the uncontrolled, high-temperature charring of the cereals indicates that it is more likely to have come from a range of sources such as domestic waste, crop processing debris and waste bedding/flooring materials being burnt on domestic hearths and bonfires.

Discussion

by C.A. BUTTERWORTH

Both the excavation strategy and the results were largely governed by two factors. The first, the extent and depth of modern disturbance, restricted the survival of archaeological deposits. The second, the masking nature of the dark soil over much of the remainder of the site, limited the perception and understanding of those stratigraphic relationships which remained.

The dark soil is the 'dark earth' of many urban sites: a deep, homogeneous dark loam, often of Roman date, which largely lacks stratification and appears, as here, to have truncated underlying deposits. The origins of 'dark earth' are obscure but it is likely to have formed as the result of more than one process: biological mixing or reworking of occupation deposits, natural accumulation including the incorporation of decayed components of

insubstantial (not stone-built) buildings, cultivation or deliberate dumping have all been suggested as formative processes (Macphail 1981; Yule 1990; Scobie 1994). At The Hermitage, as elsewhere, the derivation of the dark soil is unknown. The recovery of well-preserved pottery from the deposit suggests that it is unlikely to have formed as the result of cultivation, although the apparent truncation of underlying features might be taken to indicate that this may have taken place. It should perhaps be taken into account that the Portland Beds here consist principally of loose, soft sand within which the highest natural stone layers, where present, are thin and discontinuous; given the nature of the 'bedrock', it may be that relatively little disturbance or activity, whether natural or intentional, could result in the formation of such a deposit.

Whatever the origin of the dark soil, the preponderance of Roman pottery recovered from it and from most of the excavated features, both those cut into it and those beneath it, suggests a Roman date for most if not all of the surviving features and deposits. Although the presence of prehistoric pottery and worked flint, and of Saxon and medieval pottery, indicates activity in this area both before and after the Roman period, this was not represented by any identifiable features.

Of the structural elements which were recorded, post holes 128, 154, 156, 158 and 229, in Phase 1c, may represent a north-south boundary fence at the eastern side of the site. Ditch 47 may have formed an associated boundary. In the earliest Romano-British Phase, 1a, post holes 144, 151, 142 and 149 which form a shallow arc, may be part of a discrete, round structure to which pit 226 and *in situ* pottery vessel 508 may be related. Also in Phase 1a, the close association and almost right-angled alignments of gullies 82/236 and 161 may indicate that they represent elements of a single structure, the nature of which, however, is otherwise unknown.

The scarcity of structural evidence may indicate, despite the proximity of known occupation areas, that the area was only lightly used during the Roman and subsequent periods. The site's location at the extreme eastern end of the ridge on which Old Swindon and its precursors developed may mean that it was then, as now, at the edge of the focal area of settlement. The land adjoining the site, the park known as The Lawns, remains an open space despite the expansion of Swindon at the foot of the slope further to the east. The scarcity of structural evidence taken together with the presence

of the quarry and the survival of pits, albeit apparently truncated, and the recovery of the two incomplete infant burials may support the suggestion that the area lay at the southern edge of the Roman settlement.

The archive

The archive has been deposited with Swindon Museum and Art Gallery, Bath Road, Swindon SN1 4BA, under the site code W8311.

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Archaeological Excavations at Lawn Farm, Bulkington, 1994

by CHRISTOPHER BELL and BRIAN DURHAM

with contributions by

LEIGH ALLEN, PHILIPPA BRADLEY, FIONA ROE, MARK ROBINSON and LUCY BOWN

Excavation of a development site at Lawn Farm, Bulkington revealed part of a medieval settlement. A complex of ditches appeared to be related to the sub-division of one of a series of plots, possibly part of a row of medieval crofts fronting the main village street and enclosed by a back lane. The most intensive area of activity was well back on the plot, where a number of intercutting pits yielded medieval pottery. The finds overall suggested periodic occupation of the site from at least the 12th century onwards, with pottery drawn from sources up to 20 miles from the village. Some general conclusions are drawn on the development of the village as compared with others in Wiltshire and elsewhere.

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (Figures 1 and 6)

In the spring of 1994 Oxford Archaeological Unit (OAU) carried out an investigation, on behalf of Jenkins Developments Ltd, of a site proposed for housing at Lawn Farm, Bulkington (NGR ST 39411584; see Figure 6). The site, which lies next to the church at the west end of the village, had recently been used as a dairy and farmyard but showed signs of having previously formed part of a sequence of croft-like enclosures along the north side of the main road through the village. The archaeological significance of the site was confirmed by an evaluation undertaken by OAU in January 1994, when trial trenching located a complex of medieval features (OAU unpubl. client report, January 1994).

Bulkington lies on a curving road from Keevil leading east towards Seend and Worton which, from the Keevil parish boundary on the Bulkington Brook, follows a slight ridge on relatively flat land. The underlying geology is Kimmeridge clay, which is drained by several brooks flowing north-west towards the Bristol Avon. Bulkington Brook lies closest to the village, flowing past the medieval site of Bulkington Mill to the east, along the south side of the main street, to join the Semington Brook to the west. The plan of the modern settlement is broadly linear, with house plots and farms along the main street; Lewis (1994, fig. 8.5) appears to show it as a 'regular row'

aligned ENE-WSW. Near the middle of the village is the base of a cross, perhaps originally a medieval preaching cross, where a fork leads south-west to cross the brook at Brass Pan Bridge to the site of the former hamlet of Folly Green.

Bulkington was a tithing in the parish of Keevil and only became a civil parish in the 1880s. First mentioned by name in 1217, there was a separate manor of Bulkington in 1244 and the descent of its capital house has been traced to the site of Manor Farm, opposite Lawn Farm and the church.

The early descent of the Lawn Farm site itself is not recorded (Crittall 1965, 254). There may have been a medieval chapel in the village, but the present church was only built in 1860 (*ibid.*, 261-2).

Maps of 1769 (WRO 1158) and 1772 (WRO 1553/103) both show the site in the ownership of Mr (John) Gaisford; by the later date the plots adjoining his farmhouse on the east (town orchard and gardens in 1769) and west (Damers Close in 1769) are both shown as part of the main plot. Interestingly the 'back lane' of 1769 becomes The Butts in 1772, shown wider than its present form, but already with signs of encroachment from Gaisford's side. The title award of 1839-40 shows the present study site as owned by Thomas Gaisford DD, and occupied by George Ellis, consisting of farmhouse, outhouses, gardens, orchard, bartons etc; it was described as a homestead paying a tithe

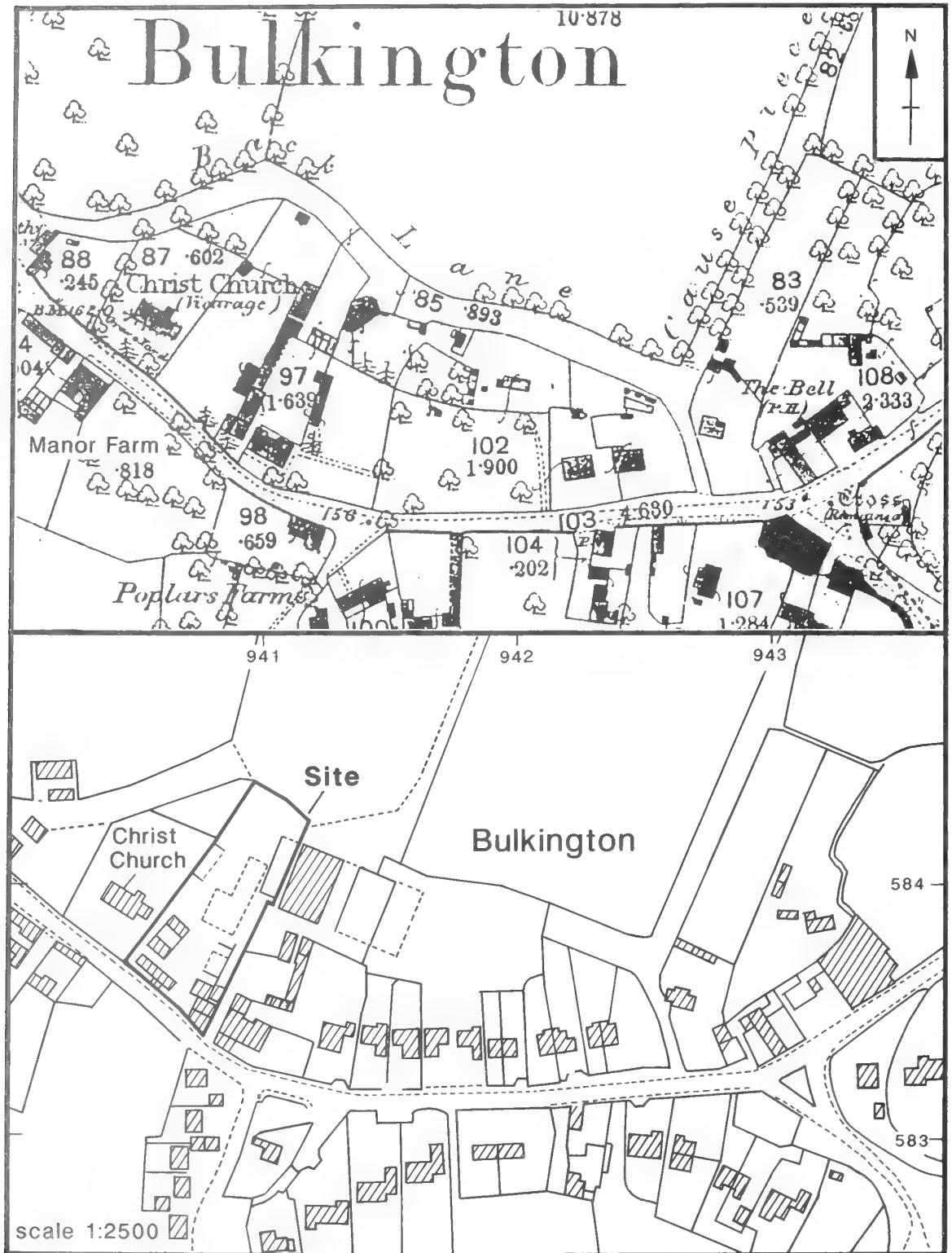


Figure 1. Lawn Farm, Bulkington: site location. Above, detail of OS 1886 plan; below, modern topography

of 2s. 9d. to the Vicar of Keevil and 1s. to appropriate Rectors (Plot No. 105). Thomas Gaisford (1779–1855) was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and was by far the most substantial landowner in Bulkington at this time, owning more than 484 acres out of total of 933.

The 19th-century church is next door, on what had been Damers Close in 1769; the medieval chapel site is unknown, and evidently not here. Opposite Lawn Farm and the church is Manor Farm. Described as the capital house in the 17th century, it may also have been so earlier; if so, the topographical arrangement of crofts (including the excavation site) could indicate a planned element of the settlement stretching away from the capital house.

The excavations

by CHRISTOPHER BELL (Figures 2, 3 and 4)

INTRODUCTION

The topsoil was removed from the area of investigation using a JCB mechanical excavator with a toothless ditching bucket. The main area of excavation, c.31 × 16m, with a 4m-wide trench extending southwards to the road, and a 10 × 4m extension at the north end, was then cleaned by hand and the exposed features were planned and photographed. The junctions of complex features were excavated to unravel the occupation sequence, while additional cross sections were cut to establish their character and date. Discrete features such as pits and post holes were subject to 50% excavation. The ground water was fairly high, and wet weather continued while the work was in progress. This resulted in some areas of the site being flooded, including the excavated segments of the deeper features.

This report summary combines descriptions of the site with accounts of the interpretation and dating of significant features. The dating is based on the pottery assemblages recovered, and on the stratigraphic sequence. Plans of the site are shown in Figure 3, and a representative group of section drawings in Figure 4. The remaining sections are in the project archive, which will be deposited at Devizes Museum.

Prehistoric

A layer of grey-brown clay silt (470) overlay the natural Kimmeridge clay in a small area at the far north end of the site. This deposit, which was some

0.07m thick, produced a small quantity of flint flakes, and would seem to be the remains of an old ground surface. It was not seen in any other part of the site, and appears to have survived in a slight hollow in the underlying clay at this point.

Medieval

Phase 1, mid to late 12th century

A shallow, north–south aligned gully (458) was cut into the top of the natural clay close to the west edge of the excavation. Just to its south were two small stretches of east–west aligned gullies (451 and 453) running parallel, some 1m apart. A third stretch of east–west gully (463), 9m in length, lay some 4m to the south. All the gullies shared a distinctive, light-coloured fill but their intersection had been truncated by later features, and it was not possible to establish an overall layout of enclosures. These features represent the earliest phase of medieval activity, and the pottery evidence suggests that it is datable to the later 12th century or possibly earlier.

Phase 2, mid to late 12th century

A slightly deeper gully (419), which had been partially recut (433, fill 432), cut through Phase 1 gully 458. A 5m stretch of north–south aligned ditch (482) cut through gully 463 (Phase 1) towards its western terminal. These features also contained pottery of the 12th century and may not have been substantially later than the features of Phase 1.

Phase 3, 13th to 14th century

A more substantial ditch (442/421) ran north–south through the centre of the site, extending almost the entire length of the area of excavation; roughly 1m wide and 0.5m deep, it cut across earlier gullies 463 and 419. A second ditch, 456, ran east–west at right-angles from, but not joined to, the north end of ditch 442/421. Ditches 442/421 and 456 nevertheless appear to form part of a large enclosure, and the associated pottery suggests that they were part of a single phase of activity. Ditch 421/442 truncated the east end of gully 419 and it is therefore possible that the former was a redefinition of an earlier boundary which had been respected by the latter. A group of three intercutting pits (445, 449 and 447) and a single, slightly larger pit (417) lay within the area bounded by ditch 442/421 and ditch 456, and the significant quantity of medieval pottery recovered from them suggests that they were contemporary with the enclosure.

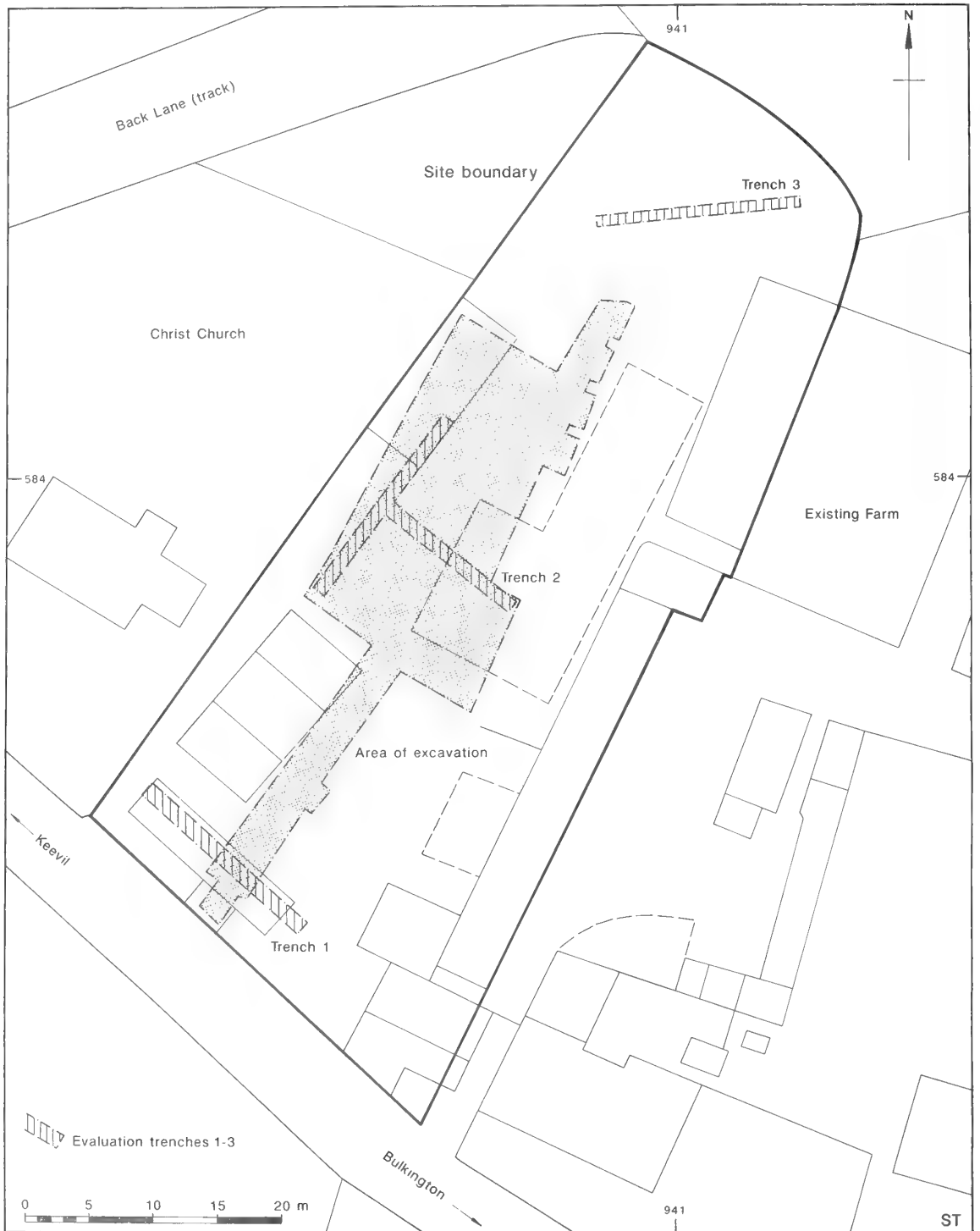


Figure 2. Lawn Farm, Bulkington: Location of excavation and evaluation trenches

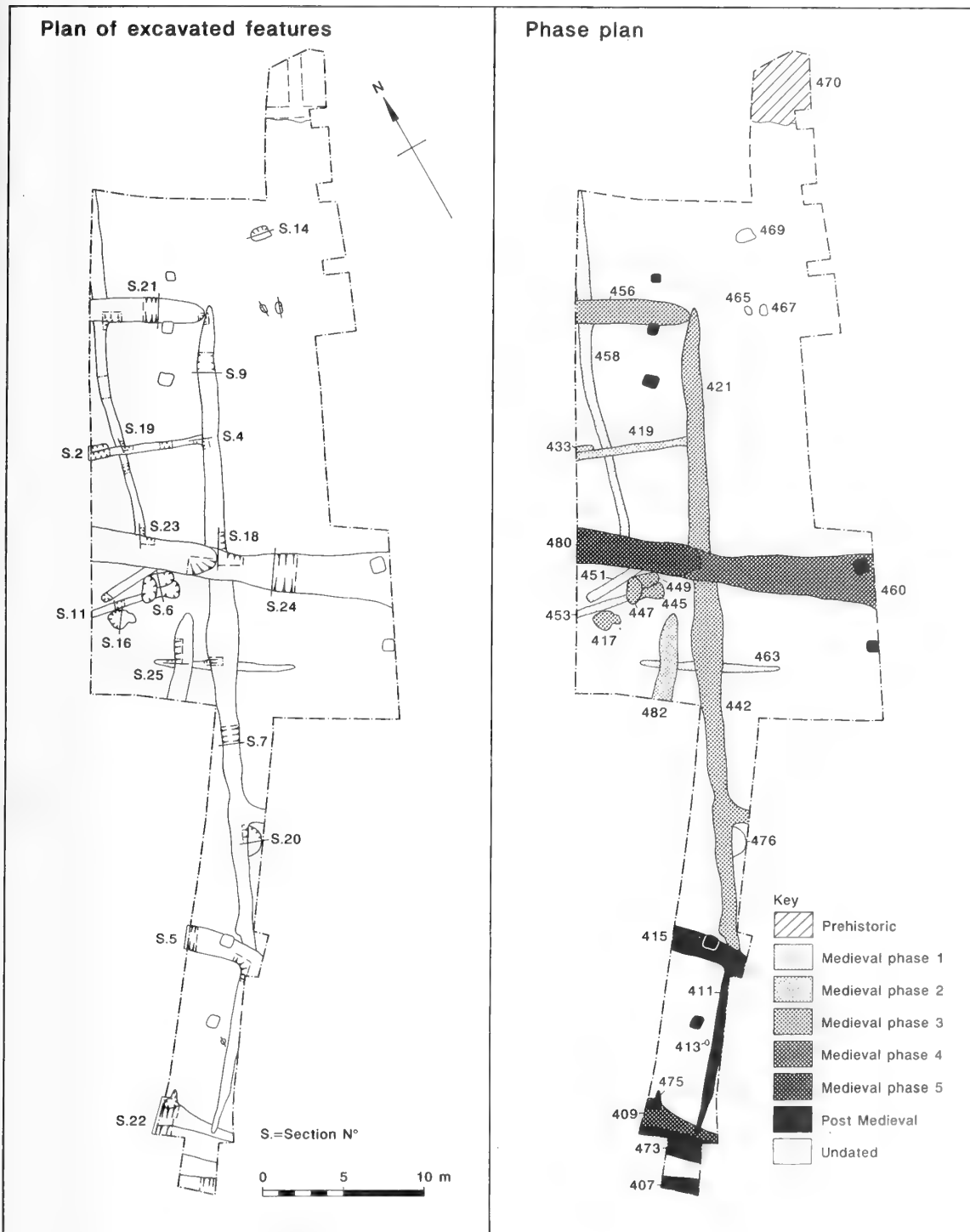


Figure 3. Lawn Farm Bulkington. Left: plan of excavated features; right: phased plan of excavated features

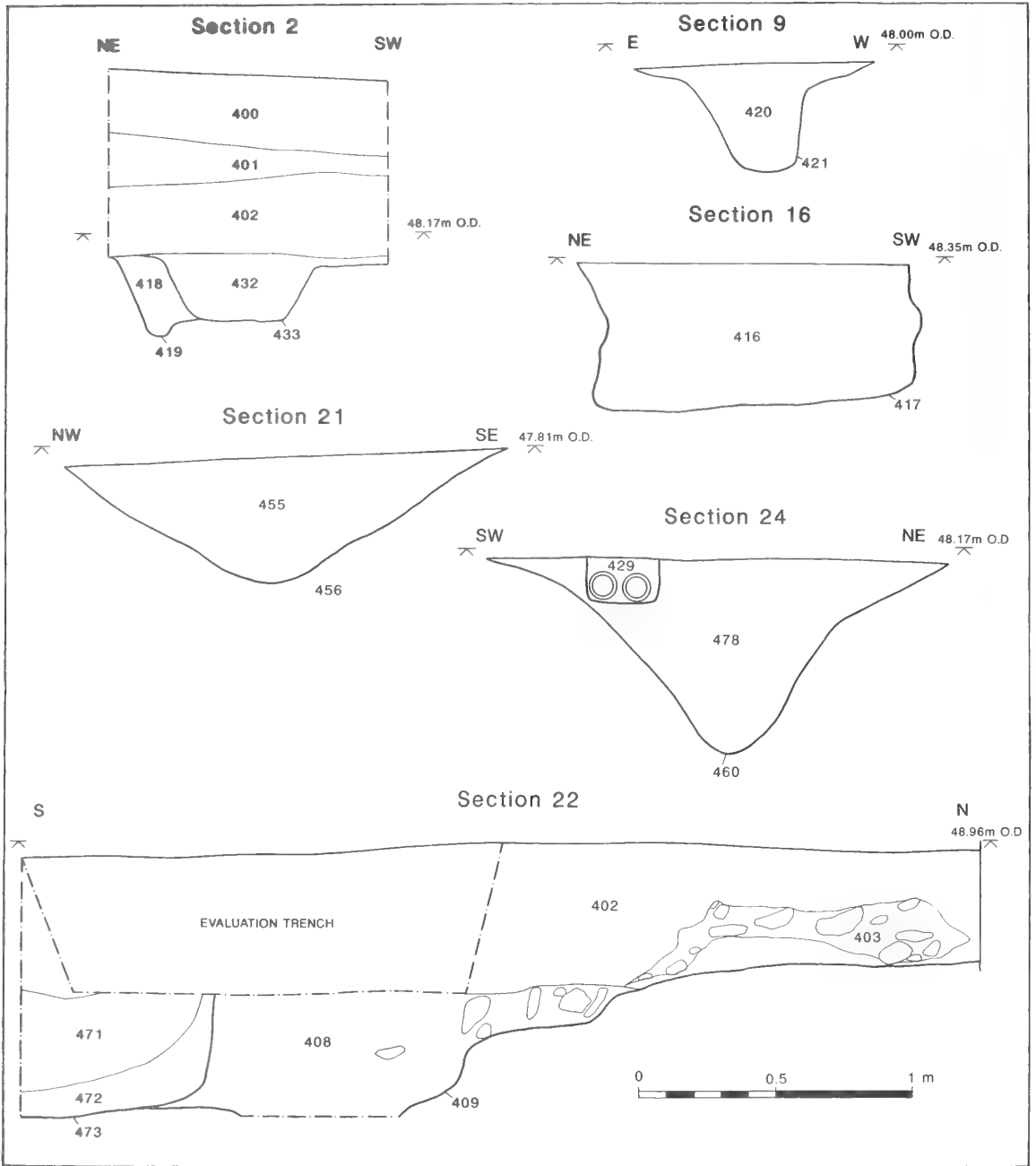


Figure 4. Lawn Farm Bulkington: selected section drawings (see Figure 3 for locations)

Phase 4, 15th century

An east–west ditch (460) cut across the middle of ditch 442/421 (Phase 3), at right-angles; it contained large fragments of glazed and decorated ridge tile, and appeared to be the only feature attributable to this phase of activity.

Phase 5, 15th to 16th century

The western half of ditch 460 was recut (480); the recut butt-ended on the line of ditch 442/421, suggesting that the main north–south boundary of Phase 3 may still have been in existence. An east–west aligned ditch (409), possibly a roadside drainage ditch, was seen at the south of the site, near to the road frontage; it contained a spread of limestone rubble (403) tipping in along its northern edge, and a quantity of later medieval pottery. It had been disturbed by a tree-throw pit (475).

Post-medieval

A group of three ditches was recorded at the south end of the site. Ditch 411 ran north–south for a distance of 10m before returning to the west (E–W return, ditch 415). A number of post holes (422, 425, 435, 437 and 441) had been cut into ditches 411 and 415 from various levels, and this group of features appears to represent an enclosure immediately north of the road with a palisade-type structure within it. Ditch 473 ran east–west from the south end of ditch 411; it is unclear whether it represents the south boundary of the proposed enclosure, or whether it represents a re-cutting of the earlier ditch 409 (Phase 5) in which case it might have been a roadside drainage ditch.

Undated and modern features

At the south edge of the site, adjacent to the road and partly outside the excavated area, was an east–west aligned ditch (407). The date and purpose of this ditch are unknown. Three shallow, irregular features towards the north half of the site (465, 467 and 469) and a possible post hole in the south half of the site (413) produced no finds and may have been due to disturbance.

A layer of greyish clay (402) sealed all the excavated features and produced a quantity of medieval and post-medieval finds. Clay 401 overlay 402 at the west of the site. Both layers appear to be buried ploughsoils. Layer 401 was truncated by the recent farm trackway (404; not illustrated). An alignment of large, square post holes (428, 430 and 431) cut through layer 402 seemed to be related to modern farm buildings.

The finds

MEDIEVAL POTTERY (Figures 5 and 6; Table 1)
by LUCY BOWN

Methodology

The pottery assemblage from Lawn Farm comprises 30 sherds found during evaluation and 295 sherds recovered from excavation. These divide into 25 fabric types ranging in date from Roman to post-medieval, which were identified according to the principal inclusions visible at $\times 20$ magnification and then classified and attributed to source after comparison with the pottery assemblage from Trowbridge (Mephram 1993). These fabric types are summarized in Table 1 and, where previously published, the fabric description is not repeated. A basic quantification has been made of the assemblage, recording sherd count and sherd weight by fabric type within context groups. The presence of diagnostic sherds, i.e. rim, base, handle or spout, is also noted and a sketch of each form present was made on the recording form. A note of glaze type, decoration or any unusual characteristics was also made.

Roman Pottery

One sherd from an Oxford colour-coated *mortarium*, dating from AD 240 to the 4th century, was found during the evaluation.



Figure 5. Lawn Farm Bulkington: medieval pottery: 1, Fabric 2 cooking vessel; 2–3, Fabric 3 cooking pots with thumbled rim; 4, Fabric 7 cooking pot

Table 1: Pottery sources

Fabric Type	Sherds	Form (no. of Vessels)	Date
Roman colour coated	1	Mortarium	AD 240–C4th, E
1. Trowbridge C403 limestone tempered; source = local?	10 (3%)	hb sherds	Ph 1–3/maj Ph 3
2. Trowbridge Q403 source = Crockerton	21 (6%)	Thin-walled, hb CP (2) with ev rims (20cm)	Ph 1–2, E
3. Trowbridge C406 source = Crockerton	32 (10%)	Thick, hb CP (4) ev rim, ev rim with thumbled edge (20–26cm)	Ph 1–2, E
4. Trowbridge Q402 source = Crockerton Kiln-type	5 (2%)	–	Ph 3
5. Trowbridge Q407 source = Crockerton Kiln-type	42 (13%)	hb Tripod Pitcher (1) CP (3) (18–24cm diam)	Ph 1–3, E
6. Laverstock I & II coarse fabric; ab a quartz 0.1–1mm, mod fine Fe <0.1mm	4 (1%)	Crude, hand-built Cooking Pots (1) simple ev rims (20cm diam). Scratch-marked external surface	Ph 4 (Res) E
7. Laverstock III & IV fine fabric; ab s-a quartz 0.2–0.5mm.	24 (7%)	CP (1) ev rim (16cm diam)	Ph 3–5
8. Bath Fab B/Trowbridge C400 fine quartz fabric with oolitic and fossil limestone	16 (5%)	hb CP (1) small ev rim (18cm diam); hb West Country Dishes	Ph 1–4, E
9. East Wiltshire	53 (16%)	Wheel-thrown CP (3) simple ev rim, ev rim with rolled edge, thickened rim with moulded/grooved top edge (18–22cm diam) combed dec	Ph 3–5, E
10. Minety-type	5 (2%)	Bowl (1) incised line dec	Ditch 409, E
11. Lacock	1 (0.3%)	CP sherd with scratch-marked surfaces	E
12. mod s-r quartz 0.2–0.3mm, mod Fe 0.1–0.5mm, ab mica	10 (3%)	Jug sherds with incised lines and app white clay pellet dec. Thin Pb glaze	Ph 1–5
13. similar to Fab. 9 mod s-r quartz 0.2–0.3mm, occ larger r quartz 0.5–0.7mm, fine Fe 0.1mm, ab mica	3 (1%)	Jug handle with slashed dec. Splashed Pb glaze	Ph 4–5, E
14. mod s-r quartz 0.1–0.3mm, ab fine Fe and mica	4 (1%)	Continuous Pb glaze	Ph 3–5
15. mod s-a quartz 0.2–0.5mm, ab fine Fe	13 (4%)	Jug sherds; incised lines, app rouletted strip and white slip dec. Tripod Pitcher sherd. Splashed Pb glaze	Ph 1–5, E
16. PM Crockerton? fine fabric; ab quartz and Fe <0.1mm	6 (2%)	Incised line decoration on sherds. Thick Pb glaze	Ph 4–5, 409, 472
17. mod s-r quartz 0.1–0.2mm, ab fine Fe and mica of <0.1mm	1 (0.3%)	Jug sherd with white slip under a copper green glaze	Ph 5
18. Verwood	28 (9%)	Large Pancheon and Bowl sherds, Chamber Pots (2) Pb glaze	406, 425, 472, 414, E
19. glazed red earthenware	3 (1%)		410, E
20. Staffordshire slipware	2 (1%)	Press-moulded flatwares	414, E
21. Nottingham stoneware	11 (3%)	Tankard (1)	414, E
22. English stoneware	7 (2%)	Chamber Pot (1)	405, 472, 414
23. creamware	19 (6%)	–	405, 425, 472, 414, E
24. pearlware	3 (1%)	–	425, 472, 414
25. transfer printed ware	1 (0.3%)	–	472

Abbreviations: occ=occasional, mod=moderate, ab=abundant, a=angular, s-a=sub-angular, r=rounded, s-r=sub-rounded, Fe=iron oxide, Pb=lead, app=applied, dec=decoration, hb=hand-built, ev=everted, CP=cooking pot, PM=post-medieval, E=evaluation

Medieval Pottery

The medieval pottery assemblage consists primarily of fabrics from known industries within a 20-mile radius of Bulkington (see Figure 6). Fabric 1 (ten sherds; 3%) is the chief pottery at the site in the earliest phases (before the mid/late 12th century), and is thought to be of relatively local origin as it is also known at Trowbridge (Mephram 1993a). One hundred sherds can be attributed to the Crockerton Kilns or classified as Crockerton Kiln-type fabrics as identified by Lorraine Mephram (1993a and b). These sherds divide into four fabric types (Fabrics 2–5), all of which have a fine, micaceous sandy clay matrix, but vary in additional calcareous, quartz or flint temper. Within the four types there are considerable variations in the methods of manufacture: for example, Fabric 2 comprised thin walled, hand-built cooking vessels; Fabric 3 thick, hand-built cooking pots; and Fabric 5, hand-built sherds from a tripod pitcher and several cooking pots. The variations in manufacture and colour suggest that these are the products of an unsophisticated local industry. Such an industry is indicated by documentary reference at Longbridge Deverill/Crockerton 'at least as early as the 13th century' (Le Patourel 1968). Evidence of a post-medieval industry at Crockerton has been produced by Algar (1968) and it is therefore assumed that an industry existed in the vicinity producing a variety of goods from the 13th century through to the post-medieval period. The four fabric types found at Bulkington have been grouped into the category 'Crockerton Kiln-type' as belonging to the same tradition.

Jean Le Patourel (1968) also alludes to the place-name Potterne as possible evidence for the site of a medieval pottery. The village of Potterne lies within 5 miles of Bulkington on the same geological belt, the Corallian-Gault-Greensand series, and could be the source for Bulkington Fabric types 2–5; at present only examples of Late Bronze Age pottery have been identified at Potterne (Morris, forthcoming), and there is no known comparative medieval material. The majority of sherds in these fabrics occur at Bulkington in Phases 1, 2 and 3 (mid/late 12th to 14th century), though, as at Trowbridge, Fabrics 2 and 3 are likely to be earlier, occurring primarily in Phases 1 and 2 (mid to late 12th century to 13th century).

Two types of cooking pot can be equated with products of the Laverstock kilns: late 11th- to 12th-century Types I and II in Fabric 6, and 13th-

century Types III and IV in Fabric 7 (Musty *et al.* 1969). Fabric 6 at Bulkington is found only as residual material, whilst the majority of the sherds in Fabric 7 occur from Phases 3 to 5 (13th to 16th century). Coarsely gritted cooking pots of a material similar to Fabric 6 are found at Old Sarum throughout the 12th century, and finely gritted cooking pots in a fabric similar to Fabric 7 are found in the first half of to the late 13th century at Old Sarum (Musty and Rahtz 1964).

The majority of sherds in Fabric 8 are typical of Bath type B hand-built cooking pots with the exception of three sherds from West Country Dishes (Vince 1979). At Bulkington these West Country Dishes occur in the same ware as the cooking pots, whereas at Bath they have been found only in Fabric A (Vince 1979). The West Country Dish is usually dated to the 12th to 13th centuries but is found in South Wales in the 13th to 14th centuries (Mephram 1993b). At Bulkington, it occurs in Phases 3 and 5 (13th to 16th century). The remaining sherds in Fabric 8 were scattered throughout Phases 1 to 5.

The introduction of East Wiltshire Ware (Fabric 9) and Minety-type Wares (Fabric 10) not only widens the area from which ceramics were being supplied to Bulkington but also extends their period of supply into the 15th century. The occurrence of the former (Fabric 9) at Bulkington is significant because it extends the known pattern of distribution for this ware further to the west of Savernake/Braydon Forest, which is its suggested production site (Mellor 1994). This fabric is well known throughout South Oxfordshire and Wiltshire and is dated at Oxford, Abingdon and Newbury as beginning in the late 12th/13th century and continuing into the 15th century. At Bulkington the majority of the sherds occur stratified in contexts of Phases 3 to 5.

One sherd, Fabric 11, can be paralleled by the products of the 13th- to 14th-century kilns at Naish Hill, Lacock (McCarthy 1974). Thirty eight sherds, 12% of this assemblage, from a variety of glazed quartz-tempered fabrics (12 to 17) cannot be paralleled with known local industries and are therefore thought likely to have been imports into the region. These were present at Bulkington between the 12th and 14th centuries.

Post-medieval

Early post-medieval wares are represented in this assemblage by two types of red earthenware. Fabric 18, a salmon pink/buff earthenware, is comparable

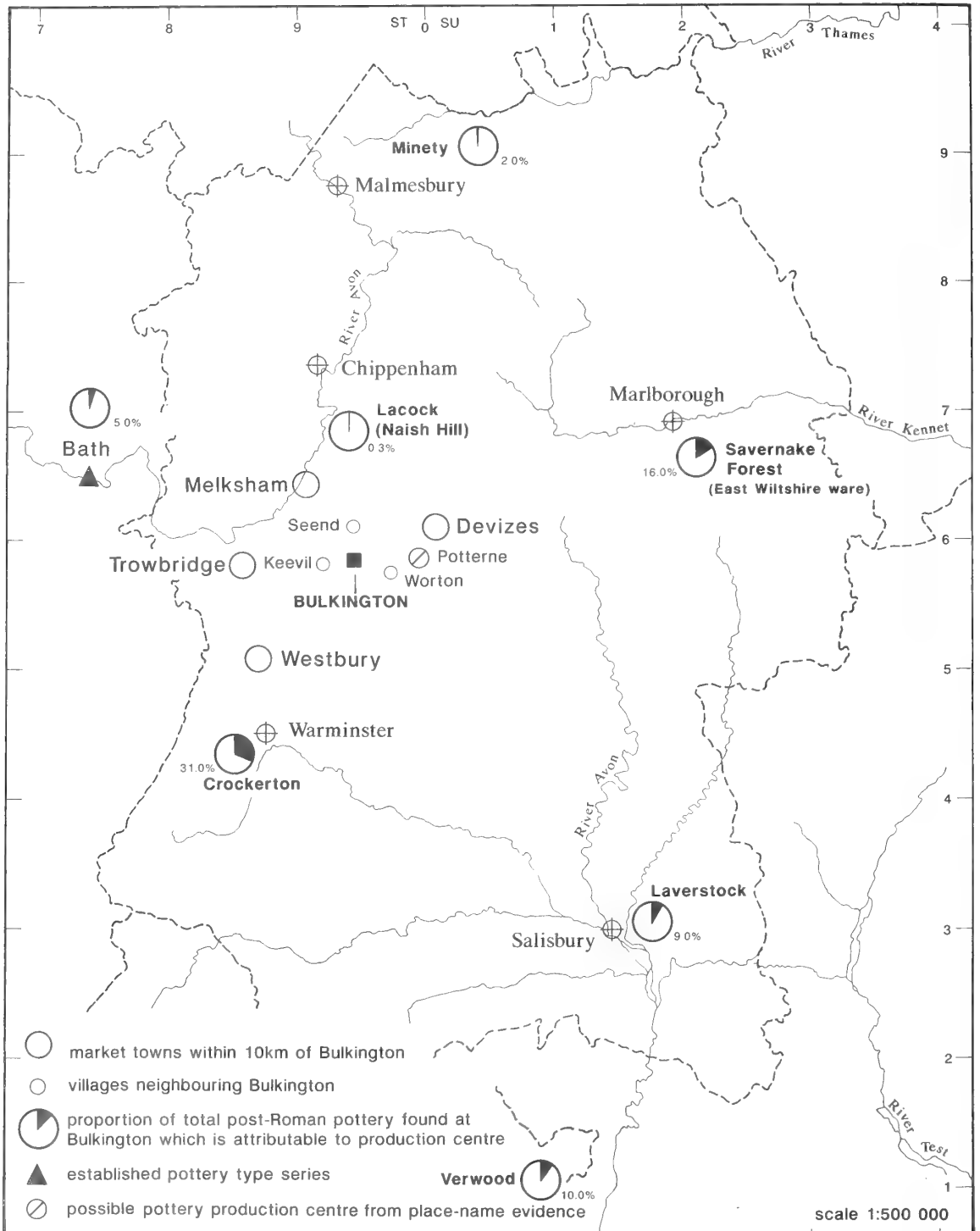


Figure 6. Sources of pottery found at Lawn Farm, Bulkington

to the products of Verwood made in the Ringwood district on the edge of the New Forest (Algar *et al.* 1979), a common source of early post-medieval wares in Wiltshire. The twenty eight sherds from 17th- to 18th-century lead glazed large pancheons, bowls and chamber pots form 10% of this assemblage and 38% of all the post-medieval wares. Fabric 19 is a glazed red earthenware in a less distinctive, brick red earthenware fabric of unknown source.

The remainder of the post-medieval wares date from between the late 18th and 20th centuries, and comprise two sherds of Staffordshire Press-moulded Slipware, eleven sherds of a Nottingham Stoneware tankard, seven sherds of English Stoneware, seventeen sherds of Creamware, three sherds from Pearlware plates and one Transfer Printed Ware sherd.

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CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL

Some fragments of indistinguishable clay daub were found in contexts 418 and 420. Two substantial joining fragments from a glazed ridge tile in Fabric 16 were found in context 459; they bore 10mm-high crests at 40mm spacing, with two incised vertical decorative cuts down one side only of each crest. Fabric 16 occurs elsewhere on the site in late medieval, 15th- to 16th-century contexts.

SMALL FINDS

by LEIGH ALLEN and FIONA ROE

A fragment from a rectangular *stone rubber*, rectangular in section and broken at each end, bore a shallow groove along one face for sharpening points. Probably Greensand; length 102mm; context 414; SF (Small Find) 1.

A corner fragment from a rectangular *stone rubber*, rectangular in section, was probably of Greensand. Length 53mm; context 462; SF 10.

A fragment of black chert or mudstone, sub-rectangular in section, polished, and broken at each end, may have been used as a *touchstone*. The polishing could be natural. Length 33mm; context 478; SF 11.

A fragment of the rim and part of the body of a Caen or Portland stone *mortar* (Dunning type 3; for

parallel see Dunning 1977, 320–347, fig. 156, no. 42) retains one solid side handle. There is no evidence of tooling on the exterior. ‘These mortars are products of the great industry in building stone carried out at Caen in Normandy and exported to England on a large scale from the 11th century onwards. Similar examples from King’s Lynn date to the 13th–14th century. The majority of Caen stone mortar finds occur in the south-eastern sector of the country, at or near ports or inland at places easily reached by the river’ (Dunning 1977). Original diameter *c.*160mm; context 402; SF 13.

FLINT FINDS

by PHILIPPA BRADLEY (Table 2)

A small assemblage of 15 pieces of struck flint was recovered from the excavations. Eleven pieces came from an old ground surface (context 470); the remaining material was found redeposited in medieval features. The flint is generally dark brown to black in colour with a thin white or grey cortex. Two pieces of orange flint (from contexts 416 and 470) were also recovered. Dating the material is somewhat problematic as no diagnostic retouched pieces were found and the material was thinly distributed. The flint from the old ground surface was generally carefully produced and mostly soft-hammer struck. Several pieces are blade-like and have previous blade scars on their dorsal surfaces. Such material would, however, not be out of place in a Mesolithic or early Neolithic context. Without any diagnostic retouched forms it is difficult to date this small assemblage.

Table 2: Flint assemblage composition

Context	Type
204	1 irregular waste
416	1 flake
457	1 flake
470	9 flakes (1 heavily burnt)
	1 chip
	1 miscellaneous retouched piece (an end scraper with used edges)
478	1 flake

PALAEOENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLES

by MARK ROBINSON

Samples were taken from the bottom of Pit 417 (fill 416) and Ditch 460 (fill 461). These were sieved and floated for environmental material and carbonised plant remains. The sample taken from the pit produced very degraded oak charcoal, and indeterminate cereal grain and an indeterminate weed seed. The sample taken from the bottom of the ditch produced fragments of vivianite which is typical of waterlogged deposits, and a range of poorly preserved seeds (not carbonised). Among these it was possible to recognise stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*), blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus* agg.), buttercup (*Ranunculus cf repens*), verbena (*Verbena officinalis*), woundwort (*Stachys* sp.), ground ivy (*Glechoma hederacea*) and duckweed (*Lemna* sp.). There were shells of snails *Lymnaea truncatula*, *Vallonia excentrica*, *Cochlicopa* sp. and *Vertigo pygmaea*. These remains contribute little to the understanding of the site, being typical of what might be expected in a ditch. The only significant information is that the ditch had sufficient standing water to support duckweed and some aquatic snails, the terrestrial snails having fallen in.

Interpretation and Conclusions

The study area at Lawn Farm may first have seen human activity towards the end of the Mesolithic or beginning of the Neolithic period. An assemblage of worked flints was recovered from the old ground surface at the very north end of the site; lying off the crown of the clay rise, they were covered by a colluvial deposit which had protected them from disturbance by subsequent ploughing. A single sherd of Roman pottery was also found.

Substantial evidence for settlement is seen first in the medieval period. The pottery evidence suggests that there was at least periodic occupation on the site from the 12th century (or earlier) to the present day. The early unglazed wares are not closely datable, but are placed between the 10th and 13th centuries. The later glazed wares of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries are typical of the types found in this part of Wiltshire.

The range of dates for the earliest pottery starts before the first documentary evidence in 1217, suggesting an earlier origin for the settlement. The finds in question come from ditches which are set out in an orderly way, respecting the present main

street and the mapped boundaries of neighbouring plots. The inference is that these plots belong to the 13th century or earlier, and it is therefore important to examine the evidence from similar village developments elsewhere, in order to place the Bulkington plots in their historical context.

The investigation at Bulkington was carried out with an open mind on whether the plot adjoined a medieval church or chapel site; subsequent analysis of available records showed that any continuous existence of a sacred site here can now be ruled out and it is assumed that the adjoining site was simply a further village plot. Given the appearance of a back lane on all the maps, it is reasonable also to assume that this group of plots had at some time ceased to be full furlongs, and were therefore of the nature of village crofts. In this context it is perhaps surprising that there was no clear evidence of buildings along the main street frontage, or indeed on any other part of the site. However, the scatter of limestone rubble towards the front of the site, along with the discovery of the glazed ridge tile further back, possibly indicates the existence of a dwelling in an unexcavated area of one of the plots; the glazed ridge tile, which was also decorated, suggests a dwelling of fairly high status.

Much work has been done on the analysis of medieval village plans from documentary sources (for Wiltshire sources see Lewis 1994), but relatively few have been confirmed by excavation. Excavations at Great Linford (Bucks) preceded the construction of part of Milton Keynes new town. Here the south end of the village was ranged around a subrectangular green, and Mynard and Zeepvat concluded that the crofts (average 170m × 40m) were taken out of a furlong field in the late 12th century (1992, 15–16, figure 12). Coe and Newman (1993) suggested that the Wiltshire village of Knook might have been a bifocal settlement in the medieval period, but provided little independent information on individual properties. At Gomeldon, Wiltshire, Musty and Algar found an irregular hillside village, where scarping and quarrying blurred the boundaries of the crofts in many places, and where there is no simple relationship between the surviving toft boundaries of crofts to the rear (1986, 144–51).

Another Wiltshire study of village plans is being undertaken at Compton Bassett and its neighbour Yatesbury, in the north-west of the county. The field survey is in its early stages, but an initial report suggests fluidity in village plans, so that a 19th-

century nucleated plan in one case hides a dispersed settlement, while the reverse occurs in the other (Reynolds 1994, 67). So far, however, there is no detailed study of plot types which would assist the Bulkington study.

The results of this brief survey generally support the assumption that a block of land had been divided into a series of crofts, of which the excavated site is an example. The characteristic use of the front part of the croft for a separate house yard (toft) would account for the ditches across the middle of the plots (460, 480), and comparable boundaries on neighbouring plots (1886 OS, Figure 1). One of the cross ditches on the excavation site had sufficient standing water to encourage duckweed and aquatic snails during the medieval period. The area available for cultivated crofts to the rear is smaller than that at Great Linford; by the 18th century at least it was limited by the line of the back lane, which at one point was so wide as to leave little rear space for anything more than a toft. In the absence of any comprehensive reorganisation of the ditched boundaries, it seems reasonable to conclude that the plots in question were taken out of the North Field in one operation, no later than Phase 2 on the evidence of the termination of gully 419. They may have been established opposite the manor house, and the pottery suggests a date in the mid to late 12th century.

The plot for which we have most evidence happens to be one of those closest to such a manorial centre. It may from time to time have had a timber dwelling fronting the street, which could have been missed by the archaeological trench, but which could explain why most of the evidence of occupation came from the middle of the site, where it would have been in the back yard of such a house. It was here that domestic activities utilised a range of pottery types which had in some cases been brought as far as 20 miles (see Figure 6). The inference is that occupiers of this plot over time had no special loyalty to local producers, and may therefore have been doing their purchasing in any of the four towns which ring the site. Alternatively, they may have been buying from itinerant salesmen passing through Bulkington on their way between Keevil, Seend and Worton. The pottery does not tell us which of these distribution systems was operating, but it is an indicator of the breadth of contact of a relatively minor homestead in an independent township within an unexceptional parish, and provides a significant contribution to an

archaeological picture of the medieval rural economy.

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A Prebend in the Making: The Churches of Hurstbourne and Burbage 1100–1250

by NICHOLAS VINCENT

The litigation over the status and inter-relationship of the two churches of Burbage and Hurstbourne spanned nearly a century from the 1140s onwards and involved a rich array of bishops, canon-lawyers and royal clerks. These complicated pleadings are here used to demonstrate that 'reform' in the 12th-century Church could often be chaotic rather than well-planned, and could depend as much upon material and secular ambitions as upon pious religious motives. Incidentally, this article for the first time reveals the true identity of William Giffard, Chancellor to the Empress Matilda, and throws new light upon King John's defence of royal rights.

The territorial settlement of the medieval church is a complicated subject, its complexity amply matched by the degree of neglect afforded it by historians. In part this is because the physical delineation of parishes and temporalities occurred before written records came into common use. Added to this, there is the undeniable fact that disputes over field boundaries, tithes and such-like *minutiae* do not make for the most thrilling of historical narratives. Nonetheless, there is one area in which progress has been made in recent years: the history of cathedral prebends and their endowment. The so-called 'secular' cathedrals, distinguished from cathedral churches staffed by monks, were dependent for their spiritual and material well-being upon a body of clerks – priests and deacons living in the world rather than under a monastic order. Collectively, these men made up the cathedral's chapter of canons. It was the chapter which elected bishops, and saw to the organization of daily services. During the course of the 12th century, greater discipline came to be imposed upon its members. A hierarchy of dignitaries developed, each with its own specified duties, from the dean at its head to the precentor responsible for the sung offices and the chancellor entrusted with the cathedral school.

Prior to these reforms, the cathedral establishment consisted of a group of resident canons, mostly married men, living upon the

proceeds of the cathedral's endowment of lands and churches, for the most part administered in common rather than being divided into individual, fixed prebends. Whatever private property or benefices they held had often been passed from father to son across several generations. By 1250 all this had changed. Marriage amongst the higher clergy was all but eradicated; the cathedral commons were to a large extent apportioned amongst individual and specific prebends, almost invariably based around a parish church whose patronage was vested in the cathedral chapter. The process by which such prebends were endowed, most often by bishops but occasionally by lay patrons, constitutes one of the fundamental movements of church reform in the century and a half after 1100. The outcome was to replace the old, familiar body of resident commoners with a chapter, many of whose members were absentee clerks employed in royal or episcopal service. Such men frequently combined learning with political influence, both qualities prized by the cathedral establishment. At the same time, to maintain the daily round of services, it was necessary to encourage a *quorum* of canons to remain in residence; special funds were set aside to supply extra commons to such residentaries or to pay vicars to deputize for those canons who remained absent.¹

1. In general, see K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2nd ed. 1967), chapter 1, esp. pp. 1–70.

Throughout this period the prebend with its church, parish and glebe served as the basic building-block of reform. Scattered across the country, such prebendal churches supplied wealth, stability and manpower. There exist excellent accounts of the system's development at Chichester, London, Lincoln and elsewhere.² The purpose of the present paper is to trace the formation of just one such prebend within the cathedral establishment at Salisbury. How and why did the two churches of Burbage south of Marlborough in Wiltshire, and Hurstbourne Tarrant, a dozen miles away across the county boundary, near Andover in Hampshire, come to form a single unified prebend? The story is a complicated one and literally of parochial concern. Nonetheless it deserves telling, not only for its intrinsic local interest, but because it touches upon some of the keenest preoccupations of the English church. It suggests that the endowment of prebends was not always the centrally organized, deliberate process it is supposed to have been, the work of bishops and of well-intentioned reformers. Above all, it demonstrates that supposedly reformist gestures are often the outcome of muddle, political turmoil and the basest of secular motives.

At the time of the Domesday survey (1086), the two livings of Burbage and Hurstbourne were held by a man named Vitalis the priest.³ Both churches stood on manors belonging to the King, and it seems likely that it was the King who had promoted Vitalis to the livings. Until such matters became complicated by the alienation and sale of lordships, the advowson or right to present to a church was generally held by the lord of the manor. Save that both were situated on royal land and were occupied by the same clerk, Vitalis, there was nothing at this stage to link Burbage and Hurstbourne; they lay in different counties and in different dioceses. Hurstbourne was subject to the

authority of the bishops of Winchester, Burbage to that of the bishops of Salisbury.

After Vitalis' death, his two churches descended together to a son named Thurstan, a common practice in an age when clerical celibacy was only seldom enforced. Around 1110, as one of many gestures of favouritism towards his great minister, Bishop Roger of Salisbury, Henry I awarded the church of Hurstbourne 'and whatever else Thurstan the son of Vitalis holds' to Roger's cathedral.⁴ The grant presumably included Burbage, and was confirmed over the next fifty years by successive kings and by the Pope. All of these confirmations refer to both Hurstbourne and Burbage, but it is important to note that Hurstbourne is always named first, implying precedence.⁵ This is hardly surprising since it was by far the wealthier of the two churches, estimated at between two and five times the value of Burbage. Hurstbourne, worth as much as £50, was a very desirable prize indeed; Burbage, at £10, was merely a poor relation.⁶

Grants of advowsons within the royal demesne were seldom straightforward, and were liable to be challenged as future kings and their ministers sought to recover unwarranted alienations. In this particular instance, matters were complicated by there being not one, but two demesne manors, Hurstbourne and Burbage, destined to enjoy very different descents.⁷ The rot seems to have set in under King Stephen. At the start of his reign, the churches of Burbage and Hurstbourne were held as a single prebend (*prebendam ecclesiam*) by the Chapter of Salisbury. But, following the death of Bishop Roger in December 1139, an attempt was made by the King's brother, Theobald, recently installed as lord of the manor of Hurstbourne, to intrude his own candidate to Hurstbourne church,

2. J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, ed. D. Greenway, 5 vols. (London 1968-), iii, pp. ix-xii; iv, pp. xxii-vi; v, pp. xviii-xxi, for Lincoln, Salisbury and Chichester. For Chichester, see also *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting, Canterbury and York Society lvi (1964), pp. 41-8; for London, see A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge 1965), pp. 188-211.

3. *Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi*, (2 vols. London 1783), i, pp. 39, 65.

4. *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral City and Diocese of Salisbury*, ed. W.H. Rich Jones and W.D. Macray (Rolls Series 1891), p. 4; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H.W.C. Davis, C. Johnson, H. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, (4 vols. Oxford 1913-68), ii no. 824.

5. *Charters of Salisbury*, pp. 9, 10; *Regesta*, ii no. 1972, iii nos. 787, 790; *The Register of St Osmund*, ed. W.H. Rich Jones, 2 vols.

(Rolls Series 1883-4), i pp. 200-1, 204; *Päpsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, 3 vols. in 4 (Berlin 1930, 1935-6, Göttingen 1952), ii no. 53.

6. For their relative valuation, see *The Book of Fees Commonly Called Testa de Nevill*, 3 vols. (HMSO 1920-31), p. 257 (Hurstbourne 42 marks, 1219); *Reg. St Osmund*, ii p. 74 (Burbage 20 marks, 1226); *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291*, ed. T. Astle and others (Record Commission 1802), pp. 182 (Burbage £10 13s.4d.), 212b (Hurstbourne £53 6s.8d. with a vicarage worth an extra £4 6s.8d.).

7. For the manor of Hurstbourne, see *Victoria County History: Hampshire*, iv p. 319. Burbage was granted in the late 12th century to William Brewer who used land there towards the endowment of the priory he had founded at Mottisfont in Hampshire; Hampshire Record Office 13M63/1 (Mottisfont Cartulary 1), ff. 31r, 40r, 45v-46r.

regardless of the church's association with Burbage or of the claims of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury. The King intervened to prevent this usurpation, but it appears either that he was unsuccessful or that a subsequent attempt to detach Hurstbourne from Burbage went ahead unchallenged.⁸ Certainly by 1154 the two churches were no longer held jointly by a single rector. The incumbent of Burbage now appears for the first time with the rank of canon of Salisbury cathedral. His name was William Giffard and he was an important man: the son of Henry I's marshal, Gilbert, he was related to some of the most influential supporters of the Angevin cause in England, and himself served for many years as chancellor to the Empress Matilda. Giffard was precisely the sort of clerk a cathedral would be keen to number amongst its canons, once the Angevin cause had triumphed and Henry II was installed on the throne.⁹ By contrast, the rector of Hurstbourne was a far less influential figure – Alan of Hurstbourne – presumably a native of the village, installed during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, perhaps by a local patron or on his own initiative. It may even be that the Chapter of Salisbury had promoted Alan to the living following some twist in political allegiance. If so, the Chapter came to regret its decision, preferring to back the Angevin candidate, Giffard, at Burbage.

At some time between 1154 and 1159 Alan of Hurstbourne sued William Giffard before papal judges delegate. The exact nature of Alan's claim is unclear, but he appears to have accused Giffard of despoiling him of Burbage church which he regarded as a subordinate chapel of Hurstbourne, by no means an unreasonable supposition, given the relative monetary values of the two churches. Alan's claim was dismissed, so that after Giffard's death

two clerks were appointed to supervise the vacancy at Burbage on behalf of the Bishop and Chapter of Salisbury. Alan now revived his suit, but by the time he could obtain a second papal enquiry, Burbage itself had been awarded to an up-and-coming clerk named Richard Barre. Archdeacon of Lisieux in Normandy, and chancellor to Henry II's eldest son, Barre carried considerable weight with the judges appointed by the Pope. He himself was a lawyer, acquainted with various prominent canonists.¹⁰ Faced with Barre's influence, reminded of his earlier lack of success against Giffard, and accused of incontinence, Alan feigned sickness to avoid a court appearance. The judges sent messengers to him with a peremptory summons, but he locked his house against them. Meanwhile his son, whose very existence seems to substantiate the accusations of incontinence, was despatched to Rome where he obtained yet another papal commission, deliberately intended to frustrate the hearings then in progress. The case dragged on for at least another two years, but eventually the Pope and his principal delegate, Bishop Roger of Worcester, lost patience with Alan's appeal. In 1177 his suit was quashed.¹¹ Thanks to the involvement of canonists such as Bishop Roger and Richard Barre, the case was to earn inclusion in a variety of papal decretal collections, the collections of papal letters intended to provide guidance in difficult canon law decisions. But behind the elegant vagaries of papal diplomatic, it is clear that Alan's failure had entirely altered the standing of the churches of Hurstbourne and Burbage.

Previously it had been Hurstbourne that took precedence. After 1177, however, seniority passed to the rector of Burbage who, despite his inferior income, enjoyed membership of the Chapter of Salisbury and whose appointment was lodged

8. *Charters of Salisbury*, p. 9; *Regesta*, iii no. 790.

9. For William Giffard alias William fitz Gilbert the chancellor, brother of John fitz Gilbert, see *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapel of Wells*, vol. 1 (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1907), p. 144; *Regesta*, iii nos. 88, 274, 369, 377, 394, 581, 634–5, 647. The editors of the *Regesta* (pp. xxix–xxx) fail to notice the evidence from Wells which is crucial in establishing William's identity. There were several men named William Giffard active in the mid 12th century. However, the identity between the Salisbury canon and Matilda's chancellor is strongly hinted at by the fact that the chancellor is awarded his proper name, William Giffard, only in charters of the Empress to Salisbury. Elsewhere he appears merely as William, brother of John fitz Gilbert: *Regesta*, iii nos. 792–3; H.-E. Lohmann, 'Die Collectio Wigorniensis (Collectio Londinensis Regia)', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*

für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung xxii (Weimar 1933), pp. 144–5, all of which clarifies various of the problems raised by M. Chibnall, 'The Charters of the Empress Matilda', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of J.C. Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge 1994), pp. 291–2. For William's family, see S. Painter, *William Marshal* (Baltimore 1993), pp. 4–5.

10. For Richard Barre, see R.V. Turner, *The English Judiciary in the Age of Glanvill and Bracton c.1176–1239* (Cambridge 1985), pp. 89, 93, 95–6, 103–4, 111; D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 82, 150–1; *English Episcopal Acta VII: Hereford 1079–1234*, ed. J. Barrow (Oxford 1993), p. 308.

11. Lohmann, 'Die Collectio Wigorniensis', pp. 144–5; M.G. Cheney, *Roger Bishop of Worcester 1164–1179* (Oxford 1980), pp. 296, 348–9, 352; *Charters of Salisbury*, p. 40.

securely with the local bishop. Hurstbourne's position was now uncertain, with no clear indication of its relation to Burbage nor of who controlled its advowson.

Already in the 1170s we read of a son of Alan of Hurstbourne obtaining letters on his father's behalf.¹² It is tempting to suggest that this son was the Master Thomas of Hurstbourne who by 1190 had succeeded Alan as rector. Alan had been at a disadvantage as the local man up against cosmopolitan opponents. In this respect Master Thomas was far more evenly matched; a curialist himself, he served for many years as a justice in the King's law courts and acquired widespread ecclesiastical patronage, including a prebend at St Paul's cathedral and the royal living of Facombe in Hampshire.¹³

After many years abroad, Richard Barre took up permanent residence in England in 1190, being appointed Archdeacon of Ely and a justice of the Bench by his patron William Longchamps, recently promoted as the King's Justiciar. Barre now sought to resolve the anomalies over his living at Burbage, asserting that it enjoyed primacy over the wealthier church of Hurstbourne. Barre and Master Thomas of Hurstbourne were colleagues at court. Their dispute seems to have been settled amicably enough, by a tribunal of at least four bishops including the justiciar, all of them well acquainted with the rival parties. The evidence produced by Barre was not to be denied, the charters of Henry I and their confirmation by Henry II awarding Hurstbourne to Salisbury. The investigating bishops agreed that Master Thomas should pay an annual pension of 5 marks to the prebendaries of Burbage, but in all other respects they did their best to please both parties; in particular, they avoided any clear definition of Hurstbourne's dependence on Burbage save for the small monetary obligation, a reprieve for Master Thomas that owed much to his standing at court.¹⁴ There was one further aspect to Thomas'

advantage. In the 1170s the incumbents of Burbage had been accepted as canons of Salisbury, the rectors of Hurstbourne apparently not. Thomas of Hurstbourne, however, like Richard Barre, was a desirable 'catch' for any cathedral chapter. By the late 1190s, he too seems to have been accepted as a canon of Salisbury. A petition addressed to the Chapter on his behalf asked that he be allowed to absent himself from Salisbury in order to work at court, a request that would only have been necessary had he been subject to the residence requirements of a canon.¹⁵ For a period in the 1190s then, both Burbage and Hurstbourne served as prebendal churches, their incumbents Barre and Master Thomas both being installed as canons of Salisbury.

It was not until Thomas' death that Barre was able to make further headway. So much dissension amongst the King's lawyers had not gone unnoticed at court, so that when Hurstbourne fell vacant early in 1200, King John attempted to present his own candidate to the church, and, when this ran into opposition, launched a plea of *darrein presentment*, intended to establish who had last exercised the church's patronage, alleging that the advowson of Hurstbourne belonged to the crown. The claim was not pursued. As soon as it reached the law courts, the King withdrew, quitclaiming the advowson to Salisbury in perpetuity.¹⁶ He did this at Portchester, on the eve of sailing for France, and it has been suggested that his grant to Salisbury was intended as an act of propitiation, to obtain divine favour in his forthcoming meeting with the French.¹⁷ Certainly the case involved collusion between King and canons, designed to establish an incontrovertible claim to Hurstbourne on Salisbury's behalf. This alone can explain certain peculiarities in procedure.

On 26 April 1200 the Bishop of Winchester instituted a clerk named Master Simon de Peragor to Hurstbourne, supposedly at the presentation of

12. Lohmann, 'Die Collectio Wigorniensis', p. 145.

13. For master Thomas, see Turner, *The English Judiciary*, pp. 78, 87, 93, 102-3, 117, and London, Guildhall Library MS. D. & C. St Paul's 25121/1062 for the disposal of his property in London by his executors. For his promotion to Facombe, see below, appendix 2.

14. *Reg. St Osmund*, i pp. 242-3, 263-4, 266-7; *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070-1204*, ed. M.J. Franklin (Oxford 1993), no. 238.

15. C.R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London 1967), pp. 158-9;

English Episcopal Acta III: Canterbury 1193-1205, ed. C.R. Cheney and E. John (Oxford 1986), no. 605.

16. *Pleas Before the King or his Justices 1198-1202*, ed. D.M. Stenton, 2 vols., Selden Society lxxvii-viii (1952-3), i no. 3230; *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. T.D. Hardy (London 1837), p. 37.

17. *Pleas Before the King*, i p. lxxxv; R.V. Turner, *The King and His Courts: the Role of John and Henry III in the Administration of Justice, 1199-1240* (New York 1968), p. 230.

Bishop Herbert of Salisbury. Yet it was not until two months later, when he was staying at Caen with the King, that Bishop Herbert actually issued letters presenting Master Simon to the church.¹⁸ For admission and institution to precede presentation was highly irregular, not to say impossible. Simon himself was the King's physician and early in 1200 had been presented by the King both to Hurstbourne and to the nearby church of Faccombe, also vacant by the death of Master Thomas of Hurstbourne.¹⁹ In short, he was very much the King's man rather than the Bishop's. We can only suppose that a bargain had been struck. Bishop Herbert connived in the polite fiction that Simon was his own candidate rather than the King's. In return he obtained proofs of Salisbury's claim to exercise the advowson of Hurstbourne, proofs that could be produced at all subsequent vacancies: namely the letters of institution by the Bishop of Winchester, the King's quitclaim and Bishop Herbert's own letters purporting to present Master Simon to the church, these latter being not so much an accurate statement of what had taken place as an official record targeted at posterity. The bishop gained no more than a promise of things to come. It was really the King who benefited. Although the advowson of Hurstbourne had been alienated nearly a century before, King John was still able to enjoy a share in its exercise. Far from participating in an act of charitable propitiation, he had discovered a minor legal anomaly and was exploiting it for everything that it was worth.²⁰

The events of 1200 provide a splendid demonstration of the King's tenacity in pursuing his rights. But it was not only the King who harboured pretensions to title long after such titles appeared lost. In the previous century, Burbage and Hurstbourne had been united by accident and through the nepotistic ambitions of a family of priests. Under Vitalis and his son they had been joined for no more than fifty years, since when they had spent far longer apart. Nonetheless, a tradition of their union

survived, ironically because of the very litigation which failed to have that union recognised in law – the suit brought by Alan of Hurstbourne. In 1190, Richard Barre achieved the first steps towards reunification by obtaining a small pension from Hurstbourne. In 1200 he went one step further. The Bishop of Winchester's letters of institution now spoke of Hurstbourne as a perpetual vicarage – perhaps a sign that the church was no longer considered autonomous but in some way, as yet unspecified, as a pensioner dependent upon Burbage. Henceforth only the rectors of Burbage, not those of Hurstbourne, appear as canons of Salisbury. At the same time, Barre issued letters of his own. They state his acquiescence in the appointment of Master Simon, and as such appear wholly innocuous. But the very fact of their issue shows that Barre considered himself entitled to endorse any presentation to the church of Hurstbourne.²¹ Before 1130, when the churches were joined, it had been Hurstbourne which enjoyed primacy over Burbage. Now, precisely the opposite claim was being made.

The final act of the drama unfolded thirty years later. In the interval Richard Barre had been succeeded as rector of Burbage by Maser Bartholomew des Roches, Archdeacon of Winchester.²² Master Bartholomew was a Frenchman. His uncle, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester (1204–38), ranked as one of the most powerful and controversial figures at the court of King John, and after 1216 served as a guardian and tutor to the infant Henry III. But his favouritism towards fellow aliens, including several other nephews besides Bartholomew, the personal enmity he stirred up amongst his colleagues at court, and accusations of abuse of power laid against him, resulted in his political downfall. In 1227 he set out on crusade, leaving his diocese in the care of two nephews, Master Bartholomew and Master Luke des Roches, Archdeacon of Surrey.²³ In Bishop Peter's absence, Master Simon de Peragor died, early in 1229, having some years before obtained

18. *Reg. St. Osmund*, i p. 240; *Charters of Salisbury*, pp. 59–60; *English Episcopal Acta VIII*, no. 231. Simon was probably a native of Périgueux in France, dep. Dordogne.

19. *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 37, 74b, 105; Public Record Office SC1/6/96, printed below as appendix 2.

20. It is even possible that Bishop Herbert paid the King for this settlement. A fine of 100m from the Bishop of Salisbury, of unspecified nature but apparently unrelated to scutage, was collected at some date between May 1199 and December 1200: *Rotuli de Oblatis et Fimibus*, ed. T.D. Hardy (London 1835), p. 140.

21. *Charters of Salisbury*, pp. 60–1.

22. First recorded as canon of Burbage without his title as Archdeacon of Winchester, so presumably before May 1213: *Reg. St. Osmund*, i pp. 205–1. Barre died at some time after August 1202; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Greenway, ii pp. 50–1. For a settlement over tithes and a private chapel at Burbage, issued by Bartholomew as rector, see Wiltshire Record Office MSS. 9/7 nos. 1–2.

23. For Bartholomew, see *English Episcopal Acta IX: Winchester 1205–1238*, ed. N. Vincent (Oxford 1994), appendix iv no. 7.

promotion as Dean of Chichester. Chichester itself was in the hands of another political bishop, Ralph de Neville, the King's chancellor, who in 1229 moved swiftly to obtain control of all Master Simon's benefices. Hurstbourne he intended for a brother named Nicholas de Neville, one of several Neville kinsmen active in royal service.²⁴ The settlement of 1200 had in theory guaranteed the patronage of Hurstbourne to the bishops of Salisbury. Disregarding this, in 1229 Ralph de Neville apparently persuaded the King that the church was a royal living. On 20 April 1229 Henry III wrote to Bartholomew des Roches in his capacity as Archdeacon of Winchester, asking that he admit and institute Nicholas de Neville to Hurstbourne.²⁵ Clearly trouble was anticipated, since the presentation was made only 'in so far as the King is able' – words which reflect the inevitability of an appeal by Salisbury. Neville's admission to the church was duly refused. Instead the King brought yet another plea for the advowson, sued against the Bishop of Salisbury and against Master Bartholomew des Roches as rector of Burbage.

The case reached court around 14 June 1229 and was concorded. A settlement was entered on the plea roll, by which the Bishop of Salisbury allowed the King's presentation to stand on this one occasion, reserving his rights to the advowson in future. Nicholas de Neville was to be admitted, though not apparently instituted to Hurstbourne, pending further enquiry. Thus far, the case promised an exact re-run of the events of 1200: the King was to be allowed to intrude his own candidate to Hurstbourne whilst openly acknowledging that the presentation lay with the bishops of Salisbury; the bishop was to receive no more than an undertaking to be allowed to resume his rights at some future time.²⁶ To date, Bartholomew des Roches had denied any claim to the advowson of Hurstbourne, asking merely for confirmation of the five mark pension from Hurstbourne to Burbage. But over the next few weeks, perhaps prompted by his fellow canons at Salisbury, he appears to have

determined upon a more forceful intervention. As a satellite of the disgraced Bishop Peter, Bartholomew was at a disadvantage in the English law courts. Rather than press his claim to Hurstbourne in England, he set out to lodge an appeal in Rome where his uncle, Bishop Peter, was basking in papal favour following the success of the Sixth Crusade and the negotiation of a truce between Pope and Emperor. We know of Bartholomew's movements from a report sent to Bishop Ralph de Neville by a local informant – a clerk named R. of Andover, in all probability Roger, the rural dean of Andover, one of many such men to supply Neville with news from the provinces.²⁷ It appears that Neville had pressed the local church authorities not only to admit but to institute his brother Nicholas to Hurstbourne. This they refused to do until the outcome of an appeal launched by Bartholomew who had set out for Rome by mid August 1229. In Rome Bartholomew joined his uncle, Bishop Peter, but died without ever returning to England, on 12 December 1230.²⁸ News of his death was conveyed to England in letters from Bishop Peter, received at Salisbury early in February 1231.²⁹

It was at this stage that family influence and political expediency combined for the last time to decide the fate of the two churches. Bartholomew's death left a vacancy in the prebend of Burbage, which the Bishop of Salisbury filled by nominating yet another of Bishop des Roches' nephews, Master Luke des Roches, Archdeacon of Surrey. Master Luke had been active at Salisbury for several years, first as a prebendary of Ruscombe Southbury, and later as prebendary of Coombe and Harnham.³⁰ Ruscombe was valued at 10 marks, Coombe at 25 marks, slightly more than Burbage's 20 marks.³¹ It is odd, therefore, that in February 1231 Luke should have chosen to resign Coombe to accept collation to Burbage. There can be little doubt that he suffered the loss of income in the hope of pressing the existing claim by the rectors of Burbage to control the far more valuable church of Hurstbourne. In short, he wished to keep alive the appeal lodged by

24. See N.C. Vincent, 'The Origins of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer', *English Historical Review* cviii (1993), pp. 109–11.

25. *Patent Rolls 1225–32* (London 1903), p. 246.

26. *Curia Regis Rolls*, 17 Vols. (London 1922–91), xiii, nos. 1906, 2196.

27. PRO SC1/6/95, 96, below, appendix. For Roger Dean of Andover (fl. 1230), see Hampshire Record Office MS 13M63/2 (Mottisfont Cartulary II), ff. 164–6r. Probably to

be identified with Roger of Andover, witness to a charter of Bishop Ralph Neville in 1224: Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson B336, f.171r.

28. Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Greenway, ii p. 93.

29. *Reg. St Osmund*, i p. 388.

30. *English Episcopal Acta IX*, appendix iv no. 13, and see N. Vincent, 'Master Luke des Roches, Archdeacon of Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* (forthcoming).

31. *Reg. St Osmund*, ii p. 73.

his later kinsman, Bartholomew. This was an ambition in which he enjoyed complete success. Having left England in disgrace, Bishop Peter des Roches acquired such fame in the Holy Land and in Rome that his return was eagerly awaited at court. He landed in England in August 1231 and was immediately accorded the highest favour. In the following spring, the King issued charters which for the first time acknowledged the claim by the rectors of Burbage to regard Hurstbourne as a daughter church, to be annexed to them at the next vacancy as an indivisible part of their prebend.³² This award was ratified and confirmed by Bishop des Roches in an *inspeximus* of January 1233.³³ Luke des Roches could now look forward to the possession of an extremely valuable benefice, and one which represented a complete reversal of the situation obtaining a century before, when Hurstbourne had been the senior church and Burbage merely an insignificant daughter. It was an outcome brought about by yet another twist of political fortune. In 1231, Robert of Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, Luke des Roches and his uncle Bishop Peter all colluded in the award of seniority to Burbage. Even Bishop Ralph de Neville, anxious perhaps to curry favour with des Roches and the new political order, is said to have worked tirelessly to persuade the King to abandon any claim to Hurstbourne's advowson.³⁴

Master Luke's success led very rapidly to the reunification of the two churches. Although Nicholas de Neville had been admitted to Hurstbourne, he seems never to have been instituted or installed. He lived on well into the 1240s, but already, by 1236 at the latest, Hurstbourne and its revenue of 40 marks appear to have come to rest with Luke des Roches as an integral part of his prebend at Burbage.³⁵ As

incumbent he is said to have wasted the royal forest round about Hurstbourne.³⁶ He was still in possession of Hurstbourne church in 1249, and although in 1253, after his death, the crown launched yet another enquiry into the living and its patronage, henceforth the two churches of Burbage and Hurstbourne were to descend together as a unified prebend, valued at roughly 80 marks, their joint-incumbents presented by the bishops of Salisbury.³⁷

According to the standard account with which this paper began, the prebendal system was a reform imposed from above, by well intentioned bishops and conscientious chapters. Churches were deliberately set aside and endowed to meet the needs of a body of celibate cathedral canons. To take an analogy, the cathedral chapter might be compared to the governing body of an Oxford or Cambridge college. To bear the burden of teaching and administration, fellowships are endowed and often their specific functions are carefully circumscribed; a post is established requiring set qualifications, involving teaching duties in a particular subject, and carrying with it a specified stipend. The post is then advertised and a person appointed to fill it. This is the classic way in which fellows are elected, but it is not the only way. Quite often fellowships have their origin not in deliberate endowment but in the co-option of people considered useful to the college, often people already about the place, for whom fellowships are created *ad hominem*. Much the same happened at Burbage and Hurstbourne, where there seems to have been no specific endowment of a prebend by the bishop or the lay patron. Instead, the rectors of the two churches were co-opted onto the Chapter of Salisbury according to their perceived usefulness.

32. *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1226–57* (London 1903), p. 155; *Charters of Salisbury*, pp. 227–8.

33. *English Episcopal Acta IX*, no. 18.

34. See the account of the charter's reception in Salisbury in July 1232: *Reg. St Osmund*, i pp. 245–6.

35. *Book of Fees*, p. 1365. In January 1232 Luke obtained papal letters against the prior and convent of Mottisfont demanding tithes in Burbage, eventually settled by papal judges delegate before Bishop Peter of Winchester and the Chapter of Salisbury: *English Episcopal Acta IX*, appendix ii no. 34. As rector of Burbage, he also obtained the restoration of tithes previously resigned by Bartholomew des Roches to Geoffrey Esturmy, a local landholder: Wiltshire Record Office MS. 9/7/3, which incidentally implies the clearance and enclosure by Luke of land at Burbage in a place called Foxac(res). For Nicholas de Neville's death c.1245, see *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232–47*, pp. 448–9; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Greenway, v p. 64.

36. PRO E32/157, m. 7d.

37. *Book of Fees*, p. 1417; *Cal. Pat. R. 1247–58*, p. 229. The next prebendary of Burbage and Hurstbourne to be identified, Master Giles de la Ford, occurs as rector of Hurstbourne c. 1260 (Winchester College Muniments no. 9021) and as canon of Salisbury c.1257–72; British Library Add. MS. 28870 (Cartulary of St Nicholas de Vaux), ff. 16v–17r, 41v–42r, 43v–44r; Salisbury D. & C. Muniments I/D–F/Fordingbridge 12, various of which references I owe to Diana Greenway. After the death or resignation of Master Luke des Roches, the wood of Hurstbourne is said to have been wasted by Master Peter Chaceporc. In the 1250s it was seized back by the crown from Gerard de la Grue, the steward by Aymer de Valence bishop-elect of Winchester. In 1255 Gerard had been granted a lease of the manor: *Cal. Pat. R. 1247–58*, p. 446. Master Peter was a leading royal clerk and it may be that he succeeded Luke des Roches as rector, although he died only a year or so after Luke: PRO E32/157, m.7d; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Greenway, iii, p. 20.

Thus as early as the 1150s, William Giffard, rector of the meagre living of Burbage but a powerful figure in the world at large, was admitted as a canon of Salisbury *ad hominem*, not so much because his living had been endowed as a prebend, but because he himself was considered a desirable 'catch' by the rest of the Chapter. By the same token, the rector of Hurstbourne, whose church had just as much if not more right than Burbage to be regarded as a prebend of Salisbury, was rejected by the Chapter, because he himself was insignificant or personally objectionable. Half a century later, when both churches were filled by men of worldly influence – Masters Richard Barre and Thomas of Hurstbourne – the Chapter was willing to admit both men as canons.

As yet, the legal wrangling between the two churches was undecided. It was to take nearly a century of litigation and a whole series of false starts, compromises and not-so-final concords before the relationships between Hurstbourne and Burbage could be settled. The process was to involve a wide range of secular and nepotistic interests; the extraordinary tenacity of the crown in defending its claims to Hurstbourne, the court connections of Giffard and Barre, the family relationships between Alan and Thomas of Hurstbourne, Bartholomew and Luke des Roches,

Ralph and Nicholas de Neville. The very origins of the dispute lay in the dynastic connection of Vitalis and Thurstan the priest, father and son. Few if any of these men were unregenerate secularists; on the whole they do credit to the scholarly reputation of Salisbury and its canons. Richard Barre was the author of a scriptural compendium; Luke des Roches willed his library to Netley Abbey.³⁸ It is not that they represent some base influence at work within the Church, opposed to the ideal of reform. Rather, they show the extent to which reform had to be played out against the background of the court, the slow processes of secular and canon law and the all-important ties of family and faction. The case of Hurstbourne and Burbage is certainly unusual. The endowment of prebends was often a far simpler and a smoother affair, imposed from above, and documented in charters of endowment from bishop and chapter. None the less, in accepting this, it should not be assumed that reform was always so well planned and executed. Reform had as much to do with individual men as with abstract organisation, and the world of men is seldom far removed from chaos.

Acknowledgements. I wish to express my thanks to Mary Cheney, David Crouch, Diana Greenway and Juliet Tyson for their many helpful comments and corrections to this article.

Incumbents of the churches of Burbage and Hurstbourne 1086–1253

Canons of Salisbury given in capital letters

	<i>Hurstbourne</i>	<i>Burbage</i>	
(1086)	Vitalis the priest	Vitalis the priest	(1086)
(c.1100)	Thurstan fitz Vitalis	Thurstan fitz Vitalis	(c.1100)
(pre 1159–post 1177)	Alan of Hurstbourne	WILLIAM GIFFARD	(pre 1159–pre 1175)
(pre 1190–1200)	THOMAS OF HURSTBOURNE	RICHARD BARRE	(pre 1175–1202 × 1213)
(1200–1227)	Simon de Périgueux	BARTHOLOMEW DES ROCHES	(1209 × 1213–1230)
(1227–pre 1236)	Nicholas de Neville		
(pre 1236–1249 × 1253)	LUKE DES ROCHES	LUKE DES ROCHES	(1231–1249 × 1253)

38. For Barre, see Turner, *The English Judiciary*, p. 96. For master Luke and his books, see PRO E210/11304.

Appendix 1

Reply by R(oger?) of Andover to R(alph de Neville) Bishop of Chichester and royal chancellor, reporting an inquisition being made into the rights of Hurstbourne church by Master A(lan of Stokes), official of the Bishop of Winchester.

[c.17 July 1229]

PRO SC1/6/95. Approx. 176mm × 56mm. Rubbed and holed. Sealed *sur simple queue*, letters close. Slits for tie. Dorse repaired. The whole now mounted.

Viro venerabili domino R(adulpho) Dei gratia Cycest' episcopo domini regis cancellario R. de Andevr' sibi merito devotus tam debitum quam devotum in^a omnibus famulatum. Quoniam mihi litteris vestris mandastis quod aput Rading' coram vobis in proxima die veneris ante festum sancti Kenelmi comparerem vel litteris meis vobis significarem^b quod actum fuerit super negotio ecclesie de Husseburne, vobis mando sicut domino meo in Cristo karissimo quod in eadem die veneris ante festum sancti Kenelmi litteras vestras suscepi in ecclesia de Andevr' ad terciam horam diei ubi inquisitio facta fuit per totum capitulum^c si ecclesia Sar' de ecclesia de Husseburne umquam recepisset nisi vi. marc(as) aut non, et quod festinanter inquisitionem factam magistro A(lano) officiali domini episcopi Wint(oniensis) tuli. Unde vobis vero nescio mandare quod actum fuerit super negotio predictae ecclesie de Usseburne priusquam a magistro A(lano) habeam ressonsum. Super hiis igitur et rebus aliis mihi placitum vestrum singnificate. Preterea vobis Willelmum Peraamenarium^d mitto, rogando quatinus ei aliquam honorem confertatis. Est eum de patria vestra et vobis multum servivit. Valet semper in domino.

^a lo or l(de)o ms. ^b sic. ms. ^c per totum capitulum inserted over the line ms. ^d reading uncertain?Hamenarium

TRANSLATION: R(oger?) of Andover (sends greetings) to his worthy lord R(alph) by God's grace bishop of Chichester and chancellor of the lord King . . . In your letters to me you ordered that I meet you at Reading on the Friday before St Kenelm's day or write to tell you what took place in respect to Hurstbourne Church. I tell you, my most dear lord in Christ, that on the Friday in question I received your letters at the church of Andover at the

third hour, where inquisition was being made by the whole chapter whether or not the church of Salisbury ever received more than 6 marks from Hurstbourne church; as soon as the inquest was finished I took it to master A(lan) the official of the bishop of Winchester. Since I do not know what to tell you over Hurstbourne until I have an answer from master A(lan), please let me know your wishes over this and other matters. I am sending William Peraamenarium to you, asking that you confer some reward upon him. He comes from your homeland and has done you much service. Farewell always in the Lord.

Appendix 2

Report by R(oger?) clerk of Andover to R(alph Neville) Bishop of Chichester and royal chancellor, of a decision by Master A(lan) of Stokes, official of the Bishop of Winchester.

[c. July x August 1229]

PRO SC1/6/96. Approx. 130mm × 68mm. Rubbed and partially illegible. Mounted and repaired. Sealed *sur simple queue* letters close.

R(adulpho) Dei gratia Cicestrensi episcopo et domini regis cancellario suus R. clericus de Andevor' salutem. Noverit sanctitas vestra quod magister A(lanus) de Stok' officialis domini Winton(iensis) distullit institutionem fratris vestri propter appellationem archidiaconi qui iter suum arripuit versus Romam, set dicit quod super hoc per consillium vestrum secundum quod vestra decreverit discrestio cum ad invicem locuti fueritis faciet. Preterea secundum tenorem mandati vestri diligentem feci inquisitionem de terra de Husseburn' et de ecclesia de Faccumbe in qua didici quod ad ecclesiam de Husseburne pertinet i. carucata terre et quod ecclesia de Faccumbe ad nullam spectat ecclesiam nisi ad se ipsam, ad quam pertinet i. virgata terre, et valet xxii. marc(as) argenti cum capella de Tangelige et spectat ad advocacionem domini regis. Inquisitione etiam facta utrum ecclesia de Husseburne et ecclesia de Faccumbe simul et semel date fuissent magistro S(imoni) quondam decano Cicestr', didici quod T(homa) quondam persona de Husseburn' multo tempore post collationem ecclesie de Husseburn'

recepit ecclesiam de Faccumbe de dono domini regis set nunquam percepit <prius>^aquam eodem anno obiit, unde quia ambe ecclesie, ipso defuncto, vacantes erant, collate fuerunt simul et semel magistro S(imoni) quondam decano Cicestr'. Vos igitur nobis super hiis pervidentes et sanum consilium inde concedentes quod bonum fuerit exequimini. Valeat et vigeat sanctitas vestra in domino.

^a prius supplied, word illegible in MS.

TRANSLATION: To R(alph) by God's grace bishop of Chichester and chancellor of the lord King, R(oger?) of Andover his clerk sends greetings. Know, your holiness, that master A(lan) of Stokes, official of the bishop of Winchester, has delayed the institution of your brother on account of the appeal of the archdeacon who has now set out for Rome. But he says he will do whatever you order as soon as

you have spoken with him. Meanwhile, in accordance with your orders, I have made full enquiry into the land of Hurstbourne and of the church of Faccumbe. I can tell you that a carucate of land belongs to Hurstbourne church and that Faccumbe church is independent and owns 1 virgate of land and is worth 22 marks together with the chapel of Tangley, and the advowson belongs to the King. Enquiry was made whether the churches of Hurstbourne and Faccumbe were given jointly to master S(imon) former dean of Chichester. I can tell you that T(homas), former parson of Hurstbourne was granted Faccumbe church by the King long after his promotion to Hurstbourne, but took no profits from Faccumbe since he died that same year. Because both churches were left vacant by his death, they were conferred jointly upon master S(imon), the former dean of Chichester. Send us your sound advice so that good may come of it. Farewell and God preserve your holiness.

The Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury

by TIM TATTON-BROWN

The history of the fine late medieval church of St Thomas, in the centre of Salisbury, is examined afresh, and a new architectural history is suggested. Earlier theories of a 13th-century cruciform church are rejected, and it is suggested that the south tower was not first built as a free-standing bell-tower, but as the upper stage of a new south porch of c.1400 that was contemporary with the surviving walls of the nave aisles. Discussion of the rebuilding, and lengthening eastwards, of the chancel (after it collapsed in 1448) is followed by an examination of the reconstruction of the nave arcades, west window and roof.

Much has been written about this fine late medieval church, both about its documented history and about its architecture.¹ Despite this, and publication of the ‘definitive’ accounts by the Victoria County History (VCH)² and the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) (RCHME),³ it can be suggested that the long-accepted architectural history of the church is in need of substantial revision.

For almost a century now, it has been considered that St Thomas’s church was, in the 13th century, cruciform with ‘a nave with choir formed at the east end, and north and south transepts’ to quote Charles Haskins, who also observed that Doran Webb first had this idea, ‘with the south porch to the south transept incorporated into the later tower’.⁴ The RCHME developed this theory more fully, and suggested that the two very thin pilasters in the east wall marked the east end of the 13th-century chancel, and that the original 13th-century church was enlarged westwards after the 1448 collapse (see below).⁵ They also suggested that the transepts were at the west ends of the present north and south chapels, and that part of an original doorway into the south transept still existed on the south side of the church. All these earlier theorists suggest that the bell-tower was originally a free-standing structure,

which was only in the later 15th century incorporated into the south side of the south aisle.⁶

There is, however, no evidence for a cruciform church; rather, it seems that the outer walls of the north and south aisles, and the western parts of the north and south chapels, along with the bell-tower, were all built around 1400. After the chancel collapse in 1448, the church was lengthened eastwards by about 19 feet, substantially rebuilt and entirely reroofed. This was followed in the later 15th century by the rebuilding of the nave arcades, clerestory and west window, and the reroofing of the nave and aisles.

THE 13TH-CENTURY CHURCH

There is no mention of St Thomas’s Church in Bishop Richard Poore’s grant of 1228. It was, perhaps, among the churches and chapels ‘to be constructed’.⁷ It is most unlikely to have been the temporary wooden chapel of St Thomas erected for Bishop Richard to celebrate mass in on Trinity Sunday, 1219. This would have been in the cathedral cemetery, perhaps close to the great north transept of the cathedral which was itself to house a chapel of St Thomas. In 1238, however, Robert,

1. The first complete account is C. Haskins, ‘The Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury’, *WAM* 26 (1910), pp. 1–12.
2. Elizabeth Crittall, ‘St Thomas’s church’ *VCH Wiltshire VI* (London 1962), pp. 147–151.
3. RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* Vol. 1 (London 1980), pp. 24–31.
4. Haskins, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 1–2.
5. RCHME, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 24–5. There is a summary on

p. lii with a series of three plans showing the conjectural development.

6. Other brief accounts of the church are: A.R. Dufty, ‘The Parish Churches of St Thomas, St Martin and St Edmund, Salisbury’, *Archaeol. Journ.* 104 (1947), pp. 150–6; and N. Pevsner, revised B. Cherry, *Buildings of England: Wiltshire* (1963, rev. 1975), pp. 439–441.
7. *Sarum Charters and Documents* (Rolls Series, 1891), p. 191.

Rector of the 'chapel' of St Thomas, is mentioned,⁸ and in 1246 Robert of Beauver is Rector of the 'church' of St Thomas when an agreement was made between him and the cathedral treasurer about the allotment of funeral candles of people dying within the parish, but wishing to be buried in the cathedral cemetery.⁹

Despite earlier suggestions, there is no evidence for the 13th-century church in the present fabric. The thin pilaster buttresses of the east wall and the corbel tables on the outside of the chancel (but within the north and south chapels) must both date from just after 1448. As the RCHME points out, these corbel tables are completely unworn and have never been weathered. They must have been built to support the 15th-century chapel roofs. They are not reused from an earlier corbel table, and show no 13th-century characteristics. The 13th-century chancel was perhaps on the site of the western three bays of the present chancel, while the original nave, which may already have had narrow aisles, no doubt was beneath the present nave and aisles. Archaeological excavation may one day uncover the plan.

THE EARLY PERPENDICULAR CHURCH

From at least 1269, when the Rector of St Thomas's was succentor of the cathedral,¹⁰ the Dean and Chapter were closely involved with the parish church. In 1363 they were permitted by the Pope to appropriate the income of the church for six years for the repair of the cathedral, whose walls and belfry were said to be 'cracked and falling',¹¹ and a new vicarage was to be endowed. The advowson at this time remained with the Bishop, but in 1399 Bishop Richard Metford was allowed to grant the advowson to the Dean and Chapter. At the same time the latter were permitted to appropriate the rectory income permanently to the fabric fund. A secular chaplain had to be provided by the Dean and Chapter to serve the church, but no endowment was set up, and from this time there was only a curate, who was often also a member of the cathedral chapter. This arrangement was confirmed by the Pope in 1401.¹²

At exactly the same time there is documentary evidence for rebuilding work at the church. The will

of Thomas de Boyton, which dates from 1400, gave 20 marks to the new fabric on the south side of St Thomas's, while in 1404 the Dean and Chapter granted 12 marks 'towards the work of the campanile of St Thomas's church, the amount to be advanced from the treasury of the cathedral till it should be repaid from the fruits and profits of the church'.¹³

This documentary evidence has been taken in the past to mean that only the bell-tower on the south was being built at this time, but an examination of the fabric of the lower north side of the tower shows clearly that it was built from the start as a tower and a porch that were joined to the south wall of the south aisle. The window jambs which directly adjoin the tower buttresses have blocks that are coursed in with the tower masonry, and the aisle walls cannot have been added later. There is also a continuous simple chamfered plinth; and there is no evidence for northern buttresses being cut off at a later date at the lower level as suggested in the plans by A.R. Dufty and the RCHME.¹⁴ The ground floor of the tower, which is vaulted and has a large open arch on the south side, was also meant to be a porch. The inner doorway into the church has unfortunately been restored, but there can be no doubt that it was the main south doorway into the nave. On the north-east side of the tower is a spiral staircase leading to the upper floors of the tower. It was originally entered from the south aisle of the church, and above this now-blocked doorway to the stair-turret there is a two-light square-headed window into the south aisle (now filled with lath and plaster). The external doorway to the stair-turret was made in the 19th century, with steps up to it. There was also a three-light window from the first-floor chamber (now the ringing chamber) into the south aisle which is now blocked up. There is an intermediate chamber, and then a bell-chamber at the top of the tower which has two-light early Perpendicular windows in each of its four faces. The lower parts of these windows, which hold the belfry louvres, contain pierced quatrefoils. Inside the upper walls of the bell-chamber are heavy squinch-arches to support a stone spire. The lowest part of this spire still exists, but it is barely visible above the later crenellated parapets. At an early date the tower

8. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 315–6.

10. *Sarum Charters and Documents* (Rolls Series, 1891), p. 348.

11. *Calendar of Papal Letters (1362–1404)*, p. 89 and *VCH Wiltshire VI*, p. 147.

12. *Cal. Close Rolls 1396–99*, pp. 573–4 and *1399–1401*, p. 392; and *VCH Wiltshire VI*, p. 147. Richard Metford (or Medford) was bishop between 1395 and his death was in May 1407.

13. Quoted by Haskins, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 2–3.

14. Dufty, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 151, and *RCHME* (note 3), p. 25.

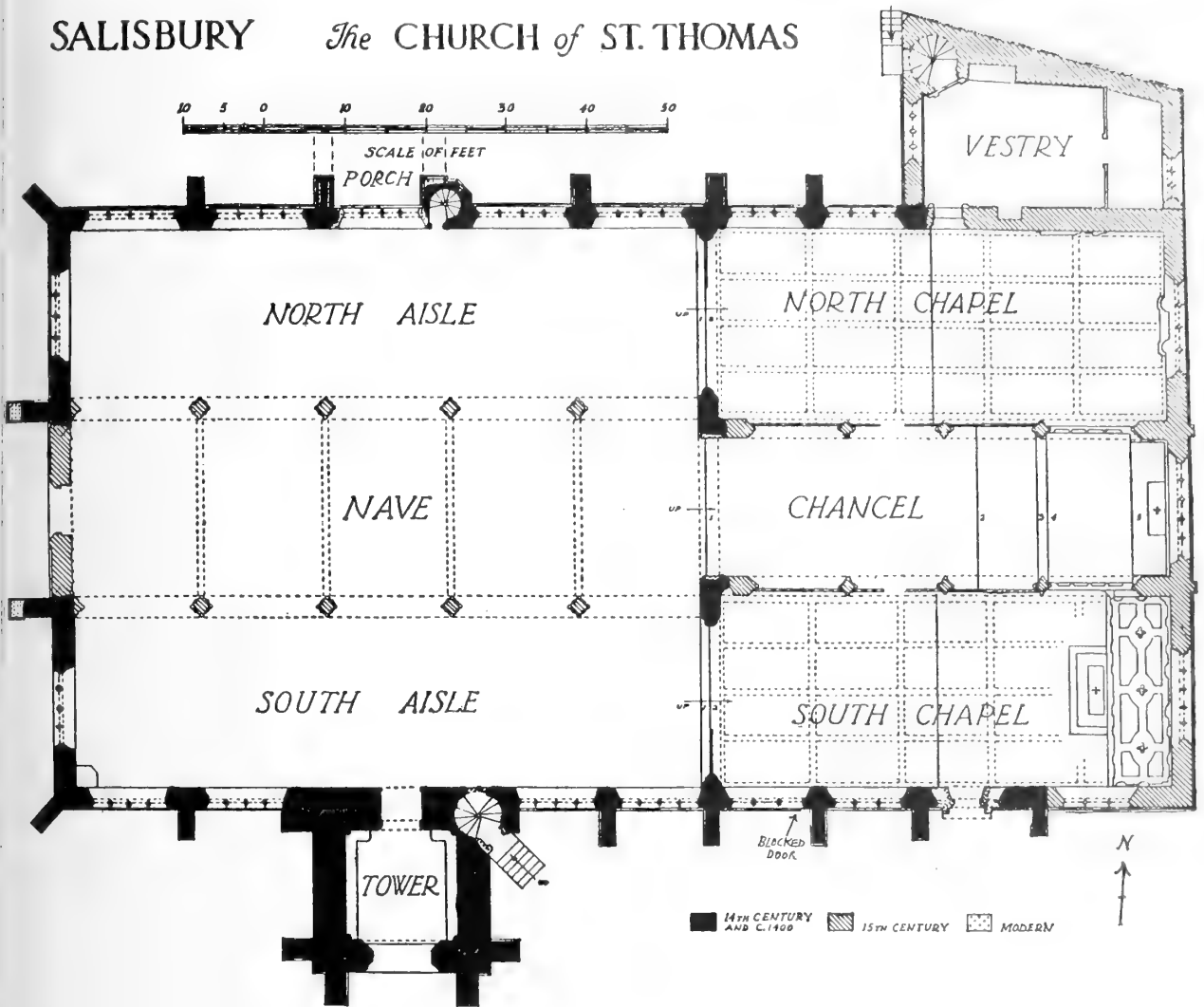
SALISBURY *The* CHURCH of ST. THOMAS

Figure 1. Plan of St Thomas's Church, Salisbury based on A.R. Dufty's redrawing of John Lyons' plan of 1745.

suffered from differential settlement problems, and it may have been because of this that the upper part of the spire became unsafe in the latter part of the 15th century and was replaced by the present squat timber and lead-covered cap. Various repairs to cracks within the tower can be seen internally, and the tower itself has a pronounced lean to the south.

The panelled and crenellated parapet, and the decorated string-course beneath it, must also date from the later 15th century. Similar parapets can be seen on the late 15th-century top to the High Street gate into the close, and on the chamber block and tower-porch, added by Bishop Beauchamp to the bishop's palace.¹⁵

15. RCHME, *Salisbury The Houses of the Close* (London 1993), pp. 45-6, 63-7.

As already noted, there is clear evidence that the tower was built at the same time as the outer wall of the south aisle. This wall contains pairs of four-light early Perpendicular windows on either side of the tower, and it is strange that no one has pointed out that the tracery of the windows, and the simple, chamfered rere-arches all suggest a date in the late 14th or early 15th century rather than in the later 15th century. Thus it seems very likely that the nave aisle walls and the north and south porches were also being built in the years around 1400.¹⁶ At about the same time, the north and south chantry chapels flanking the chancel were built, as well as the large pointed arches between the aisles and chapels which have simple chamfered mouldings. These arches have in the past been assigned various dates in the 13th or 14th century. The arch on the north is deformed considerably by differential settlement. The remains of the most westerly pier and the beginning of the first arch between the chancel and south chapel were uncovered in the last century. All the chapel windows have a similar fenestration, though the eastern chapel windows are of three lights, rather than four. An original c.1400 doorway into the south-west side of the south chapel was blocked up in the 19th century, and replaced by the present doorway two bays further east. Its eastern jamb is still visible externally, and the RCHME suggested that this doorway was at the south end of the south transept.¹⁷

By 1380 there were already 26 chaplains and 11 unbeneficed clergy attached to St Thomas's Church and, in the same year, there is the first mention of a chaplain celebrating daily for the souls of the King and of Robert Godmanstone and his family. A second chaplain was added the following year, and these men lived in lodgings 'next the churchyard'.¹⁸ At this time, therefore, the Godmanstone chantry had already been established in a chapel on the north side of the chancel. Many other chantries were also being established by the richer citizens at

this time, and by 1394 there were 14 chantry chaplains, as well as the parochial chaplains. Presentations of a chaplain to the chantry of St Bartholomew were made by the Dean and Chapter in 1404 and 1408, and in 1410 a chapel of St Stephen was mentioned in George Merriot's will.¹⁹ He left a set of scarlet ecclesiastical vestments to the altar of St Stephen in St Thomas's church, and also 'to the fabric of the chapel of St Stephen on the south side of St Thomas's church £10, provided it shall be faithfully begun, and fully constructed anew within 3 years of my death'. All this suggests that several chantries were being created in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. The new altars must have been in newly constructed north and south chapels, as well as at the east ends of the fine new side-aisles.

THE MID 15TH-CENTURY REBUILDING

In 1447 or early 1448 the chancel and part of a side chapel collapsed. The subsequent agreement made between the Dean and Chapter and parishioners on 4 June 1448 was particularly revealing.²⁰ The Dean and Chapter as rector of the church agreed:

to make the rofe of the said chancel after the lengthe and brede that was before in the length of the foresaid chancel fourty feete and four ynches. And in brede as those next the north. Wt. the pelers and arches according to the same length in the north side of the said chancel, wt. a cler story above the said aeles north wyndous acordyng to the south side of the said chancel whiche the said parishioners maketh at their cost. And the said chancel rofe made at the coste of the said dean and chapitr shall be covered with lede sufficienthe and in sech maner in brede that the south wall of the said chancel after the forsaid lengthe may be coverd and kept drie. The perpetual reparion of the which rofe afrt the forsaid length and brede

16. The north porch was unfortunately demolished in 1835, and an identical four-light window was inserted in its place. Only the stair-turret to the chamber over the porch, and to the roof, survives. Its original form can, however, be seen in John Lyon's fine 1745 plan of the church, and in the accompanying engraving of the church from the north-west, published at the front of H.J.F. Swayne (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Edmunds and St Thomas, Sarum 1463-1702*, Wilts Record Soc. (Salisbury 1896).

17. RCHME, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. lii.

18. *VCH VI, op. cit.* (note 2), p. 148; and *Cal. Pat Rolls*

1377-1381, pp. 561 and 596. Their lodging house was perhaps the neighbouring 15, Minster Street, for which see *WAM* 76 (1982), pp. 99-104.

19. *VCH VI, loc. cit.* (note 18), and Haskins, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 2.

20. Found on the 2nd folio of the Burgh Register (1447-1457) in the chapter archives. Unfortunately the middle part of the page has water staining on it, making certain passages very difficult to read. I am grateful to the archivist, Suzanne Eward, for allowing me access to the Register.

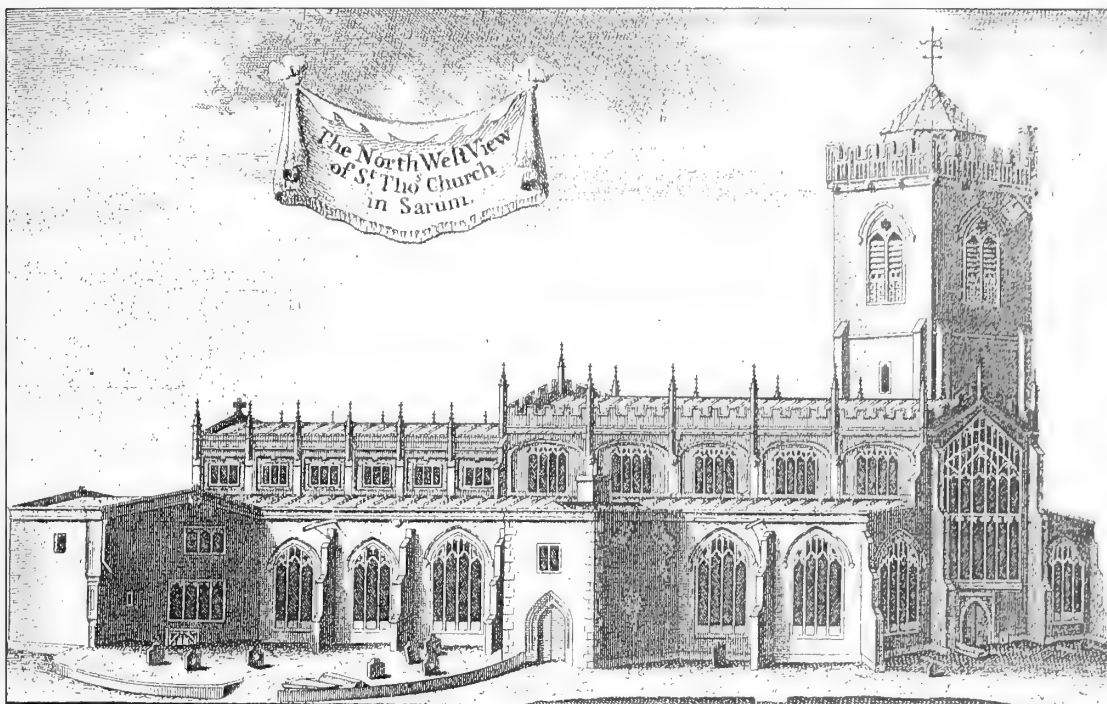
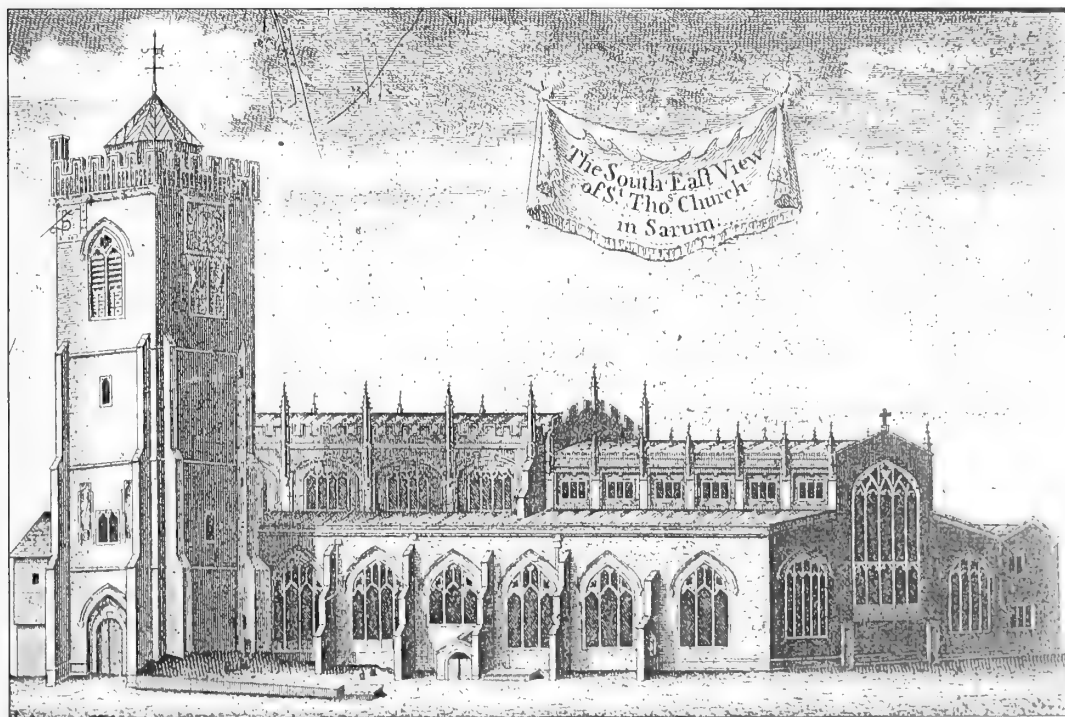


Figure 2. (Above) St Thomas's Church from the north-west; and Figure 3. (below) St Thomas's Church from the south-east. Engravings by T. Langley after John Lyons, 1745



with the reparation of the north wall of the same church after the same lengthe above mention shall belong and perteyne to the said dean and chapter to their successors for ever. And the reparation of all the remanent of all this said werke olde and newe with all maner shettyngg and clausure of the forsaid chancel wt. the making of the hie autre and alle that belangyth thereto shall lang and perteyne to the said paireseners and to thaire successors for ever.

Now forty feet four inches is only three-quarters of the length of the present chancel, and it is clear that the Dean and Chapter were only prepared to pay for this, the original, length of chancel to be rebuilt and reroofed as well as the pillars and arches on the north side and the clerestory wall above.

The rich parishioners, as the other party, agreed to pay for the lengthening eastwards of the church by nearly another 20 feet and to pay for the making of a new high altar and the new chapel roofs. They also agreed to pay for the upkeep of all this new work in the future, while the Dean and Chapter would only look after the chancel roof and north arcade. Both parties agreed to make their work match each other's, and this is confirmed by the surviving building where the north and south arcades and clerestories are the same. The only difference is that whereas the foliated capitals on the north side contain no other devices, those on the south have various marks to show who contributed to their cost.

On the western southern capital is the inscription

JHON NICHOL JOHN NICHOL JHON THE
FOUNDER OF THE PELER WT A PART OF THE
ARCHE AND JHNE THE WIF OF THE SEYDE
JOHN

The neighbouring capitals to the east have the initials and merchants' marks of William Lightfoot and John Wyot on them.²¹ Wyot was the mayor in 1447, while Lightfoot was mayor in 1451. William Lightfoot was also one of the twelve people who are named as parishioners in the agreement with the

Dean and Chapter. The others are: William Swayne, John a Port the elder, Robert Cove, William Knollis, John Halle, Stephen Hendry, Thomas Tempe, Walter Corryon, John Perchaunt, John Wynchester and Richard Haynes. Most of them were well-known citizens. Hendry was the leader of the tailors' guild, Perchaunt a goldsmith, and Winchester a leading barber-surgeon. John a Port was another wealthy merchant, who was mayor six times between 1446 and 1469, while William Swayne (mayor in 1444, 1454 and 1477) and John Halle (mayor 1450, 1456, 1464 and 1465) were two of the wealthiest merchants, soon to become bitter rivals and locked in an epic struggle (see below).²² All these men must have put up money to extend the church eastwards. The break between the two phases of work can be seen on the south side of the south chapel, where the easternmost bay (i.e. just beyond the last buttress) has a more elaborate moulded plinth, which also extends along the east wall. When the masonry was complete, elaborate new roofs, with carved angels on them, were put over the chancel and the two enlarged chapels. The chancel roof is supported on fine carved stone corbels of angels holding musical instruments.

The north chapel, which still contained the chantry for the Godmanstone and Hungerford families and was called the Trinity Chapel, had a new roof on it paid for by William Ludlow of Hill Deverill, a wealthy royal servant and butler to Kings Henry IV, V and VI.²³ His tomb, north of the high altar under the arcade between the chancel and north chapel, was destroyed in 1813.²⁴ The roof also has carved angels on it holding various coats of arms (Hungerford, Bouchier, Willoughby and Audley). This suggests that other wealthy people also paid for the work.

The southern chapel was extended 19 feet eastwards, and externally this is marked by a more elaborate moulded plinth in the easternmost bay, though the window above is similar to the earlier ones. The whole chapel and the fine roof were paid for by William Swayne; this is recorded on the ceiling in painted inscriptions on both sides of all the main tie-beams asking for prayers for the souls

21. *RCHME*, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 26.

22. For details of the careers of all these men, see R. Benson and H. Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum or Salisbury* (London 1843) and *VCH VI*, *op. cit.* (note 2). See also B.F. Collier, 'John Halle, Merchant and Mayor of Salisbury', *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assn.* 14 (1908), pp. 221-242.

23. *Tropenell Cart.*, ed. J. Davies (Devizes 1908), i. p. 274 and *VCH VI*, *op. cit.*, (note 2), p. 150.

24. Haskins, *op. cit.*, (note 1), p. 11.

of William Swayne, Crystian his wife, and James his father. The line of angels down the centre of the roof holds only the Swayne arms and merchant's mark, unlike the rest of the church's ceilings which contain a large number of coats of arms. There are also symbols of the Trinity, five wounds, and a pelican in her piety. It is known that the chapel contained two altars, to the Virgin and St John-the-Baptist. The latter altar was used for the Taylors' guild, and Swayne became the Taylors' patron during his mayoral year in 1444–45. After the collapse of the chancel in 1447, the Taylors obtained a licence to move the chantry to St Edmund's Church (the other large parish church on the north-east side of the city of Salisbury), but in 1448 they changed their minds, no doubt after Swayne had agreed to provide them with a new altar of St John-the-Baptist in his own chantry chapel. A new charter was then granted to them in 1449.²⁵ Oddly enough, Swayne's own licence to found a chantry at the chapel's neighbouring altar of Our Lady in the chapel for himself and his family, was not granted until 1468, and he did not apparently appoint the first chaplain there until 1472.²⁶ The decoration on the walls also does not seem to have been painted until the 1470s, as it contains the symbol of the Order of the Garter.

Richard Beauchamp, who helped Swayne to found his chantry, and build a house for the chantry priests (see below), did not become Bishop of Salisbury until October 1450, and 'master and surveyor' of the new royal chapel of St George's, Windsor until 1473.²⁷

It is also worth noting here that the two chapels on either side of the chancel of St Thomas's exactly mirror the two chantry chapels built on either side of the Trinity Chapel at Salisbury Cathedral at the same period. This was after the new shrine of the newly canonized St Osmund had been located there in 1457. On the north was the Hungerford chantry (built 1464–71), while on the south was Bishop Beauchamp's own magnificent chantry, where he was buried in 1481. It was apparently not founded until shortly before the bishop's death. Sadly both chapels at the cathedral were destroyed by James Wyatt in 1789.²⁸

THE NEW VESTRY AND CHANTRY HOUSE

On the north-east side of the church is a fine two-storied vestry building which was being built in 1465 as a house for William Swayne's chantry priests. In the great dispute which arose between Bishop Beauchamp and William Swayne on the one side, and John Halle and the citizens of Salisbury on the other, there is a record of Swayne who:

... by licence of the said now bishop upon certain ground of the said bishop did build under such service as they were accorded, for the worship and avail of his church, making the walls and chimnies of stone, upon the said ground, and when they were of a good height, certain evil disposed persons of the town, by purveying and maintenance of one John Hall, called Mayor, and Thomas Felde, citizen of the same, and others, by night time, riotously pulled down the said work and building to the great hurt of the said bishop, as well as of the evil riotous example.²⁹

This clearly refers to the new vestry building which was cut into the churchyard, with the bishop's permission, on the north-east side of the church. The irregular shape of the building is due to the already existing path around the outside of the churchyard, which is immediately to the north and east. It has a vaulted undercroft, which was used as a charnel house (now the boiler house),³⁰ with a two-storeyed building above. The main building could only be entered through a doorway from the north chapel, and its upper storey was reached by a spiral-stair in the north-west corner. The external doorway here was only made in the 19th century. Both storeys had fireplaces in the south wall and their main windows were on the east and west. The building still has its original shallow-pitched roof, and there is a large moulded plinth around the outside walls, which is the same as that around the east end of the church. Above the plinth there is a slight break in the rubble masonry between the east wall of the north chapel and the east wall of the vestry building, confirming that the vestry was

25. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

26. The licence is transcribed in full in an appendix to Dufty, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 152–4.

27. Though he was on occasions chaplain of the Order of the Garter from 1452. He was made chancellor of the order in 1475 and also Dean of Windsor in 1478. See S.L. Ollard, *Fasti Wyndesorienses* (Windsor 1950), p. 34.

28. H. de S. Shortt, *The Hungerford and Beauchamp Chantries*

(Salisbury 1970). See *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476–1485*, p. 276 for Bishop Beauchamp's chantry.

29. Benson and Hatcher, *op. cit.* (note 22), pp. 165–6, quoting Bishop Beauchamp's Black Book.

30. The 'skull house' was emptied in 1687. It was entered from a doorway on the west. See *RCHME* (note 3), p. 28 for a full description of the vestry building.

probably built about sixteen years after the north chapel, and possibly showing a rebuild after part of it was pulled down in 1465. The reason for this gap in time is unknown, but it may be because John Halle and his group opposed the building of the vestry, which was immediately south-east of the medieval council-house throughout the period.³¹ To build the new vestry, however, one bay on the north side of the old chapel would have had to have been removed and replaced by the new doorway into the vestry and the fireplaces and chimney flues. It is, therefore, possible that the vestry building was planned at an early stage of the rebuilding (i.e. 1449–50), as the eastern part of the north wall of the north chapel shows no sign of ever having had windows. There is one very small rectangular window in the upper wall of the chapel (now blocked) which looks from the upper vestry chamber into the north-east chapel.

Immediately west of the vestry, the earlier north wall of the north chapel still survives. It has the same three-light early Perpendicular windows as elsewhere, and its plain chamfered plinth contrasts with the moulded plinth around the vestry. Presumably the vestry building was finally finished (along with William Swayne's south chapel) in the mid 1470s, when the dispute with John Halle was finally settled. Bishop Beauchamp was very much in the ascendant after Edward IV had finally defeated Henry VI in 1471. It was at this time, for example, that the bishop was put in charge of the building of the new St George's Chapel at Windsor, where Edward IV started immediately to construct his own chantry chapel and place of burial. It is also worth noting that John Halle was never again to be mayor, while William Swayne was once again mayor in 1477 after a gap of 23 years.

REBUILDING THE NAVE

Rather strangely the final stage of the rebuilding work seems to be undocumented. There can be little doubt, however, that it took place in the late 15th century, soon after the eastern arm had been

rebuilt. The earlier arcades between the nave and aisles were entirely demolished, as was all of the upper west wall of the nave proper. In their place a new five-bay arcade was put in which was similar in its detailing to, but much larger than, the chancel arcade. Much more interesting, however, is that the upper walls of the nave were thinned right down above the arches, and given splendidly decorated panelled upper walls with blind arcading and a whole series of large clerestory windows. This use of thin-walling is very characteristic of the late Gothic period, and the effect can also be seen on the outside, above the aisle roofs. The tops of the nave walls are crowned externally by a crenellated parapet. There are no crenellations on the lower chancel parapet, but the upper walls around the square-headed three-light clerestory windows of the chancel have been thinned down externally at the window sill level. The profile was spoiled in the 19th-century restoration by the removal of all the finials from the nave and chancel parapets which capped the little pilasters between the bays. The finials can be seen in the vignettes on Lyon's 1745 plan. The west wall of the nave was almost entirely filled with a splendid large new seven-light transomed window, which appears externally to be taller than it is inside. This is because false upper lights are covered internally by the roof. Below the great west window is a fine new doorway which contains its original pair of wooden doors. Over the nave is a magnificent contemporary Angel roof that has been described as of Somerset type.³² The angels at the east end all carry the symbols of the passion. The carved wood still contains much of its original coloured decoration, and this has recently been exposed again in the eastern bay of the roof. The rest of the roof, painted brown, has yet to be cleaned. The aisle walls of c.1400 still survive (see above); they too are now covered by fine late 15th-century carved roofs, the ceilings of which also need cleaning. On them can be seen a large collection of small painted angels holding heraldic shields (32 on each roof), and these suggest a date in the 1470s or early 1480s.³³

31. See *RCHME* (note 3), 61, inventory number 38. The Council House was here from 1416 to 1584.

32. Pevsner, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 441. Nineteen of the original twenty large angels still survive.

33. One shield, for example, has the arms of Bourgchier impaling those of the see of Canterbury. Thomas Bourgchier was

Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454 to 1486. Benson and Hatcher, *op. cit.* (note 22), p. 288 suggest, however, that the arms were all repainted in the late 18th century, and are not accurate. This seems unlikely as the arms are mostly those of the later 15th century. Only careful cleaning and conservation will answer this for certain.

Perhaps the most famous painted decoration in the church is the great Last Judgement, or 'Doom', painting over the chancel arch. This was whitewashed over in 1593 and rediscovered in 1819. It was not uncovered until 1881 when it was restored.³⁴ Although it was cleaned in 1953, this great painting is now once again in need of conservation and removal of 19th-century overpainting. It was probably painted on the wall above the chancel arch in the late 15th century, soon after the rebuilding work was complete; at about the same time a new rood-screen and loft were no doubt inserted into the lower part of the chancel arch. The flat, plain faces below the arch of the chancel walls on either side, and the (now blocked) high-level doorway on the south into the rood-loft both suggest that all these features were planned together. A large Rood (crucifixion scene

with the Virgin Mary and St John below on either side) doubtless filled the centre of the chancel arch above the screen for the last half century before the Reformation.

All this rebuilding work between the late 14th and late 15th centuries demonstrates how wealthy Salisbury had become at the end of the Middle Ages.³⁵ As with so many other great churches of the period, it was the wealthy laymen of the town, and not the Church, who paid for all this work. In Salisbury, in particular, this can be contrasted with the magnificent new cathedral built on a colossal scale, *a fundamentis*, in the century or so before the Black Death. The building of a fine new parish church in the 15th century by its richest merchants, strongly reflects a new stage in the gradual process of emancipation from the control of the bishop that was not completed until after the Reformation.³⁶

34. For a detailed account of this painting, see A. Hollaender, 'Doom painting of St Thomas of Canterbury', *WAM* 50 (1944), pp. 351-70.

35. By c.1500 Salisbury was probably the seventh largest and richest town in England, P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford 1976), p. 9).

36. When the church, ironically, had to change its dedication from St Thomas of Canterbury to St Thomas the Apostle. For a full discussion of all the stages of municipal development, see F. Street, 'The Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury (New Sarum) Between 1225 and 1612', *WAM* 39 (1915), pp. 185-257 and 319-367.

North Wiltshire Demography 1676–1700

by I.L. WILLIAMS

It is difficult to calculate the population of a parish in England before the start of the decennial censuses in 1801. The historian must manipulate such partial lists of population as exist for earlier times. Two such lists from north Wiltshire are here compared to see what light they throw on the accuracy of the multipliers which are commonly used to calculate total population figures from partial lists.

In order to obtain realistic population estimates in English parishes before the introduction of the decennial censuses in 1801, the demographer has to search the nooks and crannies of historical documentation. The scattered and disparate lists of inhabitants that are found were rarely constructed as population counts, and often give the names or numbers of only the adults of the parish, only the males, or only the households. The demographer must then use various multipliers to turn these lists into figures which reflect the best possible estimate of population. It is only when two independent lists occur in the same area within a reasonable time that the validity of the multipliers can be checked. An attempt is made here to derive some useful population data for a group of parishes in north Wiltshire, using the figures available from two such lists. Although both are referred to as 'censuses', neither was drawn up with population counts in mind.

The undertaking known as the Compton Census was initiated in 1676 by Archbishop Seldon and Lord Treasurer Danby, with the object of proving to Charles II that the vast majority of the population of England and Wales supported the Anglican church. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, whose name has become attached to the document, was responsible for administering the survey. He sent instructions to the bishops that the parish clergy were to supply figures of how many communicants, popish recusants, and dissenters of any sect were resident in their parishes. The answers were collected by the archdeacons or the bishop, and

forwarded to Lambeth. The main source for the Census, as far as the Province of Canterbury is concerned, is a manuscript in the William Salt Library.¹ Wiltshire contains a large number of parishes which are ecclesiastical peculiars, particularly those of the Dean of Salisbury and the various prebends, and no records survive either nationally or locally for these parishes. In addition to the Salt MS, two local documents survive.² They are a rough copy and a fair copy of the incumbents' replies for the parishes within the Bishop of Sarum's ordinary and peculiar jurisdictions. The figures for communicants, recusants and dissenters in each parish are listed under the Archdeaconries of Sarum, (North) Wiltshire and Berkshire. In the fair copy, the figures given for the numbers of communicants are arrived at by subtracting the numbers of recusants and dissenters from the figures given for the total numbers of inhabitants in the rough copy. Although it is clear that the requirement was for the total numbers of adults to be returned, it is known that a number of incumbents returned the total population figures for their parishes, while others sent in only the numbers of adult males. In a few cases, including that of Wanborough, there is a marked discrepancy between the totals given in the rough and fair copies; and for a few parishes, even within the Bishop's jurisdictions, no returns appear to have been made.

In the published edition of the Compton Census,³ the editor makes extensive use of other 17th-century data, notably the ecclesiastical census of 1603, the

1. William Salt Library, Stafford, MS Salt 33.

2. Wiltshire Record Office (hereafter WRO), D1/27/1/4/66 and 68.

3. A. Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676, A Critical Edition* (London 1986).

Protestation Returns of 1641-42 and the Hearth Tax of the 1660s and 1670s, to check on the reliability of the given data. Unfortunately neither of the first two have survived for north Wiltshire, and the only Hearth Tax return for the whole county – that for Michaelmas 1662 – is not only much damaged, but was also made before the amendment requiring exempt persons to be listed had been promulgated.⁴ As the figure for exemptions can vary from less than 30% to more than 70%,⁵ such Hearth Tax figures as are available for Wiltshire cannot be used to derive population totals.

The legislation usually known as the 'Marriage Duty Act' was specifically designed to raise money for 'carrying on the war against France with vigour.'⁶ Families were to be charged on births, marriages and deaths, while widowers and bachelors over the age of 25 were to pay a yearly poll tax. The Act came into force on 1 May 1695, initially for five years, though it was later extended to 1706. Members of families who were receiving poor relief were exempt, though in their case the parish had to pay the tax on their burials but not the other taxes. The assessors appointed to collect the taxes in each area were required to draw up lists of all the persons living within their areas, and these lists had to be revised each year. There appears little doubt as to the accuracy of the lists. Since the assessors were paid commission on the taxes they collected, it would have been in their interests to make sure that the lists were complete. For a similar reason, because it was the amount of tax raised and not the numbers of inhabitants which generated their income from this source, they would have had no particular reason to exaggerate the numbers of people living in their areas. It is in any case much more difficult to add spurious names to lists of inhabitants, than it is to augment the numbers of a population. Had all the lists survived, virtually a complete census of population for the whole country would be available, over one hundred years earlier than the first national census in 1801.

Unfortunately the survival rate of the assessments is low. One group which has survived in Wiltshire, however, is that for the parishes in the hundred of

Kingsbridge and part of the hundred of Elstub and Everleigh.⁷ No lists survive earlier than 1697, and for some parishes the earliest list is that for 1700. Since all the lists were compiled within 25 years of the Compton Census, the two censuses can usefully be compared. Altogether sixteen sets of assessment lists are extant, but not all of them can be used for comparison. The figures for the Compton Census were compiled by parish, but several of the Marriage Duty assessors' lists either omit part of a parish, or list only individual tithings. The list for Lyneham appears complete, but the figures for that parish are missing from the Compton Census. Nine of the sixteen Marriage Duty assessment lists can be used to compare with the figures available from the Compton Census. All of these are dated 1697, except that for Hinton Parva, where the earliest surviving list is for 1700. The assessors' lists appear in various forms. The inhabitants of all of the parishes are listed by household, with the exception of Lydiard Tregoze and Tockenham.⁸ In these, all people with the same surname are listed in a continuous sequence. Some of them must be lists of separate households but others, for instance the 32 Woolfordes of Lydiard Tregoze, almost certainly represent more than one establishment. The list for Wanborough is somewhat ambiguous in this respect.⁹ Although the names appear to be given by household, there is no indication of where each household ends. It is thus difficult to be sure if some of the names at the end of each family, where there are a few people with different surnames, represent servants of the family or separate, single person households. However, the families themselves are clear enough, since each group indicates 'wife', 'son' or 'daughter' against each Christian name after the head of the household. The lists for Hinton and Wootton Bassett give only 'wife', and no other relationships, and that for Hinton is even less informative, since the children in each household are not named but only numbered.¹⁰

The Clyffe Pypard and Liddington assessment lists group the names into households but do not show any relationships within each group.¹¹ However, Clyffe Pypard is one of the three lists in

4. 15 Car. II c.13.

5. K. Schurer and T. Arkell (eds.), *Surveying the People* (Oxford, 1992), p. 33.

6. 6&7 W&M c.6.

7. WRO 212B/7202A.

8. WRO 212B/7202A/7 & 10.

9. WRO 212B/7202A/11.

10. WRO 212B/7202A/13 & 12.

11. WRO 212B/7202A/4 & 6.

which paupers, who did not have to pay the duties, are shown. At the end of the Liddington list is a note that: 'Henry Bistoll [was] fined for not doing his Duty as a Collector and an Assessor the summe of Twenty shillings; the said offences being proved upon Oath'. The Chisledon and Swindon lists are the most complete.¹² In both of them the names are divided into households, the children are named, and all relationships are given. In Chisledon some occupations are given, in that the lists are subdivided to group together 'the clerk and his family', the yeomen, husbandmen, labourers and their families, widows, widowers and bachelors, and 'those that receive collection' i.e. paupers. In the case of Swindon, the occupation or status of almost all the heads of households is shown. The last page of the Swindon list for 1697 is damaged, and the full names of some of the inhabitants cannot be read, but there is no doubt as to the actual number of names in the list.

The figures for the total numbers of inhabitants in each parish, compiled from the Marriage Duty assessments, together with the numbers of inhabitants (communicants + recusants + dissenters) from the Compton Census are shown in Table 1. Wanborough has been included twice, since the number given in the rough copy varies greatly from that given in the fair copy.

It is immediately apparent that most of the figures

show little correspondence, but this is exactly what would be expected. The question which was asked of the incumbents in 1676 was, actually or by implication, that they should record the numbers of those old enough to take communion, which would have excluded children under 16 years of age. Conversely, the Marriage Duty assessment lists would be expected, for the reasons already stated, to include the total population of the parish. The difference then, allowing for a small drift in population numbers in the 25 years intervening between the two sets of data, would represent the numbers of children excluded from the 1676 totals. This is where the assumptions made about the multipliers to be used in converting the data from the Compton Census figures to total population can be tested.

One common assumption is that one third of the population in the 17th century were children. This would mean that any figure which was thought to represent only the adult population would have to be multiplied by 1.5 to give the total population.¹³ Another school of thought would put the figure for the proportion of children at 40%,¹⁴ thus entailing the use of 1.67 as a multiplier. If either of these is correct, using them to increase the Compton Census figures should give close approximations to the figures from the Marriage Duty lists. These multipliers have been used to construct Table 2.

Table 1: Population figures (raw data)

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Compton Census (1676)</i>	<i>Marriage Duty assessment (1697)</i>
Chisledon	346	519
Clyffe Pypard	240	367
Hinton Parva	133	141 (1700)
Liddington	160	263
Lydiard Tregoze	140	340
Swindon	580	792
Tockenham	103	179
Wanborough (rough)	340	638
Wanborough (fair)	600	638
Wootton Bassett	613	1050

12. WRO 212B/7202A/2 & 9.

13. P. Clark and J. Hosking, *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550-1851* (rev. edn., Leicester 1993), p. v.

14. J. Patten, 'Population distribution in Norfolk and Suffolk during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geographers* 65 (1975), p. 59.

Table 2. Comparison of population figures using multipliers

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Compton Census</i>	<i>Compton × 1.5</i>	<i>Compton × 1.67</i>	<i>Marriage Duty</i>
Chisledon	346	519	577	519
Clyffe Pypard	240	360	400	367
Hinton Parva	133	199	221	141
Liddington	160	240	266	263
Lydiard Tregoze	140	210	233	340
Swindon	580	870	969	792
Tockenham	103	155	171	179
Wanborough (rough)	340	510	568	638
Wanborough (fair)	600	900	1000	638
Wootton Bassett	613	920	1021	1050

In the cases of Hinton Parva and the fair copy figure for Wanborough, the correspondence between the figures from the Compton Census and those from the Marriage Duty assessment lists is so close that it must be assumed that the incumbents had misunderstood their instructions, and had included the whole population in the figure they submitted to the Bishop. Both figures for Wanborough appear suspiciously rounded, and it may be assumed that someone in the Bishop's office realised that the first figure submitted was far too low and requested the incumbent to try again. The 'rough' figures must be very rough indeed, since they seem too high to represent the number of adult males, but too low for the total adult population.

The figures for five other parishes show a correspondence between one or other of the enhanced Compton Census figures, but the Marriage Duty assessment figures for Lydiard Tregoze and Swindon show no particular relationship to any of the figures derived from the Compton Census. If the differences between the Compton Census figures and those from the Marriage Duty assessment lists are due solely to the numbers of children in the particular parishes, then Swindon must have had fewer than 33% of children in its population, while Lydiard Tregoze must have had considerably more than 40%. The latter parish may have had more recusants or dissenters in its population than the incumbent was prepared to admit, but again by a considerable number. Had the

parish been such a hotbed of dissent or recusancy, this would surely have been known to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the day, and they would have soon spotted the inaccuracy of the incumbent's return. In a few parishes it is known that the incumbent returned only the number of adult males in answer to the question of the number of communicants in 1676. If this were so for Lydiard Tregoze, the total adult population would have been approximately double the figure submitted, and allowing for the proportion of children at 33% or 40%, the total population of the parish would be about 420 or 470, both of which figures far exceed that from the Marriage Duty assessment list. In the case of Swindon, it would almost seem that it was the assessor in 1697 who omitted some of the population, but this is at variance with the arguments for the list's accuracy already given, and the list for Swindon has been so carefully compiled in every other respect that this conjecture seems very unlikely.

There is another manipulation which may help elucidate these uncertainties. It has been suggested that an approximate figure for the population of a parish can be obtained by multiplying the average number of baptisms over a period by 30.¹⁵ Performing this calculation for the 1670s and 1690s results in the figures given in Table 3, which also includes all the other computed figures for the parishes of Swindon and Lydiard Tregoze (rounded to the nearest 10), together with the data from the Marriage Duty assessment lists.

15. W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (London 1959), p. 143.

Table 3. Computed population figures for two parishes
(with Marriage Duty assessment figures)

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Av. bapts (1670-9) × 30</i>	<i>Compton Census × 1.5</i>	<i>Compton Census × 1.67</i>	<i>Av. bpts (1690-9) × 30</i>	<i>Marriage Duty</i>
Lydiard Tregoze	340	210	230	360	340
Swindon	810	870	980	740	792

The trend for these two parishes which was noted in Table 2 becomes even more apparent in Table 3. The figures derived from the Compton Census are significantly lower in the case of Lydiard Tregoze, and significantly higher in the case of Swindon, than those derived from the baptism registers of the parishes. However, the population figures derived from the parish registers agree much more closely with those listed by the Marriage Duty assessors. It must be suspected that for these two parishes the incumbents reported quite the wrong population totals to the Bishop in 1676. Without any further data with which to compare these figures it is impossible to say why this should have been so.

From the nine parishes for which data have been used in these calculations, the tables show that for Hinton Parva and Wanborough the total population

has been counted in the Compton Census; for Chisledon and Clyffe Pypard the adults numbered about two thirds of the population; for Liddington, Tockenham and Wootton Bassett the adults comprised approximately 60% of the population, while for two parishes there appears to be no correlation at all between the population figures submitted to the Compton Census and figures available from other contemporary documents. Although the sample of nine parishes is perilously small, these calculations must lead to the conclusion that it is unwise to use any particular set of figures on their own to derive population totals for the late 17th century, and that any multiplier, however well founded on data from one part of the country, can only give an approximate indication of the likely population of any given parish in another part.

Education and the First World War in Wiltshire

by I.M. SLOCOMBE

The First World War had a significant impact on schools. Many teachers joined the armed forces, buildings were commandeered and stringent economies were made in public expenditure. Children made their contribution to the war effort and, in particular, boys were released from school at an early age to work on farms. Many of these aspects were controversial and hotly contested at the time. Yet, at the very height of the war, there began an intense debate about the future structure of education.

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on the impact of the Second World War on education. The mass evacuation of groups of children or even of whole schools, in particular, had a long-lasting effect on the education of a generation of children. The First World War, however, saw no such large scale evacuation although there was some limited movement away from large cities and many places did experience the arrival of refugees especially from Belgium. Even so, there was still a wide range of issues which impinged very significantly on education and on the running of schools.

The massive requirement for troops, first through volunteers and then by conscription, took many young male teachers out of the schools, diminished the supply of newly trained teachers and reduced the number of other professionals working in education. Buildings were commandeered by the army temporarily or permanently. Food was increasingly in short supply and this led to some of the first experiments in the provision of school meals. The need to increase agricultural production with a reduced workforce was partly met by the greater use of boy labour on farms. This proved to be the most hotly debated and longest running educational issue of the war. The rapid rise in the cost of living, together with the pressure on public expenditure, was a cause of considerable unrest amongst teachers over their salaries.

The First World War was marked by intense patriotism and what might now be considered to be an extreme propaganda campaign. Children, as much a part of this as adults, were encouraged to become involved in the war effort in a wide variety

of ways. Both world wars were characterised by debates over the future of education long before the wars were over. In the Second World War this led to the 1944 Education Act; similar plans for reconstruction during the First World War culminated in the 1918 Education Act.

MANPOWER

A crucial issue was the impact on schools of the recruitment of men to the armed services. The first stage of the war saw an enthusiastic rush to volunteer and teachers and other education staff were no exception. At the September 1914 meeting of the Wiltshire Education Committee it was reported that 27 staff had already been accepted for military service: 3 office staff from the Education Department, 18 teachers, 4 school attendance officers, 1 school cleaner and 1 assistant School Medical Officer. The Education Committee was immediately sympathetic to, and supportive of, such volunteers. It agreed to keep their posts open for them until their return and to count such service for salary increments. They would receive their normal pay subject to the deduction of their army or navy pay and allowances. This salary arrangement did not apply to officers for normally their army pay and allowances exceeded their teacher's salary. At first it was not difficult to make alternative staffing arrangements. Female temporary teachers were recruited or teachers transferred from one school to another. The impact on school attendance officers seems to have been greater perhaps because some had been recruited from the armed forces and were now recalled.¹

1. At Highworth the school cleaner, Mr Head, was replaced by his wife for the duration of the war on the same salary.

The first real crisis came in the school medical inspection service. By the end of November 1915 two doctors – Bembridge and Steele – had already left and another, Dr Cole, was about to leave. It was decided that it would not be possible to continue the regular formal inspection of all children or to keep the usual statistics on child health. Instead, the work of the school nurses would be developed so that they would visit each school once a month to identify any cases needing urgent attention. Inexplicably, a proposal to appoint a woman doctor to take part in the work of medical inspection was defeated at the Education Committee by 6 votes to 4.

Towards the end of 1915 the requirements of the armed forces became even more pressing as the initial rush to volunteer had tailed off. The recruitment drive was stepped up in the hope that conscription could be avoided, Lord Derby devising a scheme under which men of military age ‘attested’ their willingness to serve when called upon. There was increased national pressure on teachers to enlist. In October 1915 all teachers of military age received a letter from Mr Henderson, President of the Board of Education: ‘With the fullest sense of public responsibility I offer my colleagues my considered opinion that the need now paramount is the need for men of military capacity to augment and maintain the Forces of the Crown.’ The letter included an appeal from the King: ‘I ask you, men of all classes, to come forward voluntarily and take your share in the fight.’ The covering letter from Mr Pullinger, the Director of Education, was somewhat more circumspect and balanced:

Teachers of military age who are not on the starred list will before long be asked whether it is their intention to join H.M. Forces. They may desire to know the attitude of the Local Education Authority . . . The Committee honour those who at this time of severe national stress place their services at the disposal of the country; they will place no obstacle in the way of their enlistment. The whole responsibility of deciding what course it is right to follow must, however, rest with the teachers themselves.

Despite all these efforts, conscription could not be avoided and was introduced in 1916.

By the end of that year a very high proportion of

male teachers of military age had enlisted or had ‘attested’ under the Lord Derby scheme. The staff returns for Swindon over the early period of the war were as follows:

Table 1: Staff returns for Swindon

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>In Army</i>
Jan 1915	59	153	13
Sep 1915	50	166	24
Jan 1916	45	163	26
Sep 1916	42	169	29

Source: Swindon Education Committee Minutes.

By November 1916 only 23 men of military age remained in Swindon schools. One of these had been passed for general service but he had obtained conditional exemption. Their details are tabulated below.

Table 2: Swindon teachers of military age

Rejected by medical board as unfit:	12
Rejected by military authorities (1 very short stature, 1 chest measurement and defective knee):	2
Granted conditional exemption (1 passed for home service, 1 passed for general service):	2
Passed for Home Service by Medical Board:	4
Doubtful (2 rejected by family doctor as unfit for service and not called up, 1 examined by military doctor and placed on reserve list but not called up):	3
<i>Total</i>	23

Source: Letter, Swindon L.E.A. to Board of Education 28 November 1916.

A county report in June 1916 recorded that there were 102 Wiltshire male teachers aged between 18 and 41. Of these, 42 were already serving in H.M. Forces, 26 had attested under Lord Derby’s scheme, 32 held certificates of unfitness for military service and only 2 had not volunteered. One of these claimed he was unfit because of physical infirmity.

There was a similar response from the staff of the Education Department. By December 1915, all members of the clerical staff of military age had offered themselves for enlistment although 4 had been rejected for minor physical defects. Mr Miller (1st class clerk) had been given a commission in the 3/4th Wiltshire Regiment and had recently returned from India. Mr Inglis and Mr Brown (both 2nd class clerks) were also with the Wiltshire Regiment in Delhi and Poona. Mr Mattock and Mr Bunn had

very recently joined the 3rd Wiltshire Regiment, Mr Tinker was with the Royal Army Medical Corps in the Dardanelles and Mr Gaines was now Company Quartermaster Sergeant in the Army Service Corps in France.

In Swindon, the staff of schools which had been depleted were made up by the transfer of men from the Mixed schools to the Boys schools and these were replaced by women teachers. In June 1916 Swindon was still reporting that there was no general difficulty. There was a potential pool of married women teachers because, at that time, women teachers were required to resign their posts on marriage. The married women teachers Swindon recruited had previously taught in the same schools before marriage. It was not difficult to keep up the number of teachers and neither the discipline nor the morale of schools suffered in consequence.

Not everyone, however, was so confident about the ability of women teachers to cope with boys. Even Swindon, when it agreed to appoint assistant mistresses in boys schools, added the rider that where possible there should not be fewer than two mistresses attached to the staff at the same time. As late as 1917 when the County Education Committee instructed the managers of Bradford-on-Avon Parochial School to appoint a woman to take charge of the school in the absence of Mr White, Mrs Fuller, a County Councillor, asked 'if it were not a rather dangerous instruction to ask the managers to put a woman in charge of large boys in a rather undisciplined town like Bradford'.

Some staffing problems occurred, however, across the rest of the county and these became increasingly acute. In January 1915 the county had 91 vacancies and it proposed to appoint some additional female teachers to the unattached staff. Westbury C.E. Boys and Wilton Boys schools had been particularly hard hit. Westbury normally had a staff of the Head, one certificated and one uncertificated teacher. The Head was away ill, the certificated teacher was in the army and the uncertificated post was vacant. The school was being conducted by a superannuated teacher with two college students. At Wilton there were even greater problems. The assistant teacher enlisted in October 1914 and the Head left for military service in November. For the rest of the year the Head was replaced by teachers temporarily transferred from St Peter's School, Devizes which had closed because of a measles epidemic. On 18 January Mr Whalley Robinson took charge of the school but after three days the managers dispensed with his services,

finding that he was suffering from a nervous breakdown and unfit to take the responsibility of Headmaster. There was then a further succession of teachers transferred from other schools including a period with Miss Carr from the unattached staff. It was not until January 1916 that the problem was resolved with the appointment of Mr Rundle, with his wife as an assistant teacher; he stayed until his retirement in December 1919.

The lack of administrative staff also caused problems. In May 1916 the Chief Education Officer in Swindon was explaining to Wiltshire's Director of Education the reasons for the delay in obtaining information from the Technical Institute:

The Registrar is called up for military service and leaves on 9 June. 3 other of the clerical staff are serving with the army. The Vice-Principal and 5 of the teaching staff are also on military service. One other teacher is passed for military service. The art master has been certified fit for garrison duty abroad. One of the form masters resigned at the end of April and they have not yet been able to replace him. The substitutes are women and clerks with little or no previous experience.

The county's Director of Education was rather more subtle in drawing attention to his staffing problems. In one of his circulars to schools he added: 'In view of the depletion of the office staff owing to enlistment, it is requested that replies to the circular may be as definite and succinct as is consistent with precision.' The conscription of teachers was controversial, especially where it was impossible to get a suitable replacement. Applications for exemption were not considered by the local tribunal but were directly negotiated between the Board of Education and the War Office. At first there appeared to be considerable leniency in deciding such appeals but this had changed by early 1917 when the army's needs became more pressing. H.A.L. Fisher then addressed a circular to all teachers:

SURSUM CORDA. To my fellow teachers
Hitherto it has been possible to reserve for schools a certain number of men teachers of military age. But Germany is now conscripting the whole population. Therefore we now have

to give up more of the men remaining in our educational reserve.

The secondary schools were not slow in appealing to the Board of Education, especially when they were about to lose their science teachers. As early as January 1915 the Governors of Bradford-on-Avon Fitzmaurice School were considering the case of Mr Baker who had applied for a commission. The school had already lost Mr Breen and they wrote to the War Office to try to get Mr Baker's application withdrawn. This might have delayed his departure for a few months but he left in July 1915 to take up a commission with the Wessex Engineers. There was a longer saga over Mr Booker who had replaced Mr Baker. He had originally volunteered but had been rejected on medical grounds. In 1916, however, the medical requirements were made less stringent and in July he was made liable to be called up for garrison duty abroad. The Governors referred his case to the Board of Education. Nothing happened until October when he received a summons to report for military service. This time the Governors went to the District Recruiting Officer and managed to cancel the summons while the case was referred to the War Office. The medical requirements were further relaxed in February 1917 so that those in category B1, such as Mr Booker, could no longer have their call up postponed. The Governors then wrote to the Army Council to see if they could obtain the release from the army of a suitable man in a category below B1. They also appealed to the local tribunal for a postponement which was agreed until April 1917. No further delay could be achieved and Mr Booker then joined the army. For the rest of the year the Head was reporting on the impossibility of finding a suitable replacement and that he was having to undertake some of the science teaching himself.

The Governors of Chippenham School took similar action. One of their science teachers, Mr Rennison, had enlisted in the Public Schools Corps in January 1915. He served with distinction, becoming a Captain in the Lancashire Fusiliers and was awarded the Military Cross in 1916. The Governors were determined not to lose another science teacher, Mr Parry. Although he enlisted in January 1916 the Governors decided that all necessary steps should be taken to retain him. At first they obtained deferment for 10 groups but this took them only until the end of February. An appeal

was then made to the Board of Education who obtained further delay until the end of July but said they did not think they could make a case for permanent exemption. Like Mr Booker, Mr Parry was eventually called up in February 1917 under the new regulations for category B1. The school could not find a suitable replacement for him and eventually arranged for some of the existing teachers to work an extra two hours each a week to cover his duties. Quite unusually, the Governors agreed to pay those teachers a sum equal to 1½ times their present salary per hour.

The Salisbury Education Committee was also appealing for exemption for a teacher at St Martin's Boys School and for one of the school attendance officers: 'It is expedient in the national interest that he should instead of being employed in military service be engaged in the work in which he is habitually engaged.'

Even Swindon, which had reported no general difficulties, felt obliged to appeal in March 1916 over Mr William Young and Mr Arthur Dean of the Swindon and North Wilts Secondary School and Technical Institution. By that time all the masters except one who were eligible for military service had joined the army. They had only 5 masters left, all either over age or unfit for military service. Young and Dean were in group 2, i.e. fit only for home service clerical work. The Governors pleaded that 'the present position of these men is of more value in the national service than if they became army clerks.'

Teachers might also apply for exemption on personal rather than on educational grounds. If so, their case was heard by a local tribunal rather than referred to the Board of Education. In September 1916 the Wootton Bassett tribunal considered the appeal of Harold Hopcroft, aged 31, a teacher from Ashton Keynes who pleaded exemption on domestic grounds. The hearing was held in private but he was unsuccessful and was told that he would have to go on 1 October.

Staff at County Hall working on educational matters also did not qualify for the special procedure which applied to teachers. In November 1916 the County Treasurer appeared before the local tribunal to support the case of Frederick Cattle, aged 38, an assistant in his department. He had been passed for limited service, i.e. garrison duty abroad. The County Treasurer claimed that 90 per cent of his work dealt with the Education Committee's accounts. The Treasurer's department

had 11 staff but this included 6 girl clerks, a man of 71 and a youth of 18 awaiting call up. The only members of his original staff were Mr Warren (Chief Clerk), Cattle and a book-keeper who had been rejected for military service. The Chairman of the Tribunal remarked that 'if you take this man . . . it might involve the closing of the Education Department – whether that would be to the advantage of the county is another matter'. Despite misgivings, the tribunal accepted that the continued efficiency of the county was in the public interest and agreed to postpone Cattle's call up *sine die*.

With the end of the war in 1918 it might be expected that staffing problems would be rapidly resolved. Demobilisation, however, took time. Other occupations, particularly farming, had priority over teaching. Even before the end of the war some soldiers had been drafted on to farms in order to help solve their staffing problems. Perhaps the most ironic case was that of Mr Palmer, a teacher at Chippenham Ivy Lane school. He had enlisted in June 1917 but was very quickly drafted by the Army authorities into farm work and had been on his father's farm since that August. All this time the Education Committee was paying him the difference between his teacher's salary and his army pay. Yet in September 1918 the Ministry of National Service would still not sanction his release. Mr Palmer eventually returned to the school in February 1919.

The Education Committee pressed hard for the early release of teachers, passing a resolution in November 1918:

That in view of the very serious depletion of the Teaching Staff throughout the county, the Board of Education be asked to take immediate action with the object of securing the release of all teachers in Elementary and Secondary schools from army service at the earliest date consistent with Government plans for demobilisation, and that a list of teachers in the Army and Navy who are still on the staffs of the elementary and secondary schools of the County be forwarded to the Board of Education.

Early in 1919 the army was even trying to persuade

teachers to re-enlist in the Army Education Service. The Education Committee told its teachers that it would not stop them applying but reminded them that if they did so, they should not expect their civil salary to be made up as it was during the war.

There are no precise statistics to show exactly how many teachers in Wiltshire joined the army, how many were killed and how many actually returned to their previous teaching posts. Much of the evidence is circumstantial. The *Wiltshire Gazette* made reference in early 1915 to the first Wiltshire teacher to lose his life in the war. Keith Atlay was killed at Hill 60 by a hand-bomb. He had been a teacher at Melksham C.E. Boys School and his father was headmaster of Hilperton School. At Box C.E. Boys there was a happier story. Mr Bradfield had volunteered almost at the beginning of the war. He visited the school in January 1919 to relate some of his experiences whilst a prisoner of war in Bulgaria. He eventually returned to teach in March of that year.

There is rather more complete evidence in Swindon, which maintained 'salary books' listing those teachers who had joined the army with a record of their pay during their military service. The two surviving books cover enlistments between September 1914 and March 1917.² Some 48 names are recorded. Of these, two were killed in action and two died of wounds, 26 resumed their posts early in 1919 and eight left either through resignation or because their short-term teaching contracts had expired before the end of the war. The destination of the remaining ten is not recorded. Of the five members of the Swindon Education Department who had joined the army, one died of wounds and the other four resumed duty between February and June 1919.

The problem arising from existing teachers being called up was worsened by the decrease in the number of newly trained male teachers. The difficulties, however, seem to have occurred in specific schools rather than more generally and the secondary schools were harder hit than the elementary schools which always had a higher proportion of women teachers. Headships were more difficult to fill and there was concern that if permanent appointments were made during the war years, it would close opportunities for assistant teachers on their return from active service. Many

2. There is a reference to a third book but this is now missing.

Wiltshire teachers served with distinction in the army and there was general praise for those who, in the words of the President of the Wiltshire National Union of Teachers, 'had laid down the pen for the sword'.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

In July 1914 the Wiltshire Education Committee had approved in principle a new salary scale for teachers. One of its first decisions in September after the outbreak of war, however, was to postpone the introduction of the new scale indefinitely:

That, having regard to financial difficulties resulting from the war, and to the uncertainty which exists as to anticipated increases in education grants, minute 407 of 1914 be amended so as to provide that the date when the new scale of salaries shall come into operation shall not at present be definitely fixed.

As the war progressed, the cost of living rose sharply and the teachers' unions actively campaigned for an appropriate salary increase. They drew attention not only to the rise in prices but also to the impact of the heavy income tax. They maintained that their salaries were fixed and, unlike many other groups of workers, they could not augment their income by additional work and overtime payments.

In May 1915 the Education Committee recognised that the lowest paid had the greatest need. They therefore increased the salaries of supplementary and uncertificated teachers by £2 10s. a year. The salaries of uncertificated teachers then became £57 10s. minimum to £67 10s. maximum for men and £47 10s. minimum to £62 10s. maximum for women. Further pressure on the Education Committee led them in July 1915 to agree to new salary scales for Heads and certificated teachers, to apply from 1 October 1915. The cost would be £2,500 a year but the Committee had already set aside £4,000 to meet possible additional salary costs.

At various stages the possibility of a temporary salary increase for the duration of the war, a 'war bonus', was considered. This would have met some of the problems arising from the cost of living. It would not, however, have meant a permanent commitment for it was hoped that prices would decrease once the war was over. The Wiltshire

Education Committee discussed but rejected the idea in May 1915. The Salisbury and District branch of the N.U.T. demanded a war bonus of 20% on all salaries under £150 and 10% on salaries over £150. But when the Salisbury Education Committee considered this in 1916, they were advised by the Local Government Board that such a payment would be illegal:

Gratuities cannot be lawfully paid out of the rates. If the L.E.A. decide any increase in the salaries of their officers the payments made in this respect will come before the District Auditor.

Swindon, however, found a way round this. Following a petition from the Swindon Teachers' Association in August 1916, the Committee agreed to pay a war bonus from 1 June that year to some teachers for the period of the war. Assistant masters with a salary of under £160 a year would receive £7 10s. a year and assistant mistresses earning under £130 a year would receive £3 18s. A more elaborate scheme was introduced in December 1916 to continue until 6 months after the expiration of war. The new scheme was particularly interesting for it introduced a system of allowances for the families and dependants of teachers. Married assistant masters would receive £7 10s. a year plus £2 10s. for every child (up to a maximum of 3) under 14, provided the maximum salary with bonuses did not exceed £180. Other assistant teachers with one dependant wholly maintained by them would receive £7 10s. plus £2 10s. per dependant (up to a maximum of 3) provided this did not exceed the maximum of £180 for men and £130 for women. Assistant mistresses without dependants would receive £5, provided salary with bonuses did not exceed £70 a year. The Board of Education agreed to such an arrangement provided the duration of the scheme was amended to read 'to continue for such period as the Committee may determine'.

Significant changes in teachers' salaries had to wait until towards the end of the war. Swindon agreed new salary scales from April 1917 (see Table 3).

The County was still resisting any general increases in January 1917, telling the N.U.T. that it had to rely on government grants and these had not been increased during the war. New salary scales were eventually agreed in 1918 (Table 4).

Table 3: Swindon: salary scales from April 1917

School accommodation	£ p.a.
<i>Headmasters</i>	
A up to 250	220-260
B 251-450	240-280
C over 450	260-300
<i>Headmistresses</i>	
A up to 200	160-200
B 201-300	170-210
C 301-400	185-225
D over 400	200-240

After 5 years on max., increase of £10. After further 5 years, increase of £10.

Class teachers: Masters

£100-£200 with annual increments of £5 up to £140 and then £10. After 5 years on max., plus £10. After further 5 years, plus £10.

Class teachers: Mistresses

£90-£160 with annual increments of £5. After 5 years on max., plus £7 10s. After further 5 years, plus £7 10s.

Source: Swindon Education Committee Minutes, 24 May 1917.

Table 4: Wiltshire: salary scales 1918

Grade	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	£	Number	£	Number
A	140-240	83	125-200	229
B	165-275	56	145-220	27
C	185-300	6		

(A = average attendance up to 100; B = 100-199; C = over 200)

<i>Certificated assistant teachers</i>		
	£	Number
<i>Men</i>	100-220	45
<i>Women</i>	90-175	125

Source: *Wiltshire Gazette* 28 March 1918.

These later salary decisions were accompanied by discussions on the salary differential between men and women. In August 1917 the Wiltshire Education Committee debated a recommendation that for secondary teachers there should be a maximum of £250 for men and £190 for women. The Chairman, Archdeacon Bodington, confessed that he could think of no good reason for the difference in salaries. Mr Withy agreed: 'The women who were going to reach the maximum would . . . probably have declined an invitation to matrimony and were going to spend the rest of their

time in the teaching profession.' He added that it would be wrong to say that men should have more because most were married and had children to support; many single women supported members of their family or friends. It was also reported that at the conference a governor had said it was right to have equality of pay but the unmarried teacher, whether man or woman, should be taxed more heavily. Despite this somewhat enlightened discussion, the Education Committee shrank from putting its sentiments into practice and agreed only to extend the maximum for women by £10 to £200. The Swindon and District branch of the N.U.T. took a somewhat similar view. In May 1918 they passed a resolution:

That in the opinion of this Association the fact that equal pay for men and women would result in women being placed in a much higher social status than men of the same recognised qualifications and professional position, the salaries of men should exceed those of women until such time as the State shall make adequate financial provision for wifehood and motherhood.

BUILDINGS

During the war, the army had the power to commandeer buildings for its use. Schools were attractive for their large spaces and other facilities suited military purposes. With such a large army presence in Wiltshire, it might have been expected that many school buildings would have been taken over. But only a few schools were commandeered permanently and they were mainly used for short periods to billet troops of soldiers passing through the county.

The earliest and biggest fuss arose from the possible alternative use of a school, which never actually happened. The Governors of Calne Bentley school decided in August 1914 that they would be willing to lend the school building to the Red Cross as a hospital on receipt of 24 hours notice that it was required. This was on the understanding that the Orphanage premises would be available for use by the school. Lord Fitzmaurice, a Governor who had not been able to attend the meeting, complained loudly that there was no need for such a precipitate decision: 'The enemy is not at our gates; the Germans have not yet taken Devizes . . .'. He referred to a Board of Education circular which

expressed disapproval of the use of school buildings for hospitals unless 'immediate and pressing necessity exists'. The school was already in financial difficulties; such a disruption would make things worse, especially as the move to temporary premises would result in loss of grants. He considered it would be a long time before military hospitals would be needed in places like Calne. The wounded would first be treated in French and Belgian hospitals, then in hospitals near the ports of landing. If inland hospitals were subsequently needed, they would be used mainly for convalescents. It would be better to use the Calne Joint Isolation Hospital for infectious diseases which was often nearly empty. Two other Governors, Walter Hervey and A.M. Dunne, leapt to the defence of the governing body. They pointed out that the school had not been handed over to the Red Cross. Plans had simply been made to meet the eventuality of invasion or other such emergency. The Bentley building was not, in the end, required.

There is an early reference in October 1914 to the Ludgershall Infants school being taken over by the military and provision being made for the infants in the Mixed school. In Salisbury the army gave notice at the end of 1915 that they required the Wilton Road buildings of the Fisherton Anger school for the Army Pay Department. There followed long discussions about alternative premises for the school. The Congregational and Wesleyan Churches were first considered. They also examined the practicability of a 'shift system' at St Paul's Road school. Eventually it was decided that the boys would vacate St Paul's, leaving the senior girls to use the first floor and the infants the ground floor. All the boys were to move to Victoria Hall with 7 teachers and 7 classes separated by curtains. However, the Board of Education would agree to only 4 classes being in the Victoria Hall. The Congregational Hall was considered for the other classes but the furniture would have to be moved when the room was needed for other purposes. The City Hall was also considered, but it is unclear where the remaining classes were finally housed.

A large body of troops of the South Midland Division of the Territorial Army that arrived at Swindon on 9 August 1914 and stayed until 15 August were billeted in schools throughout the town. Another force belonging to the Royal Lancashire Territorials came on 21 August. There was considerable disruption, for most schools were due to resume for the autumn term on 10 August. A variety of buildings, mostly rooms attached to

nonconformist chapels, were pressed into use for the second half of August. These included the Friends Meeting House, the Christaldephian Church in Temple Street, the Congregational school in Sanford Street, the Wesleyan Chapel and schools in Percy Street, the Primitive Methodist Chapel and school in Rodbourne Road, St Paul's Mission in Dowling Street and Bishop's Auction Mart in the Liberal Hall. No alternative could be found for Jennings Street Mixed school and they had an extended holiday until 17 August. The infants were allowed to stay at the Church of England school but 'they were carefully protected from the rooms occupied by the troops'. At Holy Rood, the school was displaced from 10 to 14 August. Arrangements were made for the children to be taught in the church from 17 August but the troops left on Saturday 16 August. The Swindon and North Wilts Secondary school and the Sanford Street school were both used as hospitals for the troops during their stay in the town. By June 1915 the Swindon Education Committee could happily report that none of its schools or other buildings were in occupation for military purposes.

In other places the use of school buildings was more casual. Chippenham school allowed its playground to be used by the Civilian Reserve for drill on three nights a week. Later it was also used by the Volunteer Corps formed by the workmen of the Nestlé and Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Co. The Head of Westbury school reported in March 1915 that the girls had not attended cookery lessons since November, 'the room they used having been occupied by soldiers now stationed in the town'. At Trowbridge Adcroft the soldiers were using the school bath daily while at Bradford Fitzmaurice they were allowed to use the school gymnasium. A case of measles was discovered among the soldiers billeted at Great Bedwyn school and, as a result, the buildings had to be fumigated. At the end of the war the Education Committee was demanding that the military authorities fill up the well made by the soldiers in the school playground at Codford St Peter. It is not clear why and when the well was dug but the Committee was very anxious to disclaim all responsibility for it and for any accident that might occur.

During the war a number of voluntary organisations had purchased and erected wooden huts to be used by soldiers for recreational purposes at the temporary camps on Salisbury Plain. When the war ended, the temporary camps were dis-

banded and the voluntary organisations sold off their huts. Swindon bought a 'hutment' for £65 and erected it in the girls' playground at the Secondary and Technical Institution. It was to be used for the teaching of domestic subjects. The wooden huts with their characteristic verandah turn up at a number of other schools. The County Education Committee bought several. The ones at Trowbridge High School, known locally as the 'black huts' (Figure 1), and those at Bradford Fitzmaurice, the 'Gallipoli huts', continued in use until the 1970s.

CANADIANS AND BELGIANS

The First World War brought interesting visitors to Wiltshire from Canada and Belgium. A large contingent of Canadian troops arrived in the county in 1915. They were mostly camped on Salisbury Plain but at times were billeted in Devizes and the surrounding villages. In January 1915 the Education Committee approved the free use of the schools at Edington and East Coulston for Sunday services for Canadian troops provided the military authorities met the cost of fuel, light and cleaning. It is not clear why the schools rather than local churches needed to be used. Later in the year the Committee was making a claim of £6 for damages done by the

Canadians while they occupied the Pewsey cookery room.

The most heated issue, which was even raised in questions in the House of Commons, concerned the occupation of Dauntsey School by Canadian troops. The winter of 1914–15 was exceptionally severe and the Canadian troops on Salisbury Plain were suffering badly. The Dauntsey Governors agreed that they could use the school buildings from 1 January to 1 February 1915 even though this meant delaying the start of the new term by two weeks. Some 300 artillerymen had just been installed when, unfortunately, two inspectors from the Board of Education happened to arrive. They were affronted by the loss of two weeks' education which they considered more important than the comfort of the Canadians. They seem to have raised the matter at a high level in London and the next thing to happen was an order from the General commanding Southern Command that the Canadians had to leave the next day, 8 January. The Governors wrote at length to the *Wiltshire Gazette* to protest that the removal was none of their doing. Mr Peto, M.P. for East Wilts, raised the matter in the Commons in a question to the President of the Board of Education. The reply suggested that although no formal complaint had been made, the G.O.C. had become



Figure 1. The 'Black Huts' at Trowbridge High School (reproduction of a photograph, c. 1925)

aware of the matter. He realised that the occupation of the school had not been done through the proper channels or with the proper authority, hence his order to them to leave immediately. Local sympathy was obviously with the Canadians as the Editor of the *Wiltshire Gazette* commented: 'The official reply fully bears out the complaint over the highhanded and unpatriotic conduct of the officials of the Board of Education who went behind the backs of the Governors to the G.O.C.' The matter would not go away and even the Director of Education was implicated. He had sent a letter to the Governors asking why the Education Committee had not been consulted. He was censured by a local councillor, Mr Colston, for calling into question the action of the Governors especially as the Committee did not control the school. The Chairman defended the Director, pointing out that the Committee made an annual £100 grant to the school and that entitled them to be consulted.

But it was not just Canadians who arrived in the county. The fall of Belgium early in the war led to a flood of refugees, many of whom came to Wiltshire. Local committees were established to welcome them, to find accommodation and to raise funds. A large camp was established at Charlton Park by Lady Suffolk at her own expense. It provided for 50 refugees, 8 men and the rest women and children. There were 14 tents with boarded floors, a dining marquee, a kitchen with two ranges, and water was laid on. Refugees also became established in Swindon, Chippenham, Devizes, Corsham and a number of villages. At first the refugees were received with sympathy and a great deal of enthusiastic support. English classes were established at Chippenham school although the Education Committee expected these to be staffed by volunteers. Children were admitted to the local secondary schools free of charge. Two Belgian girls even appeared at Great Bedwyn school. The problem in Chippenham and Corsham about children who spoke only Flemish or French was partly overcome by the help of two adult Belgian refugees – M. de Grave, who had been a schoolmaster at a village near Dixmude, and M. Caluwaert, who had been invalided from the Belgian army but who in civilian life had been a Professor of French. But the initial sympathy tended to wane a little as problems arose. By August 1916 Chippenham school was concerned about a number of the Belgian students. The Governors considered that three students – Jules Rensis, Lucy

Calvaewaert and André Perhaghe – were quite ready to leave school and start their business life. After an interview with his parents, they allowed Perhaghe to stay for another year. There were worse problems with the two Wellens boys. The younger one had been cautioned several times for bad behaviour and suspended twice. He was not allowed to return to school although his older brother did so. In Swindon, special arrangements had been made for the Belgians at the Secondary and Technical Institute. The Governors were not sympathetic to this being a permanent arrangement and advocated a one-term intensive course in English so that the children could then attend the ordinary elementary schools.

PRICES, SUPPLIES AND ECONOMIES

At the beginning of the war, Britain relied heavily on imported goods. These became scarce as the German submarine campaign took its toll of merchant shipping and England's situation grew increasingly acute. Since priority had to be given to the military need for many types of materials, there were shortages and high prices and the cost of living rose rapidly. The cost of the war also put pressure on public expenditures leading to reductions in many services including education.

As early as November 1914 the Education Committee was reporting an increase of 5% on the price of all school supplies while the cost of chemical apparatus rose by 25%. Throughout the war further increases on the 1914 prices were regularly reported. By the end of 1918 paper costs had risen by 110% and 'catalogue goods' by 250%. Reductions started to come in 1919 but then only slowly; in March paper was still 85% above the 1914 price and catalogue goods 200% above.

For most people the rise in the cost of living came about mainly through the increased price of food and clothing. A report of the Parliamentary Committee on Working Classes Cost of Living showed that the weekly expenditure of a 'standard family' rose by 70% between 1914 and 1918. Details are tabulated in Table 5.

Various strategies had to be adopted to offset the shortage of certain materials. Most blackboard chalk had been imported from America. British chalk now had to be used instead although there was some question about its quality. The Governors of Marlborough Grammar school were much exercised

Table 5: Weekly expenditure per family

	1914		1918	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Food	24	11	47	3
Sundries	1	2	2	6
Fuel and light	2	4	4	2
Rent	6	7	6	9
Fares	0	10	1	0
Insurance	3	0	3	0
Clothing	5	6	10	9
Total	44	4	75	5

Source: *Parliamentary Committee – Report of Working Classes Cost of Living Committee 1918* (Cd.8980).

by a report that certain dyes were no longer obtainable and that the school cap would thus have to be of a slightly different shade! In June 1915 the Swindon Education Committee had the foresight to make arrangements to avoid a likely shortage of coal in the coming winter. They ordered 750 tons of coal to be delivered by 31 August and 120 tons of coke by 30 September. Five suppliers were used: Dawson & Co., Twining & Co., Arthur Day, Toomer & Co. and the Swindon Gas Co. The only problem was that the schools had nowhere to store such large quantities. The committee rejected the idea of using the covered playsheds and, instead, agreed to hire a yard and outbuildings in Princes Street for a year. Tidworth, in the middle of the Salisbury Plain military area, also had a problem over coal supplies in November 1914 arising from a lack of transport as the railway system in the area was extremely congested and only essential military supplies were getting through. At Chippenham Ivy Lane school a more personal problem came to light. Because of the high cost of clothes, many children were coming to school with leaky boots and wet feet. The Head had tried to persuade them to wear clogs but

‘prejudice and a false pride prevented the advice from being followed’. However, on 15 October 1918 he was happy to record:

This morning it is pleasing to note that the members of at least three families are wearing clogs for the first time. Their use does not add pleasure when children are crossing rooms, but the greater comfort of the children must be first.

In 1913–14 Wiltshire was already spending per child rather less than the average for all counties although Swindon’s expenditure was above the borough average. Details are set out below (Table 6).

Even so, some reduction in the expenditure on education was inevitable. A national conference in December 1915 including representatives of the Association of County Councils, the Association of Education Committees and the Teachers Unions had recognised this but wished that any reductions would be only for the duration of the war:

This Conference whilst of the opinion that the acceptance by educationalists of certain economies during the period of the war may be inevitable, emphatically declares that on the conclusion of the War, the status quo in the schools must be restored at the earliest possible moment.

Reductions were made on a number of items in the County’s education budget for 1915–16 and further cuts were made in 1916–17, as Table 7 on the following page shows.

Table 6: Expenditure per child 1913–4

	Loan charges		Teachers’ salaries		Other		Admin.		Other		Total	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wilts	1	10	60	1	12	3	3	9		5	78	4
County av.	7	8	55	4	14	0	4	3		10	82	1
Swindon	10	2	60	11	12	3	2	8		5	86	5
Borough av.	9	1	57	4	12	10	3	6		7	83	4

Source: *Elementary Education – Expenditure by L.E.A.s 1913–4* (Cd.7764).

Table 7: Wiltshire: reductions in education expenditure

	1915-16		1916-17	
	Reduction £	Estimate £	Reduction £	Estimate £
Repairs	314	1000	250	750
Furniture	450	400	100	300
Local purchases	70	100	20	80
Books, stationery	350	2800	nil	2800
Agric processes	25	150	150	nil
Prizes	15	nil	nil	nil
Teachers courses	100	nil	nil	nil
Evening schools	485	2500	500	2000
<i>Total:</i>	1809	6950	1020	5930

Source: Wiltshire Education Committee Minutes, 26 November 1915.

Other reductions were made in 1916-17. In the Education Department two 1st class and four 2nd class clerks had already been replaced by four women clerks and no further staff cuts could be made. However, the budget of £112 for travelling expenses was reduced by £12. Children under 5 (or under 4 in some cases) were not to be admitted to school if to do so would require extra teachers. It was estimated that this would save 25 teachers whose salaries would have cost £1,000. All ineffective modelling, cardboard work, woodwork, gardening, crayon work and painting was to be discontinued. The changes already made in the arrangements for medical inspections because of the shortage of doctors would save £707. Finally, the number of junior scholarships was to be reduced from 24 to 12.

Whenever savings have to be made, there always seems to be someone who produces a minor yet controversial item which hits the headlines. The Governors of Bradford Fitzmaurice school did just this when, as an economy measure, they proposed to stop painting the names of prize winners on the Honours Board. Lord Fitzmaurice wrote to say he understood the Governors wished to be prudent but this proposal was misguided. Successful candidates would be very disappointed and 'we have very few means of stirring emulation among our pupils in intellectual things and this is one of them'. The Governors accepted his offer to pay for the painting up of names at a cost of £3.

RELEASE OF CHILDREN FOR WORK

Of all the educational issues which arose during the First World War, the early release of children for employment, especially in agriculture, was the most controversial. Farmers were under increasing pressure to produce more food, especially grain, and to turn more land to arable. At the same time, the agricultural workforce was being depleted by men volunteering and later being conscripted into the army. In Wiltshire there was also the complaint that workers were being enticed away from the land to building work at the temporary army camps on Salisbury Plain by the higher wages on offer.

It was possible, subject to the L.E.A.'s approval, for children to leave school at 12 if they passed the 'labour examination' or at 13 without examination if they were going into agriculture. Children might also be granted leave of absence during the summer months to help with the harvest if they had passed Standard IV. The agricultural interest demanded that boys should be allowed to leave as of right at 12 (or some even argued at 11) without examination and without any other constraints. The educational organisations opposed this, arguing the overriding importance of education even in wartime. There was also the suspicion that the farmers were simply using this as a way of getting cheap child labour.

The local M.P., Mr Peto, strongly supported the farmers. In February 1915 he was asking the President of the Board of Education in the House of Commons to take steps to exempt from school attendance all boys over the age of 12 for

agricultural employment. The reply was that it was for the L.E.A. in the first instance to consider in each particular case whether there was a reasonable excuse for non-attendance. But it was not considered that a case had been made out for wholesale exemption of boys over 12; this would require major legislation which the government did not propose to introduce. The *Wiltshire Gazette* argued the farmers' case even more vehemently. Its editorial on 25 February 1915 made a scurrilous attack on the teachers. It maintained that the schoolmasters' newspapers were full of stories of teachers foaming at the mouth because a farmer had the loan of Tommy and Billy who, of course, were delighted to be amongst the horses and cows. 'But the narrow-souled little schoolmaster sitting at his desk looks at the vacant seats, thinks of his percentage of attendance (which has a distant relation to his salary) . . .'. Reference was then made to a letter from one, Adams, 'who apparently would rather that last year's crop had rotted in the fields and the fertile soil lie fallow this year than that one boy should be absent from his school roll'.

The argument continued to rage throughout 1915 and 1916 and even into 1917. Mr Peto was again speaking on the subject in the Commons in March 1915 while the various agricultural associations around the county were passing resolutions to the Education Committee. Early in 1916 the Devizes War Agriculture Sub-Committee supported by the South Wilts Chamber of Commerce debated a proposal to release all boys at 11 from May to September without the need to pass the Standard IV examination. The final proposal was amended to read 12 years rather than 11. The matter was then considered by the School Attendance Sub-Committee who were prepared to see boys released at age 11. At the full Education Committee this recommendation was proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Lord Bath. Mr Withy opposed it: Standard IV was a shockingly low level at which to let a boy go. The debate came at the end of a long meeting and by the time the vote was taken only a few members were left. The proposal was defeated.

At a national conference in January 1916 there was a heated exchange on the issue between the farmers and the farm workers who saw the employment of boy labour as an attempt by the farmers to depress wages. 'There was a passage of arms between the representative of the National Farmers' Union and one of the representatives of the Agricultural Labourers' Union with regard to

boy labour in which the labourer certainly did not come off second best.'

The Bishop of Salisbury also contributed to the debate in his address to the Salisbury Diocesan Synod in May 1916. Boy labour in agriculture should be opposed except under very strict circumstances. The labour market would need to be exhausted and the possibility of using female workers fully explored. If boys were employed, then an adequate wage should be offered and there should be proper supervision, physical and moral, of the children.

The issue was still active in March 1917 when the Somerset, Wiltshire and Dorset Farmers' Association passed a resolution on the subject. During the war all children over 12 should be allowed absence from school for agricultural work without first obtaining the labour certificate. Those of 11 years should be allowed release for milking night and morning.

In fact the Education Committee was not unsympathetic to the needs of agriculture. By October 1914 a large number of applications had been received for the release of boys to undertake various forms of labour. The Committee agreed to give the greatest latitude possible in the case of those who were to be employed in agriculture by farmers who had lost men owing to enlistment in the army. This was modified in October 1915 in response to a letter from the Board of Education so that the terms of employment were to be first considered before release for agriculture was agreed. A significant extension came in March 1916 when it was agreed to allow girls over 13, and in very exceptional circumstances over 12, to be absent from school, full-time or part-time, to enable their mothers to undertake agricultural work. These decisions were rescinded in January 1919 soon after the end of the war.

The Education Committee demanded regular reports on the number of children released for agriculture. A running total was given until December 1917, then a new base line of 1 April 1917 was adopted for subsequent figures. Altogether it seems that during the course of the war 1,155 boys and 76 girls were released early. Details are tabulated in Table 8.

The number of children released in Wiltshire seems to have been lower than that in some neighbouring counties. A parliamentary report gave the number of children released for agriculture on 16 October 1916 (Table 9).

Table 8: Number of children released for work

	Boys		Girls	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>No. now exempt</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>No. now exempt</i>
to 30 April 1915	224			
30 Jun 1915	352	110		
30 Nov 1915	518	262		
29 Feb 1916	579	369		
30 Jun 1916	714	505	23	
31 Aug 1916	757	570	36	4
30 Sep 1916	773	631	37	6
31 Dec 1916	834	686	39	24
31 Mar 1917	918	765	39	32
30 Apr 1917	945	786	49	32
31 May 1917	976	838	55	35
30 Jun 1917	1014	862	64	38
31 Aug 1917	1064	943	69	49
30 Sep 1917	1077	997	71	57
31 Oct 1917	1088	1012	71	59
30 Nov 1917	1091	1043	71	61
31 Dec 1917	1091	1054	72	67
1 Apr 1917 to				
31 Jan 1918	175	152	33	31
28 Feb 1918	175	154	33	31
30 Mar 1918	183	160	34	31
30 Apr 1918	190	179	34	32
31 May 1918	193	179	35	32
30 Jun 1918	208	185	36	33
31 Aug 1918	231	210	36	33
30 Sep 1918	231	212	37	34
31 Oct 1918	235	228	37	34
31 Dec 1918	237	232	37	36

Source: Wiltshire Education Committee Minutes.

Table 9: No. of children released on 16 October 1916

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Dorset	301	3	304
Somerset	455	33	488
Wiltshire	160	18	178
Worcester	544	110	654

Source: *Returns of Number of Children Excused from School for Employment in Agriculture* (Cd.8171).

Although agriculture was the main issue, release for other types of employment did arise. In October 1915 the Education Committee received a letter from Messrs Hindley and Sons, Engineers of

Bourton, asking for the release of boys from school to assist in the manufacture of munitions. In Devizes there was a lack of errand boys. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce the President, Mr Matthews, deplored the scarcity of boy labour and the consequent 'poaching' between employers. He argued that lads were greatly needed. The needs of the country should come first; men were called up and the same should apply to boys. Mr Eden, Head of the Secondary school, was also at the meeting and responded that he would deplore the removal of children from school earlier than they left at present. Release would be for the benefit of the traders rather than of the nation. Other abuses

can be deduced from a letter from the Central Committee of Women's Employment about the use of school children to make clothes in the present emergency. It strongly deprecated the employment of unpaid labour on work of a kind which should be done through the ordinary trade channels.

An acrimonious dispute arose in Swindon over a request for the release from school of a number of Boy Scouts. In November 1915 Mr W. Bird, Acting Secretary of the Wiltshire Boy Scouts, wrote to the Swindon Chief Education Officer to explain that Wiltshire Boy Scouts were undertaking coast watching duties along a stretch of the Cornish coast. He needed eight more boys from Swindon and his list of those suitable included three who were in the 2nd or 3rd year of secondary school. He asked if these three boys might be released for a period of three months. The C.E.O., having consulted the Chairman of the Education Committee, refused the application because it would interfere too much with the boys' school work. An indignant response came from Bird. The whole of the patrolling of the coast of England was now being done by thousands of Boy Scouts with a few fishermen. While on patrol, the Swindon boys had already spotted and reported on dozens of foreign boats. At the beginning of the war he had a troop of 90 scouts; now 34 were in the army and 4 in the navy. Some 31 boys between the ages of 15 and 17 had been supplied for coast watching in Cornwall. But one Cornish patrol was four short, another was two short and the other, one short. The C.E.O., Mr Seaton, was still adamant: 'I should hesitate to believe that the country is in such a condition as to need school boys for its defence yet.' He would be prepared, however, to put the matter to the Committee if the parents wrote formally to request leave of absence. He pointed out that if the boys were absent for so long, they would have missed so much of their work as to make their return to school not worthwhile. Two sets of parents then wrote to the C.E.O. and one to the Head, Mr Bavin. The Head was implacably opposed to the boys' release. The parents had written '... you will I feel sure agree that any assistance, however small, which we or our children can render to our country at the present time should be given and will doubtless be appreciated'. Mr Bavin wrote a note in red ink in the margin: 'I do not think England ought to exploit her children either on the coast or in factories.' In his letter to the C.E.O. he also added: 'I have seen so many cases of withdrawals on specious pleas and

then in a few months time have found the lads slipped into the works.' The matter was duly referred to the Education Committee who turned down the request. Mr Bird fired the final shot: 'The decision appears to me to be unjustifiable under present circumstances.'

Regardless of any high level policies, a variety of practices could be found locally. At Ashton Keynes the Head was deploring the fact that boys were being employed by farmers before school hours so that in many cases the children came to school quite unfit for work. In June 1915 at Bowerchalke, ten boys were away haymaking without permission while at Ramsbury several girls were away as usual in September to go gleaning. The most unusual absence was at Castle Combe where a 9-year-old boy was kept away by Mr Eels, the village carpenter, to help with the making of a coffin. No man was available, all having enlisted.

THE SCHOOL DAY AND HOLIDAYS

The government's concern about food production led to measures to make best use of daylight hours and to try to order the school day and holidays to allow pupils and teachers to help with agricultural work. British Summer Time was introduced in 1916. Because of the concern about the possible effects on children, a questionnaire was sent to all authorities in December 1916 to seek their opinion on the experiment. Salisbury and Swindon were unanimous in their support of B.S.T. and saw mostly benefits for children (see Table 10).

Following these returns, the Board of Education was still worried about some children not getting enough sleep. A circular was sent to all schools in April 1917 asking that the attention of parents be drawn to this and that teachers should report all cases of children showing symptoms of lack of sleep to the Care Committees.

School holidays were changed with shorter breaks during the year in order to allow a longer holiday at harvest time. In 1916 the Prime Minister urged that in the national interest the Whitsun holiday be postponed throughout the country. The Board of Education supported this and hoped that L.E.A.s would also do so. Salisbury, however, would have none of this: 'Resolved on a motion of Mr Shepherd seconded by Mr Harrison that the Whitsuntide holidays in the public elementary schools should be given as usual'.

School hours were changed in many places. In the

Table 10: Comments on education and B.S.T.

	<i>Salisbury</i>	<i>Swindon</i>
1. General impact on children's education	As a whole, beneficial	Good in all respects
2. Effect on attendance	None	None – except for very youngest at first
3. Effect on health	None	–
a) Any interference with sleep	Not to any appreciable extent	Yes
b) Any extra outdoor pursuits and recreation	Yes, very generally	Yes
4. Any inconvenience to parents	No	No
5. Any special advantages or difficulties	No	Not to any appreciable extent. In some cases, esp. the very young, children did not get enough sleep.
6. Renewed in 1917	Yes 1 April to 1 October	Yes 1 April to mid October

Source: Salisbury Education Committee Minutes, 11 December 1916; Swindon Education Committee Minutes, 12 December 1916.

elementary schools they had normally been 9 a.m. to 12 noon and 1.30 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. The Education Committee suggested that schools might start half an hour or one hour earlier and close at 2.30 p.m. or 3.00 p.m. This would allow teachers and older boys to help with agricultural work after school.

FEEDING OF CHILDREN

It was always likely that there would be food shortages if the war went on for any length of time. The growing successes of the German submarine onslaught made this threat all the more real. At one stage England came within six weeks of being starved out. In September 1914 the Education Committee appointed a Central School Canteen Committee so that it would be in a position to deal with possible exceptional distress amongst school children. In the event, it was 1917 before food shortages became acute. By that time the German submarine campaign was taking its toll of merchant shipping and replacements were not forthcoming because of the need to give priority to naval vessels.

Most of the country's wheat had been imported

from America and Canada so the supply of bread, then the staple food item, was a particular problem. A 'standard loaf' made of soya and potato flour was introduced in 1916 although the Head of Castle Combe school maintained that their local bread was made of maize, oats, rice, barley and a little wheat flour. She became concerned in May 1917 when she found that at the regular weighing of children they were ½ lb to 1 lb lighter than when last weighed in November. She blamed this on the bread which she thought lacked nourishment. The heavy reliance on bread was shown in a survey undertaken at Tidworth C.E. school. Of the 84 children at the school, 18 brought sandwiches for dinner.³ Of the 66 who went home, 34 had bread for dinner.

The seriousness of the food situation was the occasion for the issue of a Royal Proclamation in May 1917 exhorting the people to 'practise the greatest economy and frugality in the use of every species of grain'. They were asked to reduce the consumption of bread by a quarter, abstain from using flour in pastry and reducing or abandoning its use in all other articles other than bread. A Royal Proclamation was treated with the greatest importance and solemnity. At Devizes it was formally read at a ceremony in the Market Square

3. Of these, 4 had bread with jam, 5 simply with margarine, 2 with treacle, 5 with cheese and 2 with meat.

attended by the Mayor and Corporation, the magistrates and a large audience which included 780 children from all the local schools except those which had been closed because of an epidemic of measles. Lord Roundway spoke:

Our present perilous position is due to our past policy of discouraging the growing of corn in this country in the belief that British agriculture did not matter so long as we could import abundant food from abroad. It was thought that our Navy could always see us through.

Some 3 million acres of land were being brought under the plough, including 85,000 acres in Wiltshire, but the country could hope for only 12 weeks' supply from the coming harvest. The Education Committee recognised that it was now necessary to implement its scheme for feeding children. Its objectives were fourfold. First, children should receive really nourishing food at minimum cost. Secondly, bread and other foods, for which a shortage was feared, should be saved. Waste should be prevented, and fuel and labour saved.

In May 1917 the Committee sent out details of its scheme to all schools. Local and District School Canteen Committees, including representatives of the staff of each secondary and elementary school, were to be established in every town and village with populations of more than 1000. The committees should work on the assumption that 50 per cent of children would need a midday meal and they should be ready to start feeding children at a week's notice. A suitable person should be appointed to buy food and to undertake the cooking, although it was hoped that there would be voluntary help. The Canteen Committee would prescribe menus and the charges to be made.

A pilot scheme involving 50 children was carried out at Mildenhall and a full report on its first two weeks in operation was presented to the Education Committee in June. The meals were provided at Glebe Farm House which had a large stove in the kitchen and a copper in the scullery for soups and boiled puddings. The Canteen Committee provided the cooking utensils but each child had to bring a plate, bowl, mug and spoon and fork. Two assistants were employed: one to light the fire and wash the

rooms at 9d. a day, the other to help cook, wash up and prepare vegetables at 1s. 6d. a day. Some of the older girls also helped. For the first week only one course was provided but a pudding was added in the second.⁴ The menus are set out below.

Table 11: School meals: daily menus

Week 1	Savoury meat and vegetable pudding Rice and date pudding, oatmeal biscuits Meat and vegetable stew, dumplings Liver hot pot, greens Scotch broth, flaked maize balls
Week 2	Savoury rice, gravy, baked potatoes. Rhubarb and custard Cornish pasties. Rhubarb mould with custard Treacle pudding, rice and dates, biscuits and cheese Cottage pie of lentils, etc. Flaked maize pudding Pease soup. Barley kernels pudding

Source: Wiltshire Education Committee Minutes, 29 June 1917.

One of the important aims was to restrict the use of wheat and other cereals. The total weight of cereals used over the two weeks was also calculated (Table 12).

Table 12: Mildenhall pilot scheme: total weight of cereals used over 2 weeks

	lb.	oz.
Wheat	19	4
Barley	9	4
Oatmeal	6	12
Maize	12	8
Rice	12	0
Total:	59	12

Some children said they disliked rhubarb and, more surprisingly, custard, which they had not tasted before. Some disliked the flaked maize pudding, which was also new to them.

Some schools gave children lessons on food economy and how to manage. Chippenham Ivy Lane tried to impress on Standard 4 and above the importance of self-rationing during the submarine blockade. They were interested but disquieted to find that although the suggested quantities of sugar and meat were not as a rule exceeded, bread was still unlimited in quantity in a large number of families.

4. The unit cost of meals was 2½d. in the first week and 2¼d. in the second week.

CHILDREN AND THE WAR EFFORT

One dimension of the Great War that is perhaps often overlooked is the contribution made by children. They helped towards the war effort through the collection of materials, donations and gifts. In 1917 the Board of Education and the Board of Agriculture encouraged schools to pick blackberries to make jam for the army and navy. There was an enthusiastic response and prodigious amounts were collected in Wiltshire. In 1917 some 15,315 lbs were collected by 172 schools. The children were paid 1½d. a lb and the Heads and centre agents received ½d. a lb. In 1918 the total amount was even greater – 88 tons 4 cwt 17½ lb. The 280 schools involved earned £2467 5s. 3d. The county centre was paid £529 4s. 0d. (at £6 a ton) by the Ministry of Food. Of this, £307 13s. 1d. went to the Heads. Of the balance of £154 17s. 6d., after clerical expenses had been deducted, £50 was given to the organiser, Mr Corbett, and the remainder went to the County Library Fund. Ashton Keynes school had a series of half-holidays in September/October 1917 and gathered huge amounts of blackberries. The amounts collected were:

20 September	188 lb
24 September	192 lb
27 September	282 lb
4 October	355 lb
10 October	325 lb
17 October	181 lb
18 October	192 lb

In contrast, Tidworth school decided it could not take part in the blackberry campaign. The vicinity was unsafe because of the firing at the ranges and also because airmen practised dropping bombs there.

The next most important collection was of acorns, horse chestnuts and fir cones. Cordite was the main explosive used by the army. Acetone was needed as a solvent in its preparation but the main source had been Germany. It was found that a substitute could be obtained by dry distillation of various plant materials. Originally grain had been used but when supplies became short, priority had to be given to human consumption. It was then discovered that horse chestnuts, acorns and fir cones could be used instead of grain. It was reckoned that one ton of horse chestnuts would save

half a ton of grain. Again, school children played the major part in the collection of these items and huge quantities were obtained. During the autumn of 1917 some 287 schools collected 110 tons of horse chestnuts. Not all was well, however, for it was reported that not all the chestnuts were being collected by the Ministry of Munitions. Many children were disappointed that their efforts were being wasted. Large quantities of acorns were also collected. Castle Combe school, for example, collected 84 bushels in November 1917 alone. These were packed in 34 sacks and taken to Chippenham railway station for dispatch to the Cordite Factory at Holton Heath, Dorset. There were problems, however, for the minimum quantity which could be sent was 50 bushels. Keeping such an amount for any time meant a risk of the acorns going mouldy. The boys had to spend half an hour each morning turning the acorns over on the classroom floor. In February 1918 the 'First Class' scholars of Alderbury school, accompanied by the assistant mistresses, visited the government sawmills to pick fir cones.

Before 1914 Germany had developed and marketed many of the leading drugs and standard medicines. As those supplies dried up, alternatives derived from local plants were developed. The Head of Castle Combe school, a keen botanist, encouraged her charges to collect a wide variety of local plants and herbs: dandelion, lesser celandine, anemone, clyder (goosegrass) and ground ivy, comfrey, bittersweet or woody nightshade, agrimony, tansy, scabious, hart's tongue fern, mouseear, self-heal and yarrow. All these were sent to a depot at Sutton Benger and were used to make medicines. The children of Castle Combe received £4 8s. 3d. for the plants they had collected. The top boy, Gilbert Smith, received 8s. 8d. As he had already received 14s. for collecting acorns, he was doing quite well. Some schools donated eggs to local military hospitals. Bradford-on-Avon Christchurch school was particularly keen on this and between 21 July and the end of November 1916 sent 1,027 eggs to the Wounded Soldiers Fund.

Money was collected for a number of good causes. Ramsbury Girls School made donations to the Red Cross Society, Queen Mary's Fund, Empire Overseas Club for Comforts for Soldiers, French Relief Fund, Soldiers Christmas Fund and the fund to send cigarettes to the men at the Front (see Figure 2). The children of Bradford-on-Avon Christchurch school made gifts to, amongst others,

the fund for British Prisoners in Germany. In July 1915 they also gave up their annual sports and treat, donating the £14 which it would have cost to the Belgian Relief Fund. In February 1917 the Head and some boys cleared a stretch of ice on the canal so that skating was possible. They collected £2 4s. 10½d. of which 1 guinea went to the Red Cross Hospital in Trowbridge and 1 guinea to the National Egg Fund. Some schools made gifts of clothes and medical supplies. All Cannings children subscribed 1d. or ½d. a month and brought 6 dozen penny boxes of Vaseline and, later, some boric lint for the Red Cross. The County school at Chippenham spent £1 on buying wool which the girls knitted into helmets and mittens for the school's old boys on active service. The senior pupils at Bradford-on-Avon Fitzmaurice adopted a ward at the Red Cross hospital at Avoncliff and helped to furnish it by making lockers and other equipment.

The most emotional appeal was by the Navy League for the Jack Cornwell Memorial. Their booklet related the story of John Travers Cornwell, a 16½-year-old boy (1st class) on *H.M.S. Chester*, who was mortally wounded early in the Battle of Jutland but who 'nevertheless remained standing alone at a most exposed part quietly awaiting orders till the end of the action'. The aim was to get every child to subscribe a penny to endow a ward for disabled sailors and marines in the Star and Garter home at Richmond (see Figure 3).

But the gifts were not all one way. In November 1914 Swindon received Christmas gifts from the United States. These were mainly warm clothing for children made orphans by the war but there were also other gifts for the children of non-commissioned officers and men at the front and of sailors on active service.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON CHILDREN

Children in Wiltshire could hardly escape the impact of war on their daily school life. Unlike the Second World War, there was not the horror of enemy bombing or the upheavals caused by mass evacuation. Even so, there were constant reminders of the consequences of the war and children were part of the intense patriotic fervour which formed the background to the war.

Children heard of what was happening in the military campaigns through visits from old boys or teachers. At Bromham Mr Wood, a student teacher

before joining the Lancashire Fusiliers, visited in January 1918 and gave the children an account of trench life in Flanders. The Head remarked: 'The children quite enjoyed it!' Military service took some old boys to more far-flung parts of the world. The students at Trowbridge Adcroft listened to stories of the campaign with General Botha from Lt Pym of the South African Field Force, while Petty Officer Reynolds told of his experiences in charge of an airship over Salonika. In Salisbury there was great acclaim for Lt Tom Adlam who had been awarded the Victoria Cross. He had been a pupil at St Martin's school from 1899 to 1906. There was a civic reception, the school was given a half-holiday and his wife agreed to return to the school at a later date to receive an enlarged portrait of her husband.

The tragedy of war, however, was never far away. Frequently the news came of the death of an old boy or a prominent member of the village or even in a child's own family. At Ashton Keynes the children were released early from school one afternoon to attend a military funeral. Such occasions were even more common at Tidworth because of its military garrison. The sight of six funerals in one afternoon in November 1918 'gave rise to anxiety on the part of parents for their children' who were kept away from school for the day. The small village of Castle Combe witnessed a succession of tragedies. In October 1915 a pupil was painting a beautiful 'Wilts badge' on white silk to be fixed to a wreath for Private Kent who had died from wounds received in France. It then became a custom for the children to decorate wreaths for all local military funerals. On 13 July 1916 the Head recorded that it was a sad week for the school; news had just been received of the death in France of Harry, the son of Mr Melsom, and another old scholar, Stanley James, had had his face badly injured. Even worse was to follow for the Head was asked during a school recreation time to give the very sad news to Ethel Purbrick aged 11 that her father had been killed while serving with the 2nd Wiltshire Regiment in France. He left a widow and four children.

There were often soldiers to be seen either passing through or billeted locally. They always formed an attraction to children such as the six at Bowerchalke who stayed away to see a battalion of infantry in a field in the village. Aircraft were a much rarer sight. Many schools had taken out an insurance policy against damage by foreign aircraft. In Swindon they devised an air raid warning system of six blasts on the hooter of the Great Western

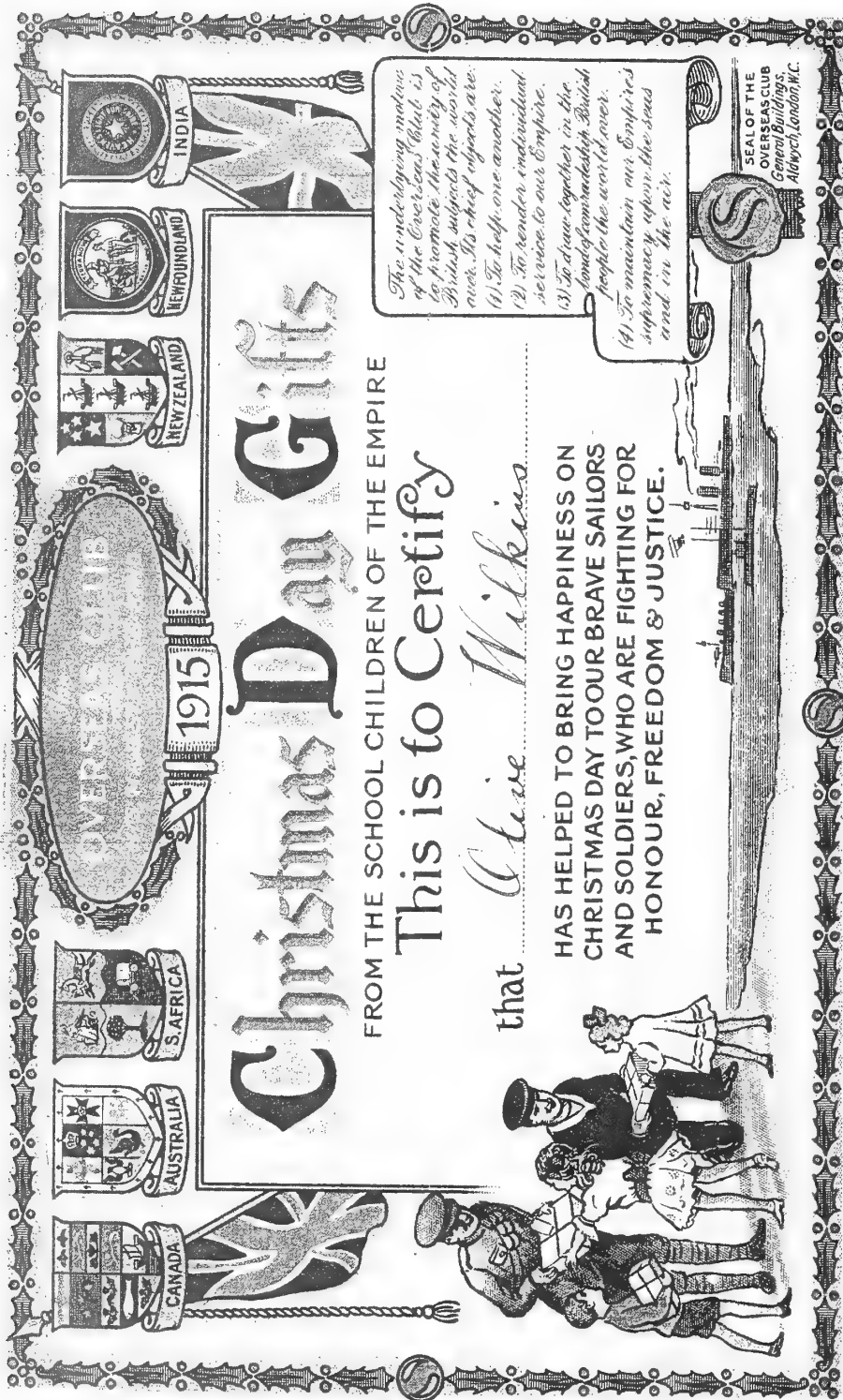


Figure 2. Reproduction of a certificate for contribution to Christmas gifts for sailors and soldiers, 1915

“Faithful unto Death”



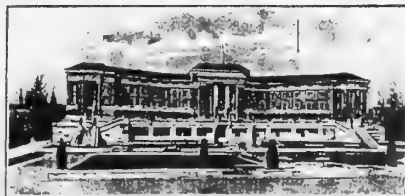
ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY in his report on the battle of Jutland wrote:—

“A report from the Commanding Officer of H.M.S. Chester gives a splendid instance of devotion to duty. Boy (1st Class), John Travers Cornwell, of H.M.S. Chester, was mortally wounded early in the action. He, nevertheless, remained standing alone at a most exposed part quietly awaiting orders till the end of the action, with the gun's crew dead and wounded all around him. His age was under 16½ years. I regret that he has since died, but I recommend his case for special recognition, in justice to his memory, and an acknowledgment of the high example set by him.”

Boys and Girls of the British Empire! This brave boy must never be forgotten. Will you help to keep his memory alive by endowing a ward for disabled Sailors and Marines in Queen Mary's "Star & Garter" Home at Richmond to be named after

1ST CLASS BOY JACK CORNWELL

Please give at least
ONE PENNY
in memory of
"JACK CORNWELL"



The arrow shows the position of the "Jack Cornwell" ward

Your teacher will give you a handsome stamp with a portrait of **"JACK CORNWELL"** to keep.

THIS FUND IS ORGANISED BY THE NAVY LEAGUE.
Head Office:—13, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

SUBSCRIPTIONS SHOULD BE FORWARDED BY
HEAD TEACHERS AND TEACHERS OF CLASSES TO
ADMIRAL THE LORD BERESFORD, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. Hon. Treasurer,
"JACK CORNWELL" FUND, 47, GROSVENOR SQUARE, LONDON, W.

Figure 3. Reproduction of a school poster promoting the Jack Cornwell Memorial Fund, 1916. Scale c.1:3

Railway works. Neither precaution turned out to be necessary. Occasionally a friendly aircraft would be forced to land locally. In November 1916, for example, some of the Castle Combe children were taken during lunch time to see an aircraft which had landed at Yatton Keynell. There was great excitement in Bromham at the end of the war over the German gun which had been captured by the 1st Wiltshire Regiment and put on show in the village.

The school curriculum tended to be limited and rather rigid, leaving little scope for incorporating aspects of the war into the teaching. However, the Head of Wilton Boys school did manage in October 1914 to adapt his history and geography lessons to deal with the war. He attempted to lead the older boys 'to see the causes of the war and the steps which led up to the rupture and the tremendous issues which are at stake'. More usually, special occasions or days were used to highlight events. Each year had a whole succession of events such as 'France's day' and 'Belgium's day'. Typical was the celebration at All Cannings where the Marseillaise was sung and a talk given on why the day was being observed. Trafalgar (or Nelson) Day in October was an occasion to celebrate the work of the British Navy. All Heads received a pamphlet 'What we owe to the Navy' containing notes for a suggested speech to the pupils. It concluded:

It is upon the Navy that under the good Providence of God, the wealth, prosperity and the peace of these islands and of the Empire do mainly depend . . . The duty of England, to beat and sink German corsairs and slave traders with their underwater boats, their mines, torpedoes and surface craft, is no less a duty than that done by our grandfathers and great grandfathers when they destroyed the pirates and slave traders in the days of yore.

It would be wrong to suppose that all young people were caught up in this patriotic fervour and were fully persuaded to make a positive contribution to the war effort. In February 1917 the Education Committee was seriously concerned over the problem of lawlessness amongst Wiltshire youth in the towns. This was attributed to a number of causes. Many fathers were away and mothers were unable to cope. It was exceptionally difficult to find men who could run Boy Scouts or similar

movements. Even if one could, there was the difficulty in finding suitable accommodation for most of this had been commandeered by the army. Young boys also had money in their pockets, for part-time employment was easy to find. Finally there were 'the cinemas and the theatre and the restlessness and the excitement'.

RECONSTRUCTION

A feature of both World Wars was the serious discussion about and preparation for the post-war reconstruction of education, even before the war was over. Those debates led to the important Education Acts of 1918 and 1944.

The Association of County Councils initiated a national enquiry in 1916 about the future of education. The response from the Wiltshire Education Committee was, for the time, an enlightened one. They considered that every child should be compelled to attend school full-time until at least 14 years of age. The existing exemption which allowed children to leave school at 12 if they passed the labour examination should be abolished. No child could be adequately educated by that age and it simply released from school those who were bright enough to benefit from further education. Some provision should be made for compulsory part-time education at continuation schools during the day. Evening schools had done some good work but attendance was voluntary and the working conditions of most young people made further study very difficult. The success rate was therefore low.

The *Wiltshire Gazette* reported the Education Committee debate at some length but its lack of sympathy for the Committee's views was shown in its comment: 'It was purely an academic discussion, interesting as showing the views of some members of the Committee but with no practical effect.'

Somewhat surprisingly for a rural county, the Committee was particularly hostile to the special exemption given to boys to leave school at 13 to work in agriculture. The Director of Education had produced a long report on this issue in August 1915. He showed that a large number of children left school at 13 or 14 to go into agriculture but between the ages of 17 and 35 a high proportion of these left for other work in the army, the police, the postal services or industry. Often there was no work on the farms for the young men when they reached manhood while the lack of cottages also encouraged them to move into towns where housing was more readily available.

For example, there were 613 lads of 16 working on farms in Wiltshire but in the 35- to 45-year-old age range the average number per year group was only 271. He concluded that of the yearly output of about 1200 boys from rural schools in Wiltshire about 600 started agriculture work but only 50% of them stayed in agriculture permanently. It was wrong therefore to suppose that education should be geared mainly towards agricultural careers. It was important that children should receive an education appropriate to the much wider range of careers that they would eventually undertake.

Mr Pullinger, the Director of Education, also used a number of speeches at school prize givings to highlight post-war educational issues as he saw them. He pointed out that industry would have not only to make good the ravages of war but would face fierce foreign competition. To meet these challenges, industry would need a much better educated workforce. His comments on Germany, at the height of the war, were courageous but highly controversial. The intense propaganda war had deliberately sought to denigrate everything German, to attack their education system and to condemn their industry and music, for example, as mere imitations. Pullinger said it was very short-sighted to underestimate the enemy in this way. They were a very ably trained body of men and were enthusiastic believers in education. Germany had embarked upon a positive education programme since 1870 and their industry was efficient and inventive. By comparison England had not valued education and many parents were only too anxious to get their children out of school at the earliest opportunity. He went further in advocating changes to our insular ways ('more foreign languages'), a better arrangement of our railways ('there might even be nationalisation') and the reform of our inadequate system of weights and measures. The *Wiltshire Gazette*, which tended to be very conservative and supportive of the agricultural interest, was highly critical:

Education is one of the important factors for national welfare but, for heaven's sake, let us not think it is the only one. Let us strive after moral excellence as well as intellectual ability, after character as well as commerce, lest we become a second Germany. We would rather become as the Hottentots!

The debate became more pointed in 1917 when the draft Education Bill was published. The N.U.T. was advocating full-time education for all children to at

least 14, followed by part-time attendance until 18. This should be for not less than 8 hours a week and the combined hours of work and education should not exceed 48 hours a week. Classes should be limited to 40 with a certificated teacher and 30 with an uncertificated teacher. Their views on the curriculum were, perhaps, not so enlightened. Girls should be trained in the duties of home-life as an integral part of every school course: 'Such training shall be sufficient to enable every girl by the age of 14 to acquire a knowledge of the principles involved in household management and to have secured some experience in their practical application.' The Workers Educational Association was pressing for nursery education for all children between the ages of 2 and 6. On nursery education, the Association of Directors and Secretaries of Education (of which Wiltshire's Director, Mr Pullinger, was Chairman) insisted that children under 5 should not ordinarily be taught as a section of the Infants but in separate nursery schools or otherwise at the option of the L.E.A.

Local debate was stimulated in a series of conferences such as that in Devizes in November 1917 addressed by Dr Cyril Norwood, the new Master of Marlborough College. He criticised the lack of a thoroughly national system of primary education. The present system led to opportunities only for the fortunate few. Primary education required smaller classes with teachers who enjoyed a better salary and status. Education needed 'simplicity, variety, flexibility, freedom – the very opposite of the qualities which had made Germany so efficient as an instrument of evil'. He was loudly cheered when he maintained that education was not primarily for commercial benefit ('Man shall not live by bread alone') and that religion should always be an essential element in our schools.

The raising of the school leaving age to 14 followed by part-time education to 18 was becoming a real possibility. The agricultural interest hotly opposed this, for farm work, as it was then organised, relied on a constant supply of young boys at a low wage. Their cause was supported by Mr Peto, M.P. The Malmesbury branch of the N.F.U. expressed its view in a resolution passed in March 1918:

This meeting of the Malmesbury branch of the N.F.U. enters its emphatic protest against the Education Bill on the grounds that at this critical juncture of the nation's peril in regard to our food supply every available lad should be

given the opportunity of assisting the country's needs in additional cultivation of the land and whilst offering no opposition to the extended education of youth whose mental abilities show themselves fitted for a more important sphere irrespective of social grade or other distinction, respectfully suggests that Parliament should confine itself to a successful prosecution of the war before introducing so great a controversial measure as the Education Bill without receiving a mandate from the people.

Mr Peto was even more virulent in his attack and could see no good educational reason for extending the school leaving age.

In country schools at the moment children between 12 and 13 if they have anything above the average intelligence are merely doing repetition work. To keep the children there under some teacher, frequently a female teacher of very limited capacity and outlook on life, for another year to the age of 14 simply means an addition to this endless repetition.

The new Education Act was passed in 1918 despite opposition. The school leaving age was raised to 14 with no provision for exemption before that age. Attendance at continuation school until 16 was also contained in the Act but this clause was a casualty of the recession of the 1920s and was implemented in only a few places.

ARMISTICE

It is, perhaps, surprising that very few school log books make any mention of the signing of the armistice or of any school celebration. In some cases this may be explained by the fact that there was a flu epidemic and many schools were closed or had only a few children in attendance. It might also be that schools joined in the many community celebrations

rather than organised special events of their own.

Some schools, however, did celebrate the occasion. At Tidworth the school simply closed at noon as soon as the news of the signing of the armistice was certain. Bradford-on-Avon Christchurch went rather further. Before breaking for a half-holiday, the children assembled around the flag staff and sang 'Now thank we all our God', 'God Save the King' and 'Rule Britannia!' At Castle Combe the Head recorded: 'Children were all very excited at the good news received this morning that Kaiser Bill has signed the armistice and that Peace is an accomplished fact.' A party was arranged for all the children at 5 p.m. by Mrs Lyons the new tenant at the Manor. 'The children sung, danced and recited very creditably. Quite a "Red Letter" day and a quickly arranged celebration of Peace.'

A Note on Sources

The main sources used for this article are in the Wiltshire Record Office.

Of most importance are the minutes of the Wiltshire Education Committee and its sub-committees. There are also the minutes of the Salisbury Education Committee which was, at that time, a separate Education Authority. The records for Swindon are more extensive. As well as the minutes of its Education Committee and sub-committees, there are several volumes of letter books, staff registers, circulars to schools and copies of government circulars.

There is also an extensive series of school log books and, for some schools, the minutes of the meetings of Governors or Managers.

Also, there exist the minutes of the meetings of several branches of the National Union of Teachers: Salisbury, Swindon, Warminster, Marlborough and Devizes.

Finally, the *Wiltshire Gazette* is useful for its full reports of the meetings of the Wiltshire Education Committee and for its comments on other aspects, especially the running debate on the release of boys for agricultural work.

Notes

New Evidence for the Romano-British Settlement by Silbury Hill

by MARK CORNEY

Evidence for a Romano-British settlement to the south and east of Silbury Hill has been noted by a number of field workers and first appeared in print in 1869 (Wilkinson). Until 1993 investigations had been restricted to establishing the course of the Roman road (Margary 53) from *Cunetio* (Mildenhall, Wilts.) to *Verlucio* (Sandy Lane) and *Aquae Sulis* (Bath), and the excavation of two wells (*Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; Brooke and Cunnington 1896; Brooke 1908). These investigations coupled with the distribution of casual finds suggest an extensive settlement spanning the whole Roman period (summarised by Powell *et al.* 1996, 27).

It was only in 1993, during the replacement of the Kennet valley foul sewer pipeline, that evidence for stone buildings of Romano-British date was recorded (*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*). These were spread along a 400m length of the western foot of Waden Hill, adjacent to the Winterbourne valley and north of the Roman road (*Ibid.*, 27–58). Five structures were recorded (Figure 1, 1–5) and although four had been extensively robbed, enough material survived to demonstrate the use of chalk blocks, flint, sandstone, sarsen and mortar in their construction. The foundations were set in trenches varying in depth from 0.35m to 0.9m, suggesting that the buildings were of a substantial nature. In addition to the stone structures, pits and ditches were noted for a distance of some 650m along the east side of the Winterbourne valley and for 300m along the southern flank of Waden Hill, parallel to the assumed course of the Roman road (*Ibid.*, 31–39).

During the exceptionally dry summer of 1995 the Air Survey section of RCHME photographed a large number of previously unrecorded sites in Wessex. In the Avebury area this included new detail of features within the henge and of a long barrow at Lockeridge (Featherstone *et al.* 1995). During a routine check of the photography taken in the region during 1995 the author noted a number

of parchmarks on the western slope of Waden Hill. They were confined to a field of grass on the east side of the Winterbourne, 300m north-east of Silbury Hill (Figure 1) and were immediately recognised as important new components of the settlement first observed in the foul sewer pipeline.

The parchmarks fall into three categories:

1. Crisp and well defined linear features probably representing ditches. Two of these can be identified with ditches recorded during the excavation of the pipeline: no. 260, containing Roman pottery, and no. 270 which contained animal bone but no direct evidence of date (Powell *et al.* 1996, 39).
2. More extensive parched areas of regular form (Figure 1, a–i and 5), some bounded by parchmarks of probable walls (Figure 1, c–f) interpreted as buildings with compacted floors.
3. Broad, blurred-edged linear parchmarks forming a series of parallel strips following the contours of the hill. These are interpreted as strip lynchets, probably of post-Roman origin.

At least ten probable buildings are visible (Figure 1, a–i and 5), only one of which (5) was examined during the pipeline excavation (*Ibid.*, 34). All are of simple rectilinear form with the exception of (c), which appears to be L-shaped. The long axis of each structure is parallel to the contours of the slope and it is highly likely that they are terraced into the hillside. The largest buildings (Figure 1, c, e, g/h and 5) range from 18m to 23m in length.

The parchmarks show a clear rectangular layout to the settlement, with buildings set within a series of rectilinear ditched compounds laid out either side of a track or street (Figure 1, x–x) running parallel to the Winterbourne. West of the track the property boundaries appear to run down to the bank of the stream. Two compounds have simple offset entrances giving access to the track. On the east side of the track the compound containing buildings d–f

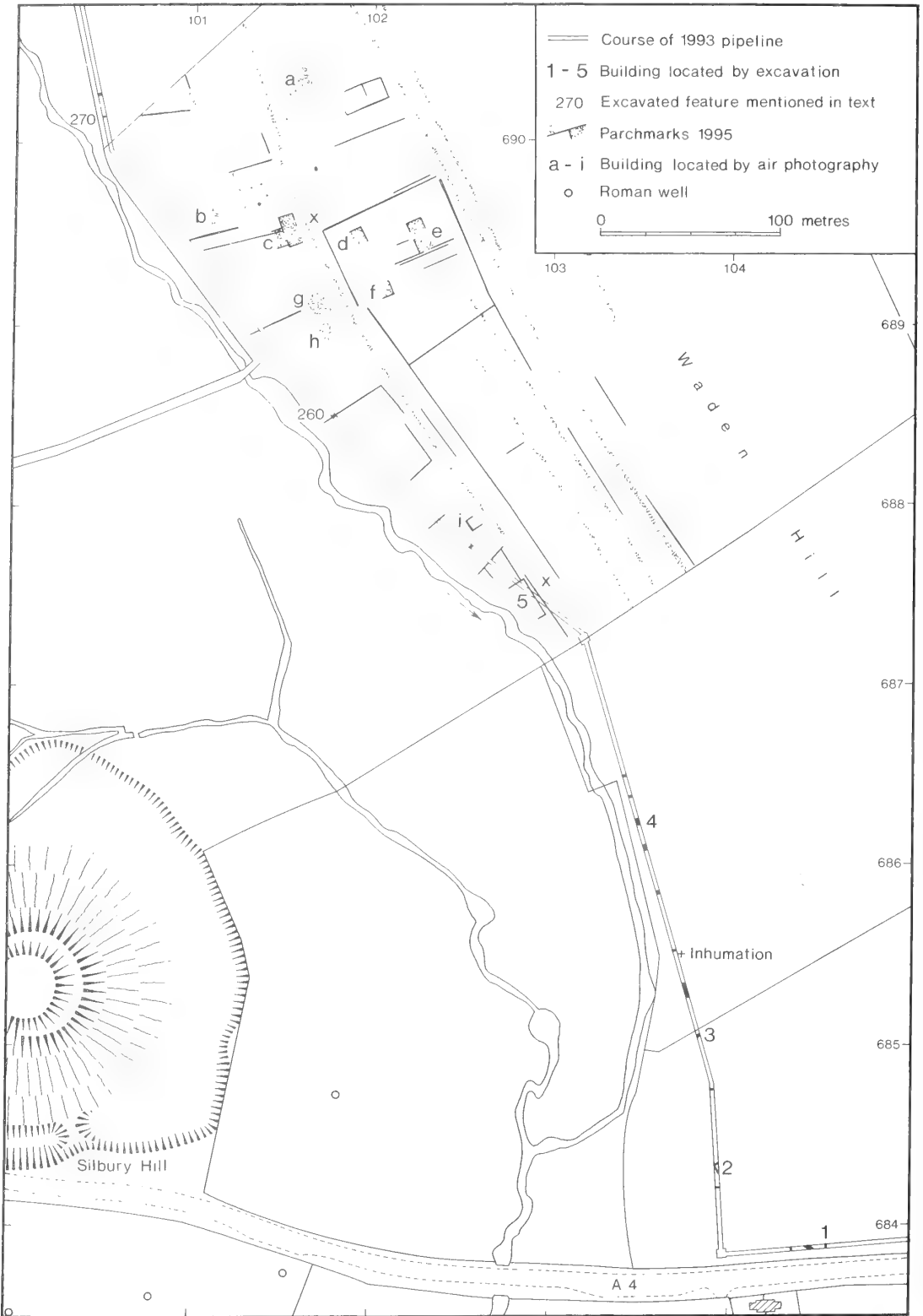


Figure 1. Plan of the Romano-British settlement by Silbury Hill as revealed by air photography and excavation

is significantly larger in area than the others, possibly reflecting a difference in status or function. However, only excavation could establish this point.

The morphology of the settlement as revealed by air photography, excavation and other observations strongly suggests a linear form on two axes. The spread of finds (including material from the ditch of Silbury Hill), wells and antiquarian observations (mentioned above) either side of the modern A4 road indicates an east-west aligned settlement of at least 10ha straddling the Roman road from *Cunetio* to *Verlucio* and *Aquae Sulis* (Margary 53). The north-south aligned settlement, covering at least 12ha, can now be demonstrated to have run along the Winterbourne valley, perhaps flanking a minor route leading to Avebury and beyond. The linear form of the north-south settlement finds local parallels with some of the Romano-British villages on Salisbury Plain, notably Chapperton Down, Knook Down West, Church Pits and Chisenbury Warren (see RCHME forthcoming). At each of these settlements buildings are set within ditched compounds fronting on to a track or street. However, none of the Salisbury Plain sites is adjacent to a major Roman road and the Silbury settlement is perhaps more closely related to the linear form of Romano-British 'small towns' as discussed by Burnham and Wachter (1990, 15-32). It is further noticeable that the structures excavated at the Silbury settlement are of a far more substantial nature than those recorded on Salisbury Plain. Where, at Chisenbury Warren, the buildings appear to be of drystone construction, with walls no thicker than 0.6m laid directly on to the chalk bedrock without a footing trench (see Entwistle *et al.*, 1994).

The Silbury settlement is midway (12km in each direction) between the settlements of *Cunetio* and *Verlucio* and in addition to the local administrative

function postulated elsewhere (Powell *et al.*, 1993, 57), the site could also be suggested as a possible site for a *mutatio* (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 37-8). Clearly much work remains to be undertaken to understand fully the development and functions of the Silbury settlement. Its position, adjacent to one of the most prominent prehistoric monuments of Wessex, raises additional possibilities, including that of a religious focus, and it is hoped to develop this theme in a further paper.

The discovery of a substantial Roman roadside settlement through excavation and air photography serves to underline the continuing archaeological potential of the Avebury region and the need for an ongoing programme of reconnaissance and investigation that looks beyond the prehistoric period.

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A Roman Inscription from Charlton Down

by PAUL ROBINSON

In 1853 Alfred Stratton presented to Devizes Museum a collection of finds including a complete lower quernstone of Roman date made of sarsen which was described as having been 'ploughed up on Rushall Down'. The quern, which measures 11in

in diameter and 4in in height, was given the accession number Q2.

The parish boundaries on the northern edge of Salisbury Plain have always been very difficult to determine on the ground and it is almost completely

certain that the findspot was in fact the important Romano-British settlement at Charlton Down, in the neighbouring parish of Charlton, recently surveyed by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (McOmish 1994). In 1897–99 Colonel Hawley carried out excavations on this site, the location of which was erroneously described as at 'Rushall Down'. Joshua Brooke, the Marlborough antiquary, also formed a collection of finds which he described as from Rushall Down but which are similarly from the settlement at Charlton Down.

The quern is interesting because it has the number XXIII clearly incised on the upper surface (Figures 1 and 2) although this is not mentioned in either of the catalogue entries for it (Cunnington and Goddard 1911, 138 and 1934, 273). There are nineteen other recorded Romano-British quernstones which have graffiti on them (Collingwood and Wright 1992, section 2499); all but one come from military sites. The exception is from Staines, on which, however, the graffito may

be merely a series of accidental scratches rather than an inscription proper. The inscriptions on these quernstones differ from that on the Charlton Down quernstone. They nearly all carry a centurial symbol and only one (2499.3 from Great Chesters) has a convincingly meaningful number on it to indicate that it was 'the 7th (or 8th or 9th) mill of the century of Antonius'.

The number 23 would be too high to relate to the divisions of a century and it is clear that the Charlton Down quernstone was not a military one. The number is much better seen as a purely civilian inventory number and the best parallel to it from Wiltshire is a very fine Roman bronze patera with a handle terminating in a ram's head which is believed to have been found near Wootton Bassett: at present unpublished, it is in the possession of Charles Ede Ltd and has scratched upon it the number LXXXXIX. Clearly, both are not simply ownership marks but numbers to be related to an inventory of portable property on major estates.

This is important in considering the status of the



Figure 1. Inscribed Roman quernstone from Charlton Down (diam. 11in)



Figure 2. Inscription on Charlton Down quernstone, scale 2:3. (Drawing by N. Griffiths)

rural settlement at Charlton Down, which numbered 200 houses and occupied an area 25 ha (60 acres) in extent, making it as large as the walled Roman town of *Cunetio* at present-day Mildenhall. Roman rural settlements of this type may have been the homes of free-born farmers or of estate workers or slaves attached to a large villa estate. Generally, when a settlement lies close to a villa it is reasonable to see it as one for estate workers or slaves. When, however, a rural settlement lies some distance away

from a villa, it is more difficult to be certain of its status. The discovery of a quernstone from Charlton Down with an inventory number incised on it suggests that it has not come from a settlement of a free-born agricultural community but one of estate workers or slaves, who did not own their portable equipment. The villa to which they may have been attached is probably that which has been identified in the Pewsey Vale, in the parish of Charlton.

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A Figurine of Mercury from Brixton Deverill

by MARTIN HENIG

A figurine depicting the god Mercury was submitted to Devizes Museum for photography and record. It was found at Whitecliffe Farm in Brixton Deverill, not far from the known temple and fairground site at Cold Kitchen Hill.¹

The object was cast in bronze and, although it was not possible to test the composition of the alloy, it does not seem to have been especially heavily leaded. Mercury stands completely nude without even a *chlamys* draped over his arm. His hair is tightly bound as though with a hairband but billows out in a fringe below. A somewhat rounded wing is shown on each side of his forehead. His physiognomy is only schematically indicated – his mouth for instance is little more than a simple slit – but the musculature of his body is subtly indicated, perhaps most successfully rendered at the back. Pubic hair and genitals are rather schematically

depicted. The god's arms are held out at an angle of some thirty degrees from his side; in his right hand he carries a purse while in his left he holds his thumb and a finger in an 'O', originally, no doubt, clutching a separately made *caduceus*. He is slightly bow legged and the feet are now missing; presumably they were attached to a pedestal and remained with it when the figurine was (deliberately?) snapped at the weakest point above the ankles.² There seem to be some slashes in particular on the right leg, perhaps perpetrated at the same time, but otherwise the condition of the piece is fairly good. The surviving height of the figure is 80mm and its width across the shoulders is 23mm.

The figurine is of fairly high quality, and was possibly made locally though it lacks the positive virtues of Romano-British art, such as rich patterning and interesting texture. It is not possible

1. Information was kindly made available to me by Dr Paul Robinson. A tapering bow brooch in silver was evidently found nearby.

2. The reasons for such iconoclasm are uncertain, and may have occurred on superstitious grounds, see R. Merrifield, 'Art

and Religion in Roman London: an inquest on the sculptures of Londinium', pp. 375–406 in J. Munby and M. Henig, *Roman Life and Art in Britain*, BAR, Brit. ser. 41 (Oxford 1977), especially pp. 388–90.



Figure 1. Roman Mercury Figurine from Brixton Deverill. Actual size

to date it closely and any time in the second or third century would be acceptable.

Iconographically it is of rather more interest. Mercury is a common subject for statuettes and figurines in Britain as elsewhere, for instance in Gaul.³ Mercury is not often shown as totally nude but there is a group of bronzes, not unlike that from Brixton Deverill, showing Mercury without his *chlamys*, though the right hand of the god is bent at the elbow and the purse rests on the flattened palm. This group has been associated by Stéphanie Boucher with the colossal statue which the Neronian sculptor, Zenodoros produced for the Arverni (Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* xxxiv, 45). The best rendition of the image is perhaps the silver statuette from the temple at Berthouville near Bernay in France where, interestingly, a separate *caduceus* is preserved, fitting into the god's left hand.⁴

The Brixton Deverill figure type, with both arms

held down at an angle to the body, is clearly related. A good parallel is recorded from Orbe (Vaud) in Switzerland. A tinned bronze figurine from the Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon is very close, though he wears a winged *petasos*. Both these figurines are classical in style and of higher quality. The same type occurs amongst figurines from Great Walsingham, Norfolk though the modelling of face and body are distinctively local (Romano-British) in character, rendering it more interesting as a work of art. Another Mercury of chunkier build comes from Kaiseraugst in Switzerland: it stands on a pedestal flanked by a goat and a cock, as our figure may have done. In Britain we may note the group from King Harry Lane, Verulamium also set on a pedestal, though the god is here of the commoner type with a *chlamys*.⁵ Finally it is worth noting the magnificent hollow cast statuette of a nude Mercury with wings springing directly from his hair, found at the temple site on Gosbecks Farm, Colchester, Essex, an image

3. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain Under the Romans*, Oxford 1964, 71-3; S. Boucher, *Récherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-Romaine et Romaine*, École Française de Rome,

1976, pp. 99-127.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-6, see pls. 35, 36 and 39.

which has the vibrancy of execution and inspired skill in modelling, lacking in the much slighter work under discussion. Unfortunately the figure has lost both of its arms; its feet are at an angle as though it were alighting. It is at best only distantly related to the Brixton Deverill type.⁶

A single figurine of Mercury cannot be used to establish the dedication of the temple at Cold Kitchen Hill, although it is not unlikely that the god was venerated in this sanctuary; it was evidently a place for fairs and Mercury was god of

traders, travellers and herdsmen. The finds from the temple at Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset which yielded two figurines of Mercury but also one each of Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, Hercules and a genius, advise caution. It is rare to have the wealth of evidence preserved as at West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire where bronze figurines and stone sculptures of Mercury together with plentiful epigraphy including curse tablets addressed to the god unequivocally prove a dedication.⁷

5. A. Leibundgut, *Die Römischen Bronzen der Schweiz. III. Westschweiz, Bern und Wallis* (Mainz 1980), p. 27 no. 16; R.E.M. Wheeler and T.V. Wheeler, 'The Roman Amphitheatre at Caerleon, Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia XXVIII* (1928), 111–218 at p. 161, pl. xxxii, 1; S.S. Frere, 'Roman Britain in 1987', *Britannia XIX*, 1988, at p. 456, no. 1, also note no. 3 of the Zenodoros type; A. Kaufmann-Heinmann, *Die Römischen Bronzen der Schweiz. V. Neufunde und Nachträge* (Mainz 1994), pp. 7–9 no. 4; M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain*, London 1984, pp. 57–8 and 60–1, ill. 19.
6. J. Huskinson, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Great Britain vol. I. fasc. 8. Roman Sculpture from Eastern England* (British Academy, 1994), pp. 4–5 no. 9.
7. R. Leech, 'The Excavation of a Romano-Celtic Temple and a Later Cemetery on Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset', *Britannia XVII* (1986), pp. 259–328, esp. pp. 277–81 for figurines; A. Woodward and P. Leach, *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977–9*, English Heritage Archaeological Report no. 17 (London 1993), especially M. Henig in ch. 6 on the images which include three figurines of Mercury.

Two 19th-Century Lead Badges from Wiltshire and Some Hot Air

by NICK GRIFFITHS

The purpose of this note is to publish two badges, both thought to be medieval when found, but revealed to be of 19th-century date when cleaned.

The use of lead or pewter badges is a well documented feature of medieval life, and well represented in Wiltshire, especially in Salisbury (Spencer 1990). Badges may be religious or secular, the former normally recording visits to shrines, the latter commemorating events, for example the funeral of the Black Prince (Spencer 1982, 316), or demonstrating allegiance to a cause or family (Spencer 1990, 95–7). With the coming of the Tudors and the Reformation the use of badges gradually ceased, although flat lead toys and small models continued to be made using similar casting techniques, down to the 19th century (Egan 1988).

The two badges described below reflect the original medieval purposes for such items.

1. *Lead badge in the form of an early railway locomotive* (Figure 1a)

This badge was recovered from the River Avon in

Salisbury in 1987, and remains in private hands. The locomotive most closely resembles George Stephenson's 'Locomotion' of 1825, used on the Stockton to Darlington Railway, and preserved today at Darlington. The structure above the boiler appears greatly simplified when compared with the complex arrangement of rods, etc. on the original, and the wheels are shown with turned spokes, reminiscent of wooden furniture rather than the flat disc wheels of 'Locomotion', but the similarities are such as to suggest the badge is of a similar date.

The inscription LEVERPOOL [sic] ROAD was at first thought to suggest a connection with Liverpool Road Station, Manchester, the world's first passenger station, opened in 1830. However the National Railway Museum suggests that the locomotive may be part of a larger badge (originally perhaps also depicting a carriage?), and that the full inscription was BIRMINGHAM AND LEVERPOOL RAIL ROAD. This was an 1820s' proposal for a railway that was never built. The misspelling of Liverpool is curious, and might suggest

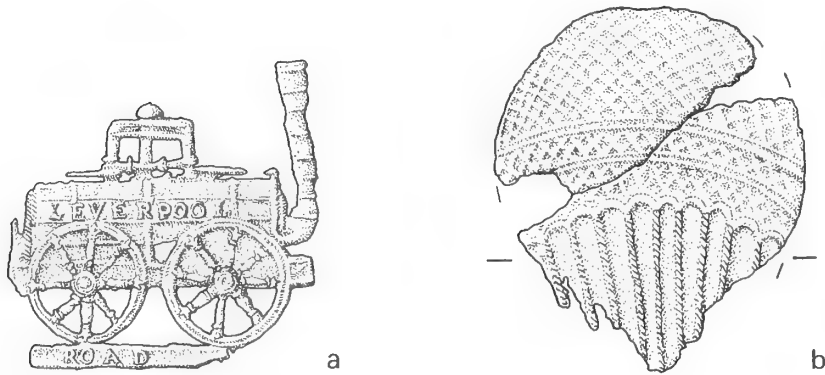


Figure 1. 19th-century lead badges from (a) Salisbury and (b) Westbury Leigh. Actual size. (Drawn by N. Griffiths)

that the badge was produced at some distance from Liverpool (or Birmingham), perhaps to encourage investment in the project.

2. *Lead badge in the form of a balloon* (Figure 1b).

Found at Westbury Leigh, the badge was given to Devizes Museum (Accession no. 1993.599). Although the lower part, depicting the basket, is missing, enough remains to show the ropes from which it was suspended. A criss-cross pattern represents the netting which enclosed the fabric on the balloon. Paired curved parallel lines around the lower part of the balloon may depict decoration on the fabric. François de Rozier made the first manned flight, by hot-air balloon, from the Bois de Boulogne, Paris, on 21 November 1783; the following year flights were made in Ireland (Navan, Co. Meath, 15 April) and Scotland (Edinburgh, 27 August) (McCabe 1973, 92).

However, it was not until 1862 that 'Professor' Simmons made the first ascent by balloon from Devizes, and probably the first ascent in Wiltshire. This began from the Market Place, during the Flower Show in August, before a crowd estimated at 10–12,000. The balloon, made of Indian Tussock silk and French embroidered cambric, was gas filled. It reached a height of approximately 11,000 feet and about a half-hour later landed in a water meadow at (North) Newnton. The full details are contained in contemporary newspaper accounts, preserved in the Society's Library.

The 1862 account also describes in some detail an earlier Devizes attempt which failed, as the balloon could not be inflated. It was in 1829 when

Mr Green, the 'aeronaut of the day', having failed to become airborne on 7 July (to the great disappointment of large crowds who had gathered from some distance), promised all would be well with 'his monster machine' on 21 July. According to the newspaper account 'there were no less than 3,000 people in the gas yard' on the day in question. After five hours the balloon was still not inflated, indeed it appeared less inflated than three hours previously, and Mr Green could not be found! What ensued is best quoted from the *Devizes Gazette* (28 July 1829):

Murmurs of discontent became general; and threats of 'ducking' Green were publicly made. Mr Pickering (Green's partner), became alarmed for the fate of the balloon, was about to free it, and allow it to escape, but a stone, or piece of coke, was at the moment thrown against it, making a large hole. This was the signal for fifty more being thrown, and the balloon was in an instant on the ground. The scene which followed is beyond description; a general rush was made – hundreds of knives were at work, and in a minute or two the immense machine, containing, we understand, 1500 yards of silk, was cut to pieces; after which the populace tore the pieces from each other; and by 8 o'clock scarcely a shred or particle was left in the yard. The netting which enclosed the balloon and the car shared the same fate; even the grappling iron was carried off, and the valve kicked about the streets in triumph. Immense cheers, which might be

heard at a considerable distance succeeded this scene of demolition.

The crowd then rushed to the gas works superintendent's house in pursuit of Mr Green, but a number of magistrates and 'respectable gentlemen' prevented any damage, or the dire fate which probably awaited the hapless Green. ('Even the ladies partook of the feeling that some punishment should be inflicted on the aeronaut.') Mr Green, his wife, and Mr Pickering having been hidden 'in a dark hole under the condenser' made their escape at about 11 p.m. In the words of the *Gazette*, 'Thus ended the last attempt at ballooning in Devizes, previous to the visit of Mr Simmons; and the result has been a warning to all aerial gentleman since.'

It may be that the lead badge was produced to commemorate one of these balloon flights, perhaps that of 'Professor' Simmons, though distribution of such badges might have been one of the ways in which Mr Green 'induced' large crowds to

assemble! It is possible that the lead balloon was intended to be a toy, but the single-sided nature makes this unlikely. Whatever the purpose, both these badges attest to some interest in 'modern' transport in 19th-century Wiltshire.

Acknowledgements. I am very grateful to Brian Spencer and Dr Paul Robinson for encouraging me to publish these items; to C.P. Atkins of the National Railway Museum for his helpful suggestions; to Pamela Colman for help with the newspaper cuttings; and to Stephen Strong for presenting the balloon badge to Devizes Museum.

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Notes on the Effects of Further Flooding of the Wiltshire Bourne, January-March 1995

by J.B. DELAIR

INTRODUCTION

Wiltshire did not escape the high rainfall experienced by southern Britain during the first nine or ten weeks of 1995, its quota arriving on an almost daily basis throughout that period. Most of the county's rivers consequently became heavily swollen or, more commonly, overflowed their banks to temporarily inundate numerous adjacent low-lying tracts. Among these rivers was the Bourne; the general scene of similar noteworthy flooding five years earlier (Delair 1991), it is once again the subject of these notes.

AREA COVERED BY THE PRESENT OBSERVATIONS

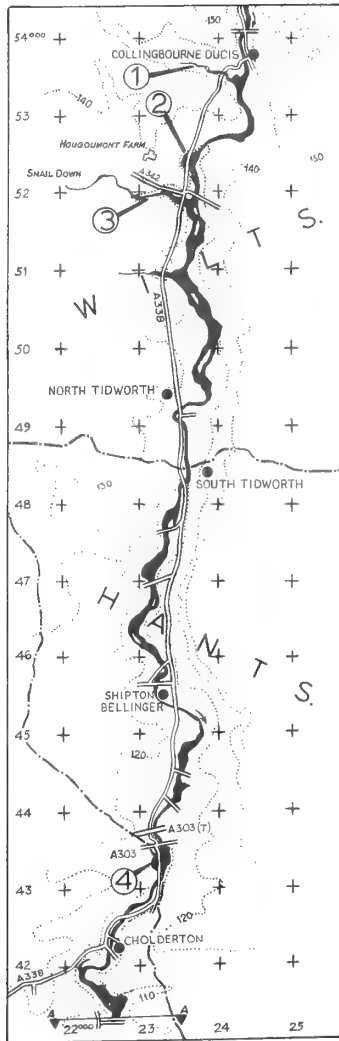
The account of the earlier Bourne flooding just cited encompassed the stretch commencing a mile

(2 kilometres) or so south of Aughton southwards as far as the river's confluence with the Salisbury Avon. The present notes are confined to a rather shorter stretch uniting Collingbourne Ducis and Winterbourne Gunner, where, at 179E.354N., the A338 crosses the Bourne.

GENERAL STATEMENT

Sheet-water flooding of fields forming the Bourne's east and west banks affected not only all the areas inundated in 1990 but, as described below, were locally more severe and featured significant additional phenomena. Comparison of Figures 1a-b with those published of the 1990 floods (*ibid.*, figs. 2a-c), illustrates the similarities and differences between the two sets of events more precisely.

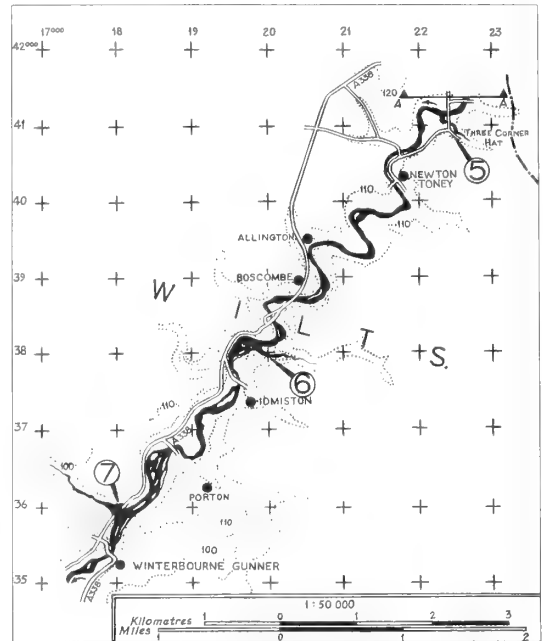
As it would be superfluous to redescribe



similarities which, in several instances, proved to be almost identical to their 1990 counterparts, only the new or more extreme effects comprising the differences are detailed here. These, despite being integral aspects of the latest flooding, are for convenience segregated from the main 'similar' effects as 'local developments'. They are outlined below numerically, in strict north-to-south geographical sequence, and relate mostly to a high-water point attained around 6 March.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. The small feeder-stream (normally a dry, shallow surface-runnel), observed at 242E.536N.



Figures 1a and 1b. Bourne Valley flooding, 1995

immediately south of Collingbourne Ducis during the 1990 flooding, was again active in 1995, its water levels for a few days in February being sufficient to flood the A338 at that point.

2. Less than a mile (2 kilometres) further south, water tables rose locally to flood land (usually dry) bordering the A338's western margin at 236E.525N., a development still visible on 12 March.

3. Although not noticeably flooded in 1990, the shallow 'dry' valley ending at the west side of the A338 where that highway intersects with the A343, in 1995 hosted a vigorous stream which, nearly a mile (kilometre) in length, rose in the vicinity of Snail Down (218E.520N.). On 6 March, this stream, as observed at 230E.519N. opposite nearby Hougoumont Farm, was estimated to be flowing eastwards at approximately 8m.p.h. Its width at the same point, where it presented typical sheet-water flooding, was almost exactly 17ft (5.75m) and its greatest depth, where it flowed the most swiftly, fractionally exceeded 1ft (0.3m).

4. The low lying ground immediately south of the roundabout where, north of Cholderton, the A303 and A338 roads intersect, became sheet-water flooded on both sides of the latter highway from mid

January onwards, the flooding on the road's west side being additional to that adjacent to this roundabout recorded in 1990.

5. During February and early March the small, normally dry combe at Three Corner Hat (224E.412N.), north-east of Newton Toney, played host to another temporary feeder-stream which, following a short, hitherto undetected westerly course, was effectively a duplicate of that noticed above at Collingbourne Ducis (no. 1). When examined on 6 March, the depth of its water averaged a modest 3 inches.

6. From mid February onwards, the short, steep, and again usually dry combe at 200E.380N., on the Bourne's east bank between Boscombe and Idmiston, was occupied by yet another temporary west-flowing feeder-stream. Though never apparently exceeding a depth of 3 inches, this brook's waters nevertheless flowed quite strongly to join the extensive sheet-water flooding characteristic of this stretch of the valley in both the 1990 and present floods.

7. Also from February onwards, continuous flooding of the A338 and adjacent farm yards and paddocks just north of Winterbourne Gunner at 180E.358N. endured for at least six weeks, the water flowing from the west down another normally dry combe reaching the A338 at that point. A temporary feeder-stream occupied this combe in 1990 too, but its volume was then insufficient to inundate on the scale achieved by the present flooding which, for several weeks, increased sufficiently to become a minor inconvenience to A338 road traffic at this site.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The principal differences between the 1990 and 1995 Bourne valley floods centre around the development during the latter of evidently higher water tables (developments 1, 2, 4, and 7) and a large number of temporary feeder streams (developments 3, 5, and 6). Both effects resulted from the almost unbroken continuity of the rainfall received during the January–March period under consideration when, proportionally, an even higher precipitation occurred than in 1990.

The feeder streams in particular are of interest since, in occupying normally 'dry' valleys, they suggest formerly more extensive drainage patterns in this valley.

Various indications of bygone watercourses having once occupied now dry valleys are often discernible

through careful appraisal of more recent flood activity engendered by cloudbursts (Arkell 1956), prolonged wet spells (Littleboy 1887), or by meteorological regimes no longer operating in the regions concerned (Hupp 1988). Numerous examples of these have been recorded from both Britain and abroad, and almost always in chalky, as in the present cases, or limestone terrains (Kellaway 1968, 76). Generally speaking dry valleys '... are arranged as the tributary valleys of rivers yet have no streams ... and would seem to owe their origin mainly to river action when the water table was higher ...' (Stamp 1946, 102), soon after the last Ice Age (Kellaway 1968). As this Ice Age is now widely believed to have ended about 11,000 years ago (Putnam 1964, 434; Ramsay and Burckley 1965, 348; Flint 1971, 646–7; and Fairbanks 1995, 495), most dry valleys are accordingly of no great geological antiquity. Any traces within them of former watercourses, including those perceivable in the Bourne valley, are likewise similarly young and represent the vestiges of phenomena which were themselves very probably transient.

In that respect it is well known that '... due to abnormal, or seasonal, raising of the water-table, streams may temporarily occupy "dry valleys"; such streams are called bournes' (Kellaway 1968, 78). The aforementioned feeder streams are typical bournes.

Relative to the above it also becomes a matter of some interest that, as noted previously (Delair 1991, 137), stretches of the Bourne themselves occasionally dry up during extended dry spells when water tables become low. As a river, the Bourne appears to fall somewhere between a continuously flowing watercourse, like the Salisbury Avon, and the temporary bournes represented by the transient feeder streams characterising the present flooding; it is thus rather aptly named.

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Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire 1995

Alton: New Town (SU 112645 and SU 116641); Prehistoric and Medieval

To the west of New Town, near Knap Hill, a series of prehistoric and medieval enclosures and associated earthworks was surveyed in detail by RCHME. At SU 112645 a multi-phase and multi-period settlement, probably representing both open and enclosed elements, was surveyed at a scale of 1:1000. Pottery recovered from the surface bears a strong resemblance to Late Bronze Age forms and fabrics. At SU 116641 a rectilinear enclosure, probably a medieval farmstead, was recorded at a scale of 1:1000. Associated features included a possible windmill or pillow mound.

Amesbury: Amesbury Abbey (SU 151417); Prehistoric; Medieval/Post-medieval

Two evaluation trenches were dug by Wessex Archaeology on two areas of land proposed for development. In Trench 1, to the north-west of Amesbury Abbey, three walls or wall foundations lay below post-medieval/modern deposits at depths of approximately 1-1.2m. Two contiguous north-south walls lay towards the western end of the trench; neither could be securely dated but both contained reused stone and the later, eastern, wall also contained reused post-medieval roof tile. The western edge of the earlier, western, wall was reduced by a large post-medieval feature which wholly occupied and extended beyond that end of the trench. The third wall was on a slightly different alignment, lying towards the eastern end of the trench, and fragments of reused late medieval roof tile were recovered from it. In the same area, natural gravel was encountered at a depth of roughly 1.2m. No floor levels associated with any of the walls were seen.

Trench 2, to the north-east of and further away from the abbey, showed no structural features and contained a shallower, c.0.9m-deep sequence of layers above an apparently clean alluvial deposit. A reduced north-south gully of probably post-medieval date cut through a layer from which sherds of medieval pottery were recovered. Only struck flint flakes and a few pieces of burnt flint were found in the earliest excavated layer of the sequence.

Amesbury: Boscombe Down Airfield (SU 1835 4085); Post-medieval and Modern

AC archaeology monitored and recorded two mechanically-excavated trial pits. Deposits up to 0.32m below the ground surface were present above the natural chalk bedrock but these did not contain any horizons of archaeological interest or cut archaeological features. Only post-medieval and modern artefacts were present in the topsoil.

Amesbury: Boscombe Down Sports Field (SU 169404); Neolithic; Late Bronze Age; Iron Age and Romano-British

Wessex Archaeology was employed to undertake large-scale excavations by the Defence Testing and Environmental Organisation owing to the inevitable destruction of archaeological evidence in the construction of new sports fields.

The earliest discoveries, of the Late Neolithic period, are approximately 4,500 years old. A number of small pits contained animal bones, sherds (Grooved Ware), and numerous flint tools, all of which had been deliberately buried and are thought to represent religious offerings of meat and other gifts. Evidence of these small acts of devotion contrasts with the great ritual monuments of the period, such as the henges at Durrington Walls and Stonehenge, both a few kilometres to the north.

Running straight across the site were remains of a prehistoric land boundary: a massive ditch up to 4m wide and over 1m deep. It was flanked on one side by a row of timber posts which may have formed a palisade helping to retain an earthen bank constructed from chalk dug out when the ditch was excavated. These so-called 'linear ditches' are characteristic of the later prehistoric landscape of Wessex in the first millennium BC.

Of particular interest was the complete excavation, for the first time in Wessex, of a late Romano-British rural cemetery, dating to the late 3rd and 4th centuries AD. The cemetery lay to each side of a small trackway which cut across the then partly silted-up linear ditch, all the graves lying south of the ditch. Thirty-seven graves of people of different ages were excavated; all but one were inhumations, most of which were oriented

approximately east–west. The majority of burials were in wooden coffins but a group of eight, about 50m away from the main cemetery, were placed in large timber-lined vaults, one of which lay within a small square enclosure. The trackway along which the cemetery was set out probably led to the contemporaneous Romano-British village on the top of Boscombe Down, less than 1km away, where some of those buried in the graves may have lived.

Amesbury: 43 Countess Road (SU 1522 4232); ?Prehistoric

An archaeological field evaluation was conducted by *AC archaeology* on a proposed development site. Forty-one metres of machine-excavated trenches were examined within the 0.30-ha site. The investigations revealed varying depths of colluvium overlying the weathered chalk or clay-with-flints subsoil. Despite the proximity of the site to a number of major prehistoric monuments and findspots, only one (undiagnostic) flint flake was recovered from the trenches.

Amesbury: Vespasian's Camp (SU 145415); ?Bronze Age and Iron Age

Magnetometer and resistivity surveys were undertaken for the Ancient Monuments Laboratory in the southern part of Vespasian's Camp, an Iron Age hillfort near Amesbury, Wiltshire. A semi-circular feature, 30m in diameter, was discovered abutting the southern rampart and is perhaps the remains of a Bronze Age barrow. With the exception of the hillfort defences themselves, no other obviously archaeological features were detected although this does not preclude their existence. Interference from 20th-century activity dominated much of the surveyed area.

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Amesbury: Phase 1 Housing Area (SU 165408); Romano-British

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned to undertake an archaeological evaluation of land to the south-east of Amesbury. The work formed part of a staged programme of archaeological investigation in advance of proposed housing

development. A number of sites and findspots of archaeological interest had previously been identified within the surrounding area.

A total of 39 1m-square test pits, located at 50m intervals along the National Grid, was hand-excavated, and 15 further locations were subjected to hand-augered boreholes. Earlier stages of evaluation in this area included geophysical survey and archaeological monitoring of geotechnical test-pits.

The results of the evaluation suggest that the northern part of the proposed development area contained a continuation of the known Romano-British settlement of Butterfield Down, a site recorded on the north side of Boscombe Road. Any prehistoric activity also seemed to be concentrated in the north part of the evaluated area. Although parts of the proposed development area have been levelled by the addition of made ground, no evidence for scarping was recorded. This suggests that archaeological features and artefacts are likely to be well-preserved.

Avebury and its environs; Medieval and later

A desk top study by RCHME complemented by an extensive field reconnaissance of medieval and later earthworks in the project area has been completed. This has resulted in the identification of 87 sites for which plans are lacking. From this work a short list of 25 sites deemed suitable for detailed survey has been prepared.

Bremhill and Calne Without: Stanley Abbey (ST 965725); Medieval and later

A 1:1000 survey was undertaken of the well-preserved remains of the Cistercian abbey at Stanley by RCHME. Earthworks cover an area in excess of 18ha, and much of the layout of the monastic complex is recoverable. Associated features include mill sites, water management features and post-Dissolution agricultural and garden remains.

Broad Hinton: Manor Paddock (SU 1030 7655); Medieval and Post-medieval

In January 1996 Wessex Archaeology was commissioned to undertake an archaeological evaluation on the site of proposed building work. Three trenches (totalling c.55.40m) were excavated and a limited range of archaeological deposits was revealed. The majority of these deposits are interpreted as representing the remains of post-medieval ploughing activity. In addition, a single

linear ditch was recorded and is dated to the 12th to 13th century AD. The presence of this feature, as well as a moderately large assemblage of unabraded medieval pottery, suggests that the site formerly retained the remains of medieval settlement, and that these remains have been thoroughly disturbed by post-medieval ploughing.

While these deposits and their artefactual assemblage are of some interest, confirming the considerable archaeological potential of Broad Hinton, they do not appear to be of more than local relevance.

Chippenham: Derriads Farm (ST 8960 7285); Medieval

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeological Trust to support an application for outline planning permission. A small rectangular enclosure defined by an earthen bank produced sherds of 12th-century pottery from the bank make-up, whilst a small assemblage of 10th to 12th-century sherds and animal bone was recovered from the subsoil within the enclosure.

Clarendon Park: Clarendon Estate; Romano-British

Acting upon information provided by Dr C. Gerrard of King Alfred's College, Winchester, RCHME recorded a series of earthworks associated with a little known Romano-British villa. The remains comprise an embanked rectangular enclosure of at least 1.6ha which has been subdivided by a further bank and ditch. Within the southern half of the enclosure two platforms were recorded, one of which carries clear traces of a substantial masonry building with associated Roman brick, tile and pottery. The structure appears to overlie a small ditched enclosure of curvilinear form.

Collingbourne Ducis: Knoll Plantation (SU 2534 5300); Prehistoric

A 2m-square evaluation test pit was excavated by Cotswold Archaeological Trust within a substantial undated cropmark enclosure (Wilts SMR 605). A square post hole was found containing two fragments of burnt flint. The post hole was overlain by 0.40m of topsoil from which two sherds of sizeable, unabraded Late Bronze Age/early Iron Age pottery was recovered. Two ?Bronze Age core trimming flint flakes and 17 fragments of burnt flint were also found in the topsoil.

Devizes: Castle Lane (SU 4003 1614); Medieval/Post-medieval

An area of land to the north and north-west of Castle Lane was evaluated by Wessex Archaeology prior to development for housing. Two 2m × 2m and two 1m × 1m hand-dug test pits and a 12.50m-long machine-excavated trench were dug, to a maximum depth of 1.20m, within the presumed inner bailey of Devizes Castle.

Below the topsoil or metalled surface lay substantial deposits of dump/made-ground, over 1.20 m deep. The natural greensand substratum was only found in one of six auger bores, at 3.40m below these deposits. Three of the auger bores were halted when solid chalk was encountered and in the remaining two the depth of the dump/made-ground exceeded the length of the auger. It is suggested that the layers of dump/made-ground represent the destruction or truncated remains of large defences, shown in a 1723 engraving, which overlie medieval deposits, including pottery recovered from the auger bore in Trench 2.

Dinton: Dinton Park (SU 004319); Prehistoric and Post-medieval

Archaeological excavation was undertaken for the National Trust during burial of electricity cables from the south-west side of Philipp's House to the north-west corner of the park. The trench revealed a semi-circular brick garden feature, 1.5m in diameter and filled with brick rubble, lying 20m from the south-west corner of the house. The footings of the corner of a brick building were seen in the south-east section of the trench, 50m south-west of Philipp's House: this may be the site of Dinton House which was demolished and replaced by the present house in 1813. A further 100m to the south-west, the trench crossed a spur of land sloping down from Wick Ball Camp. On the crest of the spur the land appeared to have been modified to form a terrace. A number of objects were found here in the trench spoil, including several flint flakes and a long end-scraper. With these were two fragments of prehistoric pottery, probably of Iron Age date. A scatter of brick and post-medieval pottery was also found here and along the trench to the south-west.

Downton: Land at Moot Lane (SU 1819 2145); Post-medieval and Modern

An evaluation was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology on the site of an abandoned garden

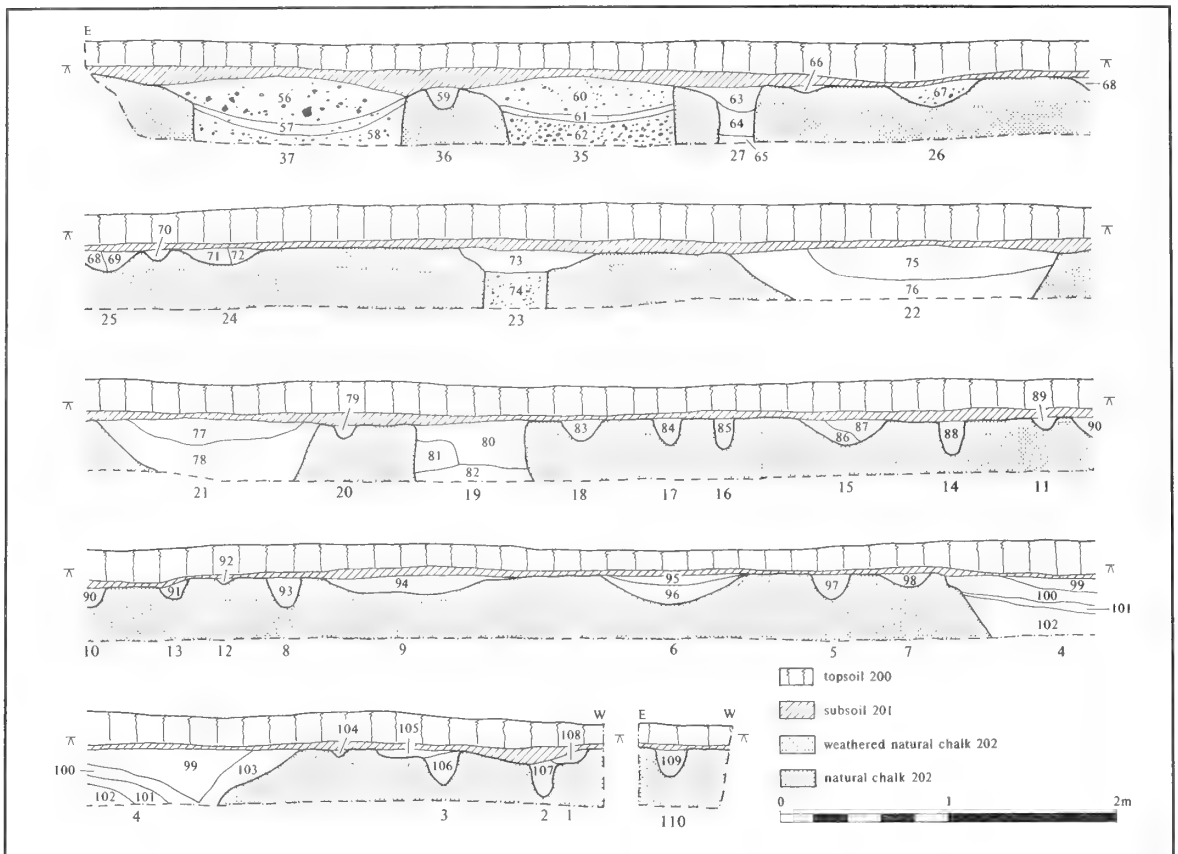


Figure 1. Durnford: High Post, Pains Wessex: pits, ditches, post holes, and other archaeological features recorded in the south facing section of one of the machine cut trenches. Drawn by Rob Read.

within the area of the Saxon and medieval town and immediately adjacent to Downton Moot, a medieval earthwork castle converted into a landscaped garden in the 18th century. Two hand-excavated test pits, each 2m by 2m and within or adjacent to the footprint of proposed new building, revealed evidence of garden soils, up to 0.7m deep, above bedrock of clay with gravel. No archaeological features were recorded apart from the remnants of a modern brick wall, probably of a greenhouse within the former garden. Quantities of post-medieval and modern material were recovered from throughout the topsoil and subsoil deposits. Residual finds included a few pieces of worked flint and a small amount of possibly late medieval ceramic building material and pottery. There was no evidence of landscaping having affected the survival of archaeological deposits.

Durnford: High Post: Pains Wessex Factory (centred on SU 143370); Iron Age and Romano-British

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Wiltshire County Council to undertake an archaeological watching brief during machine trenching at the Pains Wessex factory. Investigation in the 1950s had indicated the existence of a Romano-British settlement in the immediate vicinity (Musty 1959). The Romano-British site was found to extend into the current development site and it is now suggested that the deposits recorded by Musty at some depth below the natural ground surface were associated with a grain drier.

A hitherto unsuspected Middle to Late Iron Age settlement was also revealed by the trenching. The range of post holes, pits and ditches with the potential to yield well-preserved environmental data

and which can certainly or probably be attributed to the Iron Age suggest an intensive occupation, the extent and dating of which have yet to be defined (Figure 1).

Owing to the limited dating evidence available and the fact that the post holes were seen in section only, interpretation is necessarily limited. However, the density of features is comparable to that of local Iron Age sites with extensive sequences of occupation, such as Little Woodbury, Salisbury (Bersu 1940), while the sequence of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement finds immediate local parallels in the sites at Boscombe Down (Richardson 1951). A possible enclosure ditch, which would not be inappropriate in an Iron Age or Romano-British context, has also been identified on aerial photographs.

A detailed client report is lodged with the Wiltshire Sites and Monuments Record, and with the project archive which has been deposited at the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury.

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 MUSTY, J.W.G., 1959 'A Romano-British Building at Highpost, Middle Woodford', *WAM* 57, 173–5.
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Great Cheverell: Land adjacent to 106 High Street (ST 984544); Medieval

Two fields on the eastern edge of the village, containing two extant earthworks (lynchets), were evaluated by Wessex Archaeology. Desk-based study indicated that Great Cheverell is a shrunken medieval village and fieldwork revealed archaeological features containing pottery of late 12th- and 13th-century date in two of five machine-excavated trenches. These features are interpreted as being of probable agricultural origin. Unstratified pottery from the site has a broad maximum date range from the 10th to 14th centuries AD. The lynchets were not bisected by the trenches but it is suggested that they may also be of medieval date.

Great Hinton: New Barn Farm (ST 9084 5909); Modern

A field evaluation was conducted by *AC archaeology*

on the site of a proposed development. No pre-modern finds or features were revealed, suggesting that there was little pre-modern activity in the immediate area.

Kilmington: Whitesheet Hill, New Water Reservoir (ST 805348); ?Neolithic

Following an evaluation of the site of the proposed reservoir in 1991, a second phase of archaeological monitoring and recording was carried out by *AC archaeology* during the construction of the installation in the summer of 1995. The low level of archaeological activity indicated by the evaluation was confirmed; only two more, undated, subsoil features of probable archaeological origin were present. A small collection of unstratified artefacts was made after the topsoil stripping. The finds were all of worked or burnt flint and included one diagnostic tool form, a scraper of probable Neolithic date.

Lacock: Abbey and Park (ST 919675); Medieval and Post-medieval

Excavations for the National Trust took place in the Abbey Lodge in advance of a new visitors' entrance and interpretation area. The lodge was built in the 18th century using the west end of a 16th-century barn. Most of the stratigraphy dated to the 18th and 19th centuries. There were two phases of lodge floor plan and below the post-medieval wall footings on the north side of the barn was an area 3m by 2m in which medieval walls survived 0.2m high. These walls were dated by being associated with floor layers containing 13th- to 15th-century pottery.

Prior to the laying of underground cables on the north side of Lacock Park, a test trench was excavated in an area which is now cattle pasture but was once part of an 18th-century formal garden associated with the Abbey. The trench revealed the east boundary of the garden and exposed a gravel path above a limestone wall which revetted a silted water course.

The RCHME surveyed the earthworks in the formal garden area and has produced a detailed plan. The work took place during the dry summer and various parch marks were visible which provided additional information, notably on a circular feature, 55m in diameter, lying west of the earthwork of the great canal which is the central and most distinctive feature of the garden earthworks.

Geophysical Surveys of Bradford carried out a magnetometry and resistivity survey of the field on

the east side of Lacock Abbey. A new drainage scheme was to be implemented here and the geophysical survey provided information to avoid the drainage trenches damaging archaeological features. The surveys showed what appeared to be the footings of the medieval infirmary. There were also other features which seemed to be the remains of garden features and a silted leat associated with the abbey mill.

A small test trench, with sides 0.5m long, was excavated against the north interior wall of the warming room of Lacock Abbey in order to explore the environment of the medieval cloister rooms and take action, based on the information obtained, to halt the flaking of the medieval plaster. The trench revealed a series of thin layers of mortar and limestone gravel. The bottom excavated layer was a thick wet clay containing a fragment of medieval cooking pot base.

Latton: Latton Lands (SU 0760 9690); Prehistoric and later

Evaluation of features recorded from cropmarks and geophysical survey was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeological Trust. A circular feature, previously considered to be a ring ditch, is more probably a roundhouse; the fill of the drip gully produced Late Bronze Age pottery. Similar pottery was also recovered from a rectilinear ditch to the north of the house. Several undated and post-medieval features were also noted.

Market Lavington: Grove Farm (SU 0134 5411); Saxon and late Medieval

An archaeological evaluation was conducted by Wessex Archaeology on land proposed for redevelopment. Four trenches were excavated by machine, two 20m, one 15m and another 10m in length. They produced evidence of general human occupation and activity across the site, notably of Saxon and late medieval settlement, with a single inhumation of uncertain date. Trenching also revealed some wall foundations from the now demolished farm and evidence for an associated paddock to the west. Overall the site is considered to be of high archaeological potential.

Marlborough: George Lane (SU 1915 6880); Medieval

A watching brief by Cotswold Archaeological Trust for Wiltshire Police Authority recorded two pits, one containing 12th- to 14th-century pottery and the

other post-medieval material.

Mere: 9 Barnes Place (SU 8132 3225); Anglo-Saxon

Wessex Archaeology was requested to record and recover part of a human burial, together with gold objects, discovered during rebuilding of a section of retaining wall to the rear of 9 Barnes Place. The burial was of an adult female laid on her back with her head to the west. Three pieces of gold jewellery and four glass beads were recovered from the neck area; they appear to be of Saxon (probably 7th-century) date. The practice of accompanying burials with grave goods was generally discontinued in England with the widespread adoption of Christianity, although it was not until the late Anglo-Saxon period that it was banned by the Church. The quality of the jewellery provides evidence for the burial of a person of high status in the early Middle Saxon period, for which archaeological traces are poorly represented.

Mere: Mid-level reservoir (ST 819335)

An evaluation of a proposed reservoir site revealed no archaeological features or artefacts during the recording, by *AC archaeology*, of one machine-excavated trench.

Pewsey: Old Bus Station (SU 1655 6001); Post-medieval

An evaluation was conducted by Wessex Archaeology on land now used as a car park. Two of four machine-dug trenches produced no archaeological evidence; the other two showed considerable modern disturbance but each contained an undated feature with no associated finds. Only modern (20th-century) artefacts were noted but none was retained.

Potterne: Land to the rear of 1 Brownleaze Lane (ST 996591)

Evaluation work by Wessex Archaeology took place on land subject to a development proposal which lies close to the late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age midden at Potterne. An auger and test pit survey indicated that neither the midden nor any other archaeological deposit extends across the proposed development area.

Salisbury: Cathedral School (SU 144293); Medieval

An evaluation by Wessex Archaeology was

undertaken prior to an application for re-development within the medieval walled precinct of the Close and in the area of the former kitchen gardens of the Bishop's Palace, currently used as a recreation area by the school.

Sixteen square metres of hand-excavated trenches, positioned in three discontinuous lengths in the west of the site, revealed deep deposits of well-mixed garden soils beneath gravel paths sealing the latest phase of a broad, timber-revetted, east-west aligned ditch. The position and alignment of these features correspond to those recorded on plans of late 18th- and early 19th-century date and with the results of a geophysical survey of the site undertaken in January 1995. A small quantity of medieval pottery was recovered, mostly as residual material in later contexts although the lowest soil layers in the south of the site contained finds of medieval date only.

Salisbury: Godolphin School, Milford Hill (SU 152299); Palaeolithic

In December 1995 work began on the construction of a new performing arts centre. Geotechnic pits suggested that most of the development site was within an area of previous gravel extraction; however, areas of *in situ* gravel were under threat of disturbance. Residual patches of gravel were also present in solution pipes across the old floor of the pit. Wessex Archaeology conducted a watching brief during groundwork to observe, record and interpret the geological deposits at the site and to identify any archaeological finds. Palaeolithic artefacts, including a handaxe, a scraper, three flake cores and one waste flake, were recovered. The gravel capping Milford Hill, source of one of the richest Lower Palaeolithic assemblages in the valley of the Wiltshire Avon, is a fluvial deposit which, in unaltered form, contains large amounts of chalk. Over much of the area studied the gravel has been decalcified, giving it a clayey texture and a poorly bedded character. The occurrence of lenses and/or blocks of coombe rock at the Godolphin School site implies that it might have been proximal to the contemporary valley side. The upper metre or so of the gravel appears to have been affected by cryoturbation, indicating that at least one Pleistocene glacial has elapsed since deposition.

Salisbury: former Infirmary site, Cranebridge Road (SU 1404 2998); ?Prehistoric and Post-medieval

Six trial (evaluation) trenches excavated by Wessex Archaeology revealed a limited range of archaeological deposits. Natural river terrace gravels lay between approximately 44.28m and 44.71m O.D.; a linear feature, possibly representing a drainage ditch, cut into these deposits towards the western limit of the site. A single flint flake was recovered from the peaty lower fill of this feature, suggesting that it may be of prehistoric date. Further peat deposits were recorded to the east, sealed beneath alluvial clays. A series of loamy cultivation soils overlie the alluvium and artefacts recovered from them indicate that they are of post-medieval date, which would be consistent with documentary and cartographic records. Large areas of the proposed redevelopment site may therefore have remained as open fields or gardens until the 19th century.

Salisbury Plain Training Area: Track 10C (SU 1637 5341–SU 1694 5318); ?Bronze Age and Iron Age

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned to undertake an evaluation prior to the planned construction of a hard surface vehicle track (10C). The track route passes through a well-preserved prehistoric and Romano-British landscape within 100m of the southern boundary of the prehistoric settlement at Lidbury Camp, and in close proximity to known prehistoric burial mounds and field systems.

A single, 850m-long, machine-excavated trial trench, 1.8m wide, was placed down the centre of the existing track within the archaeologically sensitive area. Fifty-five archaeological features were discovered cutting into the chalk bedrock, including pits, post holes, a hut circle, ditches and a possible burial. A representative sample of the features was hand-excavated. The pits, hut circle and two unidentified features produced Iron Age pottery. The other features remain undated; there is a high probability that they may also date to the Iron Age (700 BC to AD 43), although a long linear ditch may be Bronze Age (2300–700 BC). The complex of sub-surface archaeological features, visible earthworks and cropmarks suggests that the hilltop contains an Iron Age settlement extending well beyond the bounds of the known earthworks.

Salisbury Plain Training Area: Tracks 28, 43A and 54D (SU 0130 4854–SU 0105 4849);

Prehistoric, including Bronze Age Wessex Archaeology undertook an evaluation of the archaeological potential of three lengths of earthen track, prior to proposals for upgrading them to all-weather stone-based routes. The tracks cross areas of archaeological potential as identified by the County Archaeological Service and the SPTA Liaison Group. One track, 54D, crosses an SSSI and a Scheduled Monument. Work over a 700m-length of Track 28, north of Larkhill (between SU 0940 4710 and SU 0865 4715) revealed a single post hole and a pair of deeply incised linear features which were interpreted as cart tracks. No archaeological features were found over a 350m-length of Track 43A, north of Tilshead (between SU 01760 48700 and SU 01420 48770) but a wide range of features was seen in adjacent lengths of the adjoining Track 54D where a total of 145m of track was investigated in two separate lengths between SU 0130 4854 and SU 0170 4868, and SU 0010 4817 and SU 0105 4849. Here, 20 features were found, of which 17, comprising post holes, Bronze Age pits, gullies, a major north-south Bronze Age bank and ditch, and a possible cremation-related feature, were clearly of an archaeological nature. These features fell into three groups, each focused around breaks in slope. Low ridges were also visible in the natural chalk, corresponding approximately to the remains of prehistoric field systems visible in aerial photographs.

Southwick: Southwick Country Park (ST 839560); ?Prehistoric and Medieval

Fifteen trenches, a c.0.1%-sample of the site, were excavated by *AC archaeology* at the proposed park site in May 1995. A possible prehistoric gully was found in Trench 1 (ST 8370 5613); and in Trench 5 an area of medieval (probably 13th-century) activity, comprising an earthwork bank or platform, apparently sealed a well or soakaway as well as drainage and other ditches (ST 8371 5550). Another area of medieval (probably 13th-century) activity was located in Trench 10, where linear features, including those identified as possible beam slots for timber buildings and fences, and a series of stake holes were found (ST 8386 5605).

A second stage of evaluation in October 1995, in fields adjacent to the medieval material in Trench 10, recovered only two unstratified and undiagnostic flint flakes and no additional archaeological features.

Swindon: Groundwell West (SU 1483 8935); Middle Iron Age

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by

Cotswold Archaeological Trust on behalf of Thamesdown Borough Council. Aerial photographs have revealed a large, irregular L-shaped enclosure, a semi-circular enclosure ditch, and a smaller rectangular enclosure and ditches. Trenching of the cropmarks established their Middle Iron Age date, although it was not possible within the confines of the evaluation to identify the different phases of activity evident from the cropmarks. Another multi-phase Middle Iron Age enclosed settlement has previously been examined 800m to the south-east, at Groundwell Farm (*WAM* 76 (1981), 33-75). Full excavation is planned for 1996.

Tidworth: Dunch Hill (SU 2050 4860); Late Neolithic, Bronze Age

From June to August 1995 Wessex Archaeology undertook the excavation of an earth trackway at Dunch Hill. Well preserved evidence for Middle to Late Bronze Age settlement, spanning some part of the 15th to 7th centuries BC was spread over a distance of 370m along the 10 to 12m-wide strip investigated. The excavated features included four round-houses; two four-post structures; a series of fence lines, perhaps defining enclosures for animals; several small pits; a possible boundary ditch; and at least one cremation burial. There was also a single, small pit which contained Late Neolithic Grooved Ware and some Beaker pottery.

Tilshead: Breach Hill (SU 015465); Middle to Late Bronze Age

The inadvertent stripping by contractors of a length of bank and ditch offered an unrivalled chance for Wessex Archaeology to examine a 600m-length of earthwork. The earthwork had previously survived as a bank flanked by two silted-up ditches. The stripping had destroyed the bank and in places reduced the upper fills of the ditches, though in some areas the ditches remain to their full depth. Excavation and recording of the earthwork produced very little artefactual dating evidence for the construction of the bank and the initial silting of the ditches. A Middle to Late Bronze Age date or later is suggested by a single sherd of Late Bronze Age pottery recovered from the late fill of the southern ditch, the nature of the worked flint recovered from both ditches, and by comparison with similar monuments on Salisbury Plain. Other deposits excavated on the site included a subsoil which contained large quantities of worked and burnt flint, and Early Bronze Age pottery.

Tilshead: Westdown Camp (SU 043481); Undated earthwork

Four machine-excavated trenches were dug by *AC archaeology* in evaluating a 1.6% sample of a 1.2ha area proposed for a military hardstanding adjacent to Westdown Camp. One shallow, undated earthwork was revealed; there were no other pre-modern features nor any archaeological artefacts.

Warminster: Butcher's Yard, George Street (ST 8721 4525); ?Prehistoric and Modern

An evaluation of the proposed development site was carried out by *AC archaeology* in May 1995. The investigation involved recording a series of mechanically-excavated trial trenches across the site. In most cases, the presence of deep (up to 1.60m) infilling containing a variety of modern building rubble was observed. Below this were peat or peaty clay horizons associated with the (now culverted) stream; no archaeological features or finds were present in this material. To the west of the site, on slightly rising ground, a single linear subsoil feature was present; possibly a former stream course, its fill yielded two undated and undiagnostic chert flakes.

Warminster: 3A George Street (ST 8724 4500); Medieval ?and Post-medieval

Evaluation of a proposed development site by *AC archaeology* involved the excavation and recording of five trenches. In all cases there was deep infilling and building disturbance of fairly recent date. Below these deposits were horizons of peat and clay, the earliest containing a single sherd of medieval pottery; no associated archaeological features were within these layers. It is likely that the area was formerly marshland, subsequently infilled during later (post-medieval) expansion of the town.

Wilton: new doctor's surgery, South Street (SU 9535 3101); Romano-British; late Saxon and Medieval

An evaluation by Wessex Archaeology recorded evidence of medieval and post-medieval structures and deposits extending back from the street frontage. Archaeological features encountered included two wall foundations, a brick culvert, a post hole, probable pits, and compacted clay surfaces. A collection of late Saxon (10th to 11th century) and medieval (13th to 14th century) pottery was recovered, in addition to 3 sherds of Romano-British coarseware. All the features were

sealed below up to 0.7m of soil containing pottery and other artefacts of post-medieval date.

Winterbourne Bassett: Church of St Katherine and St Peter (SU 1010 7492); Romano-British and Medieval

An evaluation was carried out by *AC archaeology*, in July 1995, in advance of a proposed car park and access track development. An extensive area of intact medieval deposits was located to the west of the church, including a possible wall, a floor surface and a midden. Medieval pottery and fragments of Romano-British wares were found. The intact deposits exist at a depth of as little as 300mm below the existing ground surface but will not be directly affected by the development if the proposed minimal soil strip is undertaken.

Winterbourne Bassett: Manor Farm (SU 1012 7497); Prehistoric and Medieval

Excavation of three trenches in the farmyard area by *AC archaeology* in July 1995 showed that there was truncation of the natural soil and bedrock profile, and a single large linear ditch was recorded. To the west of the farmyard a trench revealed two further linear features, one of which was similar in proportions and filling to the ditch in the farmyard. Finds of probable prehistoric date were recovered from the two larger ditches but a small quantity of medieval pottery from the third feature may suggest a later date for these deposits if they are related. There is moderate potential for further deposits on the site.

Winterbourne Gunner: Gomeldon Road (SU 1812 3526); Prehistoric ?and Romano-British

Archaeological evaluation by *AC archaeology* on the site of a proposed housing development comprised the excavation of three trenches using a mechanical digger, followed by selected hand digging and recording of the exposed deposits. A small amount of worked flint was recovered from two of the trenches, and a ditch/oval pit, of possible Romano-British origin, was discovered in the most southerly trench. The number of archaeological finds was surprisingly low.

Winterslow: Middleton Road (SU 244329); ?Romano-British and Post-medieval

Evaluation by Wessex Archaeology, on a new housing site, involved excavation of a single 20m-long trench to investigate the possible survival of the

Roman road from Old Sarum to Winchester, the projected course of which ran along the northern boundary of the site. An undated shallow ditch was identified and believed to be associated with the Roman road. A shallow pit, thought to be of post-medieval date, was also found.

Wootton Bassett: Town Hall (SU 0668 8251); Undated

Two test pits were excavated by *AC archaeology* at Wootton Bassett Town Hall to investigate the possibility that earlier floors or significant archaeological deposits existed beneath the present concrete surface at depths which might be affected by resurfacing. The excavations did not reveal any floorings below the present surface, nor any pre-modern deposits in the areas investigated. Based on the results of these limited observations, it seems likely that considerable areas of the Town Hall ground floor have been disturbed to a significant depth. However, the differences in the sequences observed in the two pits show that the disturbance is not uniform across the site and the possibility remains that elsewhere, locally and over limited areas, earlier deposits may survive.

Yatesbury: Manor Farm (SU 065716); Medieval and Post-medieval

The fourth and final season of research excavations

was undertaken by Compton Bassett Area Research Project in an area evaluated in 1994 (*WAM* 89 (1996), 153). The area investigated comprised an earthwork enclosure with the parish church and churchyard sited in the NW corner. The excavations were confined to the E end of this enclosure, which lay to the W of a further enclosure investigated in previous years (*WAM* 87 (1994), 157–8; 88 (1995), 154). A total area of 450 square metres was stripped with the intention of obtaining detailed information about the nature of occupation within the enclosure. Beneath a 17th-century midden, which contained a wide array of high-status artefacts including pewter spoons and window and vessel glass, there were two late medieval/early post-medieval buildings, a substantial number of medieval pits, a well and other features such as gullies and post holes. The earliest occupation comprised 11th- to 12th-century pits.

By the later medieval period the area had become subdivided, with structures at either side of a low earthen bank. This phase is seen as representing the site of a former manor with an associated structure.

The fieldwork at Yatesbury has demonstrated morphological changes to the settlement and serves to indicate the limitations of medieval settlement studies based purely on plan forms. The post-excavation work is in progress and the final report will cover all fieldwork undertaken in the parish.

Stonehenge Revisited

a review article by HUMPHREY CASE

R.M.J. Cleal, K.E. Walker, and R. Montague. Stonehenge in its landscape: Twentieth-century excavations. English Heritage, Archaeological Report 10, 1995; 618 pages, 8 colour plates, 298 figures, 4 plans in folders and 69 tables. £56, hardback. ISBN 1 85074 605 2.

K. Osborne (ed.). Stonehenge and neighbouring monuments. English Heritage, 2nd edn revised, 1995; 37 pages, colour illustrations, maps and diagrams. £2.95. ISBN 1 85074 172 7.

This article reviews these two important recent publications, references to which are given below as Cleal et al. 1995, and Osborne 1995, respectively. Allusion is also made to a conference, 'Science and Stonehenge', organised by the Royal Society, English Heritage and the British Academy (RSEHBA 1996).

A somewhat different chronology and sequence from those given in the two publications is proposed; Beaker involvement with Stonehenge is emphasised; and the monument's prehistoric importance is briefly considered.

Having reviewed for *WAM* (Case 1960) Richard Atkinson's highly influential *Stonehenge* (1956), as revised in 1979 the best general account based on previous research, I welcome these two new publications – all the more so being a Westcountryman by birth (at Frome near the 'route of the bluestones'), who has watched a midsummer sunrise alone at the Altar Stone with the last of the field-working Cunningtons (Col. R.H., the surveyor of Woodhenge and the Sanctuary at Overton Hill), himself the author of a book on Stonehenge (1935).

Stonehenge in its landscape follows on from the important recent fieldwork and excavation around the monument by Richards and his collaborators, also published by English Heritage (1990). It collects, presents very fully and interprets the surviving archives and finds of the summarily

published major 20th-century excavations by Hawley from 1919 to 1926 and by Atkinson, Piggott and Stone in the 1950s and 1964 – and all this with reference to publications of smaller-scale excavations by Atkinson and by others including Gowland, the Vatchers, Evans and Pitts. Recognition is given to those who had collaborated in compiling or had previously worked on some of this material including Newall, and Berridge and Ehrenberg.

All these sources are combined to infer a sequence of events at and around the monument, both more thoroughly documented and covering a longer time-span than Atkinson's summary accounts (1956; 1979).

This new version should suffice at the moment as more or less the last word on work to date, although some notes by Atkinson are still being assessed and some correspondence cannot be examined until 2003 (Cleal et al. 1995, 581 and 585).

The text is densely argued and jargon-free; half-tone and line illustrations (some coloured) and tables are exhilaratingly copious. There is a good index; French and German summaries are provided; and the price is reasonable. Presenting new insights and illuminating great gaps in knowledge concerning a monument of world-wide fame, this is one of the more important British archaeological publications this century.

The task delegated by English Heritage to the Wessex Archaeology unit was difficult and immense. It included reconciling very many manuscript, typescript and published accounts, including notes and letters (some ambiguous and contradictory), and photographs together with sketched, faircopy and published plans, sections and elevations (all these needing to be reconciled at common scales and orientation). Finds (some widely dispersed) had to be drawn, catalogued and their contexts determined. The results of much specially commissioned scientific work (highly important in its own right), including some new environmental excavations and a radiocarbon dating programme, had to be assessed.

The sharp intelligence and cool heads of the principal authors were a match for these challenges; their work was supported by 24 colleagues at the Wessex Archaeology unit and from English Heritage and elsewhere, some of whom wrote major sections of the text; and the help of many others is acknowledged. Editing this massive joint production fell to Julie Gardiner, herself a colleague and contributor, and the undertaking was supervised by Andrew Lawson, Director of the unit, also a contributor to the text. The whole is a credit to the determination and drive of Geoffrey Wainwright and Jocelyn Stevens (themselves contributors), as is the rapid appearance of *Stonehenge and its neighbouring monuments* (Osborne 1995), a well-illustrated revised visitors' guide using the up-to-date interpretations of *Stonehenge and its landscape*.

Proper praise having been given, it must be admitted that the production of *Stonehenge and its landscape* falls a little short of excellence. But to a large extent this would seem to have been inescapable. Readers can find misspelling, bibliographical omission, incorrect reference, a drawing reversed and others uncaptioned; but those with fairly long experience of publication will recognise the greater risks of inaccuracy inherent in cost-saving, convenient and speedy modern production methods; and that errors may survive proof-correction, after which new ones may appear. Even the short *Stonehenge and neighbouring monuments* contains a misspelling.

Getting to grips with stratification and finds, the Wessex Archaeology unit's context numbers (over 4000 in *Stonehenge and its landscape*) provide an incantation to numb the concentration even of a specialist reader; but it is difficult to see how members of the unit, confronted with primary publication of very diverse data, could have proceeded otherwise. More generally, the fairly numerous summaries and conclusions are repetitious and make the book excessively long; but comments and interpretations from so many hands or to which so many had contributed were bound to overlap, and one can imagine how difficult it may have been for an editor to keep full control.

Speedy publication was essential. English Heritage faced a serious crisis: disgraceful conditions for visitors and the monument's setting disastrously threatened by road programmes. English Heritage's case would have been derisively weak, without a definitive publication to its name of nearly 90 years of archaeological work. It was right

to set a tight deadline; an experienced editor and her colleagues should not be blamed for slipping occasionally on the way to meet it.

Stonehenge and its neighbouring monuments also shows signs of haste: for instance the knife from Shrewton 5k (Osborne 1995, 24) is not made of bronze as normally understood, but of copper-arsenical alloy; the Avenue is unlikely to have been the route of the sarsens (*ibid.*, 11); on the chronological table (*ibid.*, 8–9) the overlap in use of the Durrington Walls enclosure and Stonehenge phase 3 is insufficient and the introduction of copper shown centuries too late. And what is the justification for the 11 segments of the inner bank, as illustrated (*ibid.*, 9–12)?

Stonehenge and its neighbouring monuments provides a guide for the occasional visitor and *Stonehenge in its landscape* an essential reference work for the specialist. What is needed now is a reasonably-priced middle-of-the-road book incorporating the new information, and no doubt colleagues are already busy at their personal computers. In its temporary absence, a brief summary of the conclusions of *Stonehenge in its landscape* may be useful for readers of *WAM*, since these conclusions differ in several ways from Atkinson's (1979).

Four main stages are distinguished: a possibly prolonged Mesolithic phase between the 9th and 7th millennia BC, and three Neolithic and later phases from the turn of the 4th and 3rd millennia to the mid 2nd. The discovery in the car park of a line of large Mesolithic post holes (for pine posts, possibly totem poles), in what had been a clearing in Boreal open mixed pine and hazel woodland (itself directly recognised for the first time on the chalk) is of major importance. A gap in the environmental record follows until the later 4th millennium when a mixed woody and shrub vegetation, including oak, hazel and elm, shows alteration of the landscape by Neolithic farming – farming mainly pastoral with cattle the principal livestock and with a minor cereal-growing element, supplemented by gathering wild produce.

Phase 1 at the monument itself began closely around 3000 BC with a circular segmented ditched enclosure with concentric inner and outer banks and two entrances, northeast and southeast, and possibly another to the southwest. The ditch was radiocarbon dated by antlers used to dig it. Some were recorded in a heap at the bottom of the ditch, and ox and deer bones, some already over a century old, seem likely also to have been deliberate

deposits. The authors are inclined to support the view that the Aubrey Holes, closely concentric to the inner bank, were for a circle of posts. The monument is not easy to classify; the Flagstones enclosure, Dorchester, Dorset appears the most similar.

Phase 2 covers the period from 3000 BC to somewhat after 2500 BC. The landscape outside the monument became more open. The post-circle in the Aubrey Holes was dismantled and post structures were erected around the centre of the enclosure and at the entrances, including possibly a passageway towards the southeast and linear structures at the northeast entrance. The ditch silted naturally but was partly recut and deliberately filled. Human cremation burials were made in ditch filling, in the infilled Aubrey Holes, in the inner bank and in the interior between bank and Aubrey Holes. To the west and north of the monument, the foundation-trench of a massive wooden palisade may belong to this phase.

Cremation burials continued into *Phase 3*, the beginning of which is defined as overlapping the previous phase. A Beaker-period inhumation grave, dug into the fully silted ditch west of the northeast entrance (Evans 1984), is assigned to Phase 3. This phase lasted until a date approaching 1500 BC and covers the rebuilding of the monument in stone. Not all the stone structures are assigned in order, but the basic sequence is broadly similar to Atkinson's (1979) and proceeds as follows: an initial possibly semi-circular or open rectangular setting of bluestones in the Q and R Holes was removed and the Sarsen Circle begun, perhaps never completed to the south or as monumentally there as elsewhere. About the same time come the Sarsen Trilithons, and then followed bluestones intended first in oval and circular settings but completed as Ring and Horseshoe. A final stage intended as two outer rings of bluestones in the Y and Z Holes was abandoned. The Heelstone and its possible pair beyond the northeast entrance may have been contemporary with the other sarsen settings and the Altar Stone near the centre with one of the bluestones settings. At the periphery, the Station Stones and the Slaughter Stone (one of three, with others in Stoneholes D and E, across and just inside the northeast entrance) are all likely to belong to Phase 3. And the same dating earlier than the Y and Z Holes is argued for the whole length of the Avenue earthwork, prolonging the axis of the monument from the northeast entrance, then curving between

the New and Old King Barrows, and southwards to the Avon at West Amesbury.

During Phase 3, the landscape became more managed and intensively farmed and crop growing increased in importance. Land boundaries appear in the archaeological record (as probably around Avebury: Case 1995, 15 for references), and probably towards the end of Phase 3 and afterwards in the later Bronze Age, those boundaries were superseded by regularly laid out blocks of fields, one of which is traceable to about 500 metres west of the monument itself (Richards 1990, fig. 160).

Phase 3 marks the end of construction at Stonehenge towards the onset of the later Bronze Age. Afterwards the monument continued to be frequented for one purpose or another into modern times, the greatest mass of sherds found being Romano-British (about 6 kilos). Atkinson (1979, 86, 99–100) considered that wrecking occurred in the Roman and probably medieval periods, but evidence that one period was more destructive than another is inconclusive (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 338–39). Some damage is likely to have been fairly recent (Atkinson 1979, 190–91; Osborne 1995, 18).

Stonehenge in its landscape being essentially a basic and admirably detailed excavation report, does not cover a number of topics alluded to by Atkinson, briefly or at length, in his more general account (1979). Some of these were the subjects of contributions to a conference on 'Science and Stonehenge' organised in March 1996 by the Royal Society, English Heritage and the British Academy (RSEHBA 1996). Topics included: construction and manpower (Richards); sources of the bluestones and sarsens (respectively the Preseli Mountains, SW Wales, and the Marlborough Downs: Scouse and Green); astronomy (Ruggles), and ritual and meaning (Darvill and Whittle). Allen expanded his accounts (Cleal *et al.* 1995, *passim*) on the environment, and Batchelor and David contributed on mapping and geophysical survey respectively.

Stonehenge, like Hamlet, attracts much interpretation. It continues in this volume (Burl 1997). Many questions of detail suggest themselves, but I confine discussion here to three general questions: *chronology and sequence*; the *Beaker-associated involvement*; and the *monument's prehistoric importance*.

Chronology and sequence

The chronology of the monument has been given thorough attention (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 511–35) and

is argued from 42 newly obtained radiocarbon determinations and 10 former ones accepted as methodologically reliable. These 52 determinations are interpreted calendrically both by the Intercept method and by the more informative Probability method, using Bayesian statistical analysis to take account of stratification and association. The dating of the digging of the ditch (through antlers probably used for that purpose) to about 3000 BC, or within less than a century afterwards, is a major triumph; as is the revelation that cattle and deer bones were already a century old when deposited at the bottom of the ditch (presumably derived from middens: cf. Case 1995, 11).

Two observations must follow however. First, study of the graphical probability distributions shows that no later event can be dated as closely (Cleal *et al.* 1995, figs. 269–71). Thus, 5 determinations from the same(?) femur from the Beaker-period burial, held to 'constrain' the end of Phase 2 (*ibid.*, 533), show a markedly bimodal major probability span of about a century and a half; and some individual determinations assigned to Phase 2 and especially 3 show major spans of 200 years or more. Thus the date ranges given to later phases (*ibid.*, *passim*, e.g. Phase 2 ending at 2400 BC and Phase 3 from c.2550 to 1600 BC) would be mistakenly interpreted if intended or thought to imply precision within 50 or even 100 years. Conservative estimates within about a quarter of a millennium (250 years) are therefore preferred in this review when referring to later events.

Secondly, the composition of the primary ditch deposits alerts one to the possibility of *residuality* (through older objects entering a younger deposit) throughout the life of such a long occupied site. Residuality can be seen in the date ranges obtained from secondary ditch filling (*ibid.*, fig. 270) and is especially relevant in dating both the beginning and the sequence of the stone constructions. The authors accept that well stratified animal bone from Stonehole 27 of the Sarsen Circle (OxA-4902: 5350±80 BP) was residual and imply the same for one of two well stratified antlers (*ibid.*, fig. 168) in Stonehole E (for a peripheral sarsen upright) in preferring OxA-4838 to OxA-4837 (*ibid.*, fig. 271). In fact, the major probability distributions of OxA-4837 and OxA-4838 fail to overlap, and the same characteristic (*ibid.*, fig. 271) can be seen in comparing the early pair of determinations from the central sarsen structures (UB-3821 from Stonehole 1 of the Sarsen Circle and OxA-4840 from

Stonehole 53/54 of the Trilithons) with the later pair (OxA-4839 from Stonehole 57 and BM-46 from Stonehole 56, both from the Sarsen Trilithons). Thus, the possibility must be borne in mind that UB-3821 and OxA-4840, which could be taken to imply that sarsen construction was begun *before* the mid 3rd millennium BC (*ibid.*, fig. 271), are both residual. At Avebury, such an early start seems possible, although the evidence is inconclusive (Whittle and Pitts 1992, 204–6); also at nearby Overton Hill (Pollard 1992, 224; and 218–19, where a similarly more or less early start is argued for sarsen construction at Site IV, Mount Pleasant, Dorset). But at Stonehenge, I prefer OxA-4838, OxA-4839 and BM-46 as indicating a start to sarsen construction *after* the mid 3rd millennium BC, during its third quarter, both at the centre and the periphery.

No indication of the duration of sarsen construction is obtainable, but there seems every possibility that it was in progress when the Beaker-period grave was dug around the turn of the third and fourth quarters. Questions of access suggest that the latest work may have been on the Circle, which indeed may never have been completed to the south (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 205).

Bluestone chips in the Beaker-period grave (Evans *et al.* 1984, 22) imply that at least preparations for the bluestone constructions in the centre of the monument may have begun before the Sarsen Trilithons were completed; and bluestone was recorded in at least two stoneholes of the Sarsen Circle (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 204). What then is the best date for the bluestone settings which survive? I take OxA-4900 for Stonehole 40c of the Bluestone Circle (a 'problematic area': *ibid.*, 179–80, 183, 227), with its major probability distribution suggesting total overlap with the Sarsen Trilithons (*ibid.*, fig. 271) to be residual. OxA-4878 from the same context is preferred, and its major probability distribution together with that of OxA-4877 from Stonehole 63a of the Bluestone Horseshoe suggest that both settings were constructed in the fourth quarter of the 3rd millennium.

There remains the question of the Q and R Holes. Atkinson recorded Q Hole 4 cut by Sarsen Circle Stonehole 3 (1979, 61). His plan (Cleal *et al.* 1995, fig. 278) shows virtually no overlap between these features at subsoil level; and the photograph of the section (*ibid.*, fig. 92) shows minimal overlap in the filling, which would have made it difficult to read decisively, although the section drawing is emphatic

(*ibid.*, fig. 140). On these grounds, the authors follow Atkinson in regarding the Q and R Holes as pre-dating *all* central sarsen structures; this prior decision underpins their Bayesian statistical analysis, and they are led to reject the only radiocarbon determination for a Q Hole (OxA-4901: 3800±45 BP) as statistically inconsistent (*ibid.*, 521). But, although its context is not clearly defined (*ibid.*, 185), OxA-4901 would be consistent statistically and stratigraphically with OxA-4877 and by implication with OxA-4878, if the bluestone structures, involving several changes of plan, were seen as a single evolving process during the fourth quarter of the 3rd millennium. Their overall layout suggests as much (e.g. *ibid.*, plan 2).

The relationship between Q Hole 4 and Sarsen Circle Stonehole 3 would then suggest that Stone 3 was one of the latest sarsens to be erected, somewhat after the turn of the third and fourth quarters and after the first experimental layout of bluestones. Q Hole 9 and Sarsen Circle Stonehole 7, likewise in the eastern sector, are also contiguous, which together suggest that the prehistoric diggers of one setting knew clearly where the other setting had been.

A modified sequence is suggested therefore. Building in sarsen began in the third quarter of the 3rd millennium BC. Towards the turn of the third and fourth quarters, the bluestones were brought to the site, and there followed an unsettled period (during which the Beaker-period burial was made) of changing layouts, before the sarsens and bluestones were set in their final positions in the fourth quarter. Possibly the transport of the bluestones from the west and the ensuing indecisive period at Stonehenge were reactions to darkened skies and serious environmental setbacks to the west c.2354–2345 BC, following the volcanic eruption of Hekla 4 (Baillie 1995, 32–3).

Beaker-associated involvement

The third and fourth quarters of the 3rd millennium BC, the suggested chronological span covering the building of the sarsen and bluestone structures, is likely to have been the period of the greatest prevalence of beaker pottery in Wiltshire (Case 1995). The Beaker-period grave falls centrally within it. The suggestion that 'the deposition of Beakers was a very minimal part of the monument's history' (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 356) is open to misinterpretation. In fact, very little prehistoric pottery of any kind was deposited at Stonehenge,

compared with the preceding and contemporary Grooved Ware monuments of Durrington Walls, Woodhenge and the Sanctuary at Overton Hill. A different tradition was at work.

Only some 3.5 kilos of Neolithic–Middle Bronze Age pottery were recorded at Stonehenge (*cf.* some 15 kilos from a primary context in single Early Neolithic pit at the nearby Coneybury henge monument: Richards 1990, 46). At Stonehenge, Beaker pottery represents the largest component of this amount at just over a kilo, to which should be added some of the nearly 900 grams of fairly indeterminate Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery; this amount can be compared with some 50 grams of Grooved Ware and just over a kilo of Middle to later Bronze Age sherds. Beaker pottery alone appears to show a meaningful distribution over the site (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 282, 354), and it is stratigraphically associated with *all* the major stages of stone or intended stone construction (Q Hole 5, Sarsen Circle Hole 3, Sarsen Trilithon Hole 53/54, Z Hole 16: *ibid.*, 177, 192, 362) and apparently with other features (Heelstone filling, possibly in the primary fill of the Avenue ditch and apparently in the sarsen working floor: *ibid.*, 273, 317; Pitts 1982, 83; and Cleal *et al.* 1995, 519 for comment on the radiocarbon-determination from the working floor).

One burial and possibly another at highly significant locations are Beaker-related: the Beaker-period inhumation burial itself in ditch filling about 12 metres northwest of the northeast entrance (*cf.* human skull fragment and Group D beaker sherds in equivalent position nearby at Woodhenge: Pollard 1995, 145) and possibly burial WA 2274 across the main axis (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 265, 268). The Beaker-period grave contained characteristic artefacts: a two-hole stone wristguard and Sutton and Conygar type flint arrowheads (Evans *et al.* 1984, 17–19). The assertion that 'none of the artefacts traditionally associated' with Beaker pottery was found at Stonehenge (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 356) shows an uncharacteristic lapse in concentration. Worth noting too is a tubular sheet copper or bronze bead from the presumably disturbed contents of Aubrey Hole 18 in the southern sector (*ibid.*, fig. 241, no. 2). Although this example is shorter than some and has unusual flanges, tubular sheet metal beads are recurrently beaker-associated (*cf.* of similar length in gold, Chilbolton, Hants: Russel 1990, fig. 7, no. 17, possibly close in date to the Stonehenge Beaker-period burial; and of earlier date in copper, Radley F919, Oxon: information Alistair Barclay; other

examples, Russel 1990, 163–64).

Thus chronological, stratigraphical and artefactual evidence combine to show that the builders of the major stone structures were users of Beaker pottery. The pottery concerned is my Southern British group D (Case 1995 for Wiltshire examples and associations), which has some strong west European roots and was recurrently associated in South Britain with copper and gold objects, their metal (if not their manufacture) arguably of Irish origin (e.g. Mere 6a: Case 1995, fig. 2, nos. 2 and 3, copper knife and gold sun disc; Winterslow JSS3: Clarke 1970, fig. 134, copper knife). Darvill (RSEHBA 1996) interestingly suggested that the cruciform patterns on gold sun discs as in beaker association at Mere 6a and at Farleigh Wick (Clarke 1970, fig. 259) could be related to midsummer sunrise and sunset alignments as seen in the main axis and Station Stones at Stonehenge (although cruciform settings noted in Grooved Ware contexts at the Sanctuary, Overton Hill and at Site IV, Mount Pleasant do not seem solar-related: Pollard 1992, fig. 8).

Farleigh Wick overlooks the Bristol Avon and Mere is not far distant from the Wylde, both along the likely route by which the bluestones were brought to Stonehenge (Atkinson 1979, fig. 4, 108–10; followed in Osborne 1995, 15) and these grave-groups may indicate some of the kinship groups concerned. The nearest gold-associated Beaker grave to Stonehenge is at Chilbolton, Hants (Russel 1990); nearer ones may perhaps lurk as primary burials beneath recorded Wessex Culture barrows.

Only two barrows with known Beaker associations are visible from Stonehenge compared with at least eleven with later associations (Cleal *et al.* 1995, figs. 22, 23); this might appear to support Atkinson's assertion (1979, 164–65) that the major stone constructions should be related to the Wessex Culture – a view apparently followed in *Stonehenge and neighbouring monuments* (Osborne 1995, 26: illustration). Among these barrows with spectacular later associations is Wilsford 5 (the Bush Barrow, Normanton Down), where the unusually presumably extended burial of 'a stout and tall man lying from south to north' (Colt Hoare 1812, 203) appears to have been aligned at least approximately on Stonehenge. But intervisibility at least as significant may have been intended between *settlements* and monument (following a suggestion made long ago by Fox: 1942, 22), and it would be

interesting to test this hypothesis against known sherd and flint scatters (as recorded in Richards 1990), with the aid of mapping techniques described by Batchelor (RSEHBA 1996).

The carvings of apparently Arretton type bronze axes on uprights of the Sarsen Trilithons and Circle (Cleal *et al.* 1995, 30–34) suggest that these settings were indeed in place by a fairly late stage of the Wessex Culture, towards the mid 2nd millennium BC. The best approximate date for a nearby emphatic type fossil of an early stage of that culture, such as the spectacular tin-bronze midrib dagger from Wilsford 5 (Annable and Simpson 1964, no. 170) would be the first quarter of the 2nd millennium (Gerloff 1993). Thus, the only constructional effort likely to be associated with the Wessex Culture would be the abortive activity related to the Z and Y Holes (radiocarbon-dated respectively to the first and second quarters of the 2nd millennium BC (Cleal *et al.* 1995, fig. 273).

Worn beaker sherds (presumably residual) from Z16 and a collared urn sherd from Y4 together with Middle to later Bronze Age ones (which also came from Y3 and Y8), are consistent with this interpretation. Furthermore, the assemblage from Wilsford 5 only seems to emphasise the Beaker association with Stonehenge. The almost equally spectacular flat-bladed knife (Annable and Simpson 1964, no. 169) may have been an heirloom; it is of archaic copper-arsenical alloy, like the riveted knife in Beaker-association nearby in Shrewton 5k (Case 1995, fig. 2, no. 7). And a comparable knife to that in Wilsford 5 recently found at Lockington, Leicestershire (Hughes 1996, 47) was at least partly in beaker association.

The prehistoric importance of Stonehenge: resources and manpower

Stonehenge is a national monument today. But how important was it in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC? Atkinson based his view of its uniqueness partly on over-enthusiastic claims for Mediterranean connections and partly on the organisation and manpower he considered necessary for preparation and construction, involving 'the displacement of so many hundreds of men from their homes for so long' (Atkinson 1979, 166).

Certainly those associated with the builders of Stonehenge appear to have had wide connections in Southern Britain and possibly overseas whether direct or indirect; in addition to the Irish connections mentioned above, the knife from

Shrewton 5k like that from Roundway 8 in the Avebury area may have been of continental European metal (France seems as likely a source as Central Europe suggested in Case 1966, 157). But Startin's estimates of the manpower involved in the building of Stonehenge (1982, 155; Startin and Bradley 1981) and recent experiments by Richards (RSEHBA 1996) suggest that at least some of the figures used by Atkinson in his calculations were too high. And Allen (RSEHBA 1996, elaborating his comments in Cleal *et al.* 1995, 169) has questioned whether the more organised farming in operation during the second half of the 3rd millennium may not have freed sufficient manpower locally for building, without the need for outside assistance. It might be possible to test this hypothesis very approximately by estimating the potential regional acreage available in various combinations of arable and pasture, estimating their calorific potential (Mercer 1981 provides some figures) and relating these to estimated manpower requirements over a plausible time span. In this context, it can be suggested too that the need to preserve arable and pasture from trampling and protect stock, crops, fences and buildings may have imposed limits to the numbers of both builders and worshippers. Possibly the apparently little known area between Stonehenge and the Cursus (e.g. Richards 1990, fig. 16) was available for large gatherings.

Stonehenge's survival makes it outstanding today, but its constructional basis in wooden technology (dowels, mortices, tongue-and-groove joints) should remind us that contemporary wooden monuments may have been at least as impressive: for example, nearby and at least partly contemporary, the complicated wooden structures at Durrington Walls and Woodhenge and the vast earthwork enclosure itself were perhaps more imposing and certainly very demanding on local manpower.

Proximity and opposed cultural affiliations can suggest that Stonehenge and Durrington Walls/Woodhenge were reactions one to the other and that they assert a frontier around the mid 3rd millennium and in its third quarter: Beaker generally to the west and south, Grooved Ware to the east and north. I do not imply anything like the frontier of a modern state but a porous boundary like those indicated by Hodder's ethnoarchaeological fieldwork in East Africa (1982, *passim*), permitting complex relationships; it is interesting to note that the minimal amounts of beaker pottery at Durrington Walls are more emphatically Group B of northern and eastern affinities and at Woodhenge of Group D as at Stonehenge.

Ultimately, Stonehenge's greater durability will have ensured its exceptional continuing veneration into the 2nd millennium BC, as indicated by the wide connections seen in the nearby clustered Wessex Culture grave-groups.

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Reviews

C.J. Bond. Medieval Windmills in South-Western England. Wind and Watermill Section, Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1995. 60 pages; illustrated. Price £3, paperback. ISBN 1 898856 02 8.

With clear text and illustrations, this slim publication adds considerably to molinological literature and knowledge – by taking a slightly different approach to the subject. Windmills, so important in the medieval and early modern economy, are examined from the stance of documentary, archaeological and iconographic evidence. It is the last of these that receives greatest attention with consideration of wooden ceiling paintings, misericords, stone carvings, wall paintings and stained glass. Such sources and evidence are derived from the south-western counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire. While only 26 Wiltshire communities appear in the useful appendix of 87 the publication should not, for this reason, be marginalised. Good use is made, for example, of early sets of manorial accounts from within the county and from Wiltshire volumes of the indispensable *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*. While the author alludes to and, indeed, offers examples of the problems of effective conclusion-drawing, there is one flaw in the work. The reviewer noted a failure to ask questions of the material – even if answers may be next to impossible! What were the costs involved? Were there itinerant craftsmen responsible for executing the iconography? These reservations apart, it is to be noted that important, revealing, shafts of light are cast upon fascinating dimensions of Wiltshire's development during a period of crucial change.

JAMES THOMAS

John Cattell and Keith Falconer. Swindon: Legacy of a Railway Town. RCHME/HMSO, 1995; x + 188 pages; 220 illustrations. Price £19.95, hardback. ISBN 0 11 300053 7.

With the coming of the Great Western Railway, few

residents of the small Wiltshire town of Swindon could have been prepared for the enormous and irrevocable changes that were to occur over the next century: the extensive railway workshops established by the GWR were to dominate the economic, social and political life of the town until after 1945. This book began in 1984 as a simple recording project of the remaining buildings on the old Swindon Works site but it was soon expanded into a much more detailed architectural history of the works and related buildings in the railway village nearby. Final preparation of the book coincided with the establishment of the headquarters of the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England in the old General Offices building on the Swindon Works site, now being redeveloped after the closure of the works in 1986.

Since so many books have been written on the Great Western, Swindon and its locomotives, one might be forgiven for thinking that there is little new to say on the subject; the authors dispel this thought with a book which makes a good read for all, written with authority and in an approachable style – and not just for disciples of all things GWR. It should be emphasised that the book concentrates on the architecture of the works and railway village and how it related to the development of the Swindon operation. Taking a chronological approach, the authors trace the development of Swindon from a primitive early Victorian repair shop to its zenith in the 1930s and beyond. The account ends with an in-depth look at the buildings which remain, followed by an extensive bibliography and list of sources. The book is important in this field in concentrating on the architectural and social history of Swindon as a railway town rather than on railway technology.

Two factors place this work above many other railway titles. The first is the quality and standard of research done. Using original material from the collections of the Public Record Office, the Wiltshire Record Office and contemporary newspapers rather than secondary sources, the authors have managed to set the record straight on many areas of Swindon history which were previously unclear. One good example of this is in

verification of the assertion that Brunel himself was responsible for much of the design of the railway village, something which has been debated for some considerable time.

The second factor which puts this book in the 'standard work' category is the choice of illustrations and quality of design. Over 200 pictures complement the text, including many unpublished views. Of particular interest are the reproductions of original drawings and plans which vividly show the development of the works and the associated structures in the railway village. The judicious use of colour in the text is most welcome.

Overall, the design of the book is very attractive and adds to the feeling that the work is likely to find its way on to the bookshelves of most industrial and railway historians as well as of those more generally interested in the development of this part of North Wiltshire.

TIM BRYAN

Michael Cowan (editor). *The Letters of John Peniston, Salisbury Architect, Catholic, and Yeomanry Officer 1823–1830*. Wiltshire Record Society, Vol. 50, 1996; xx + 270 pages. Price £20, hardback. ISBN 0 901333 27 1.

There is no better way of knowing a man than by working through his letters. The price of such knowledge is time but now John Peniston is accessible to us all thanks to Michael Cowan who has taken all the hard work out of this usually laborious task by presenting a comprehensively indexed synopsis of more than seven years of letter book entries. He concentrates each entry into a single line, if the subject is mundane, half a dozen or more if of more consequence. Letters are reproduced in full only when of particular interest. Thus the interwoven strands that make up Peniston's life unravel page by page. But our debt of gratitude to the editor for his meticulous and no doubt extremely time consuming work extends further. He gives us a succinct introduction and offers two indexes: the first, the usual one to persons and places, makes the whole publication worthwhile; the second, however, makes Cowan's work outstanding for it offers access to the material by subject matter also.

Interested in building stone in the Salisbury area, and in which stones were used where at this period,

I found Bath stone from Box in use at Bulford Bridge and for copings at Norman Court in 1824. I found material from the same source ordered for the alterations to the Salisbury Council House in 1828. Local stone (from Tisbury) was used in 1829 at Shaftesbury for the Town Hall and for repairs to Fisherton Bridge in Salisbury. The mason for the bridge was Mr Bevis from Tisbury but it was Marsh of Tisbury who provided the material for similar work at Codford in the same year. Further afield, Purbeck stone was ordered from Chichen of Swanage.

Switching to the people and places index we can try to discover what Peniston was up to in these different locations. He worked at several prominent local houses like Broadlands, Clarendon, Norman Court, Longford Castle and Fonthill Abbey. Add Salisbury Council House and Shaftesbury Town Hall and we have a list suggesting a significant architectural achievement. So what sort of architect was Peniston? Indeed how did an architect operate in a place like Salisbury in the 1820s? Cowan tells how John Peniston's father was 'director of the bricklayers' at New Wardour Castle between 1770 and 1776. New Wardour is the major country house of its time in South Wiltshire but it is in stone not brick, so John Peniston himself was upwardly mobile it seems; as Michael Cowan astutely informs us, he was by calling a surveyor although his gravestone records him as an architect.

Much of Peniston's work as seen through his letters was run of the mill. He dealt with dilapidations to parsonage houses. As County Surveyor he arranged the repair of many bridges. He undertook minor domestic alterations (and much of what he did at the grand addresses listed earlier falls into this category). There is however much to be learnt from work of this sort. His times and the aspirations of his clients are reflected in the projects he dealt with. We learn of proposals for conservatories; the fashionable design of a thatched dairy with rustic verandah; how to pack an ice house (by breaking the ice into small pieces then compacting it with wooden hammers). Correspondence concerning the sale of building material from the ruined Fonthill Abbey to the architect Edward Blore offers a good starting point for a search for remains – although hardly at Clouds, East Knoyle, Philip Webb's house of the 1880s, as suggested by Cowan. Blore was commissioned to build an earlier house on this site but the project fell through (C. Dakers, *Clouds, The Biography of a Country House* (1993), p. 47).

What then was the position of the provincial architect in the early 19th century? Peniston's way of working shows a man who, in the 1820s, was still trying to shake off contracting work in exchange for a role as the client's agent. He tells his client at Clarendon that 'he has for some years declined the building business himself'. One imagines Peniston worked as a contractor earlier in his career and in fact he ended up in this capacity at Clarendon, despite his reticence. Elsewhere he is involved in speculative housing on his own account, building De Vaux Place, a terrace of houses outside the Harnham Gate to Salisbury Cathedral Close, and moving in to one of these houses himself in 1828. Here his limited architectural pretensions are revealed by correspondence indicating his wish to build houses 'similar to those in the environs of London, as many and as cheaply as possible'.

Peniston's letters cover subjects other than building matters, thus making this book of wider interest. By 1828 he had served for 32 years with the Wiltshire Yeomanry Cavalry. In 1830 he was still serving and was clearly a key member during a time when local troops were much needed to suppress threatened risings on a large scale. It was Peniston who guided his aristocratic superior officers, suggesting tactics and implementing them.

The Penistons were Catholics and Catholicism is another thread that runs through the correspondence. A close knit group, local Catholics worked hard to support their priests and to help each other when they could. The Catholic Relief Bill, passed in 1829, was welcomed by John Peniston as a way of breaking down the barriers that separated Catholics from the rest of the community. It allowed him to 'become a really free man' and (perhaps as a result) his second son joined the priesthood. In any event, Peniston's Catholicism does not appear to have barred him from Anglican church work. His involvement in surveying parsonages to assess dilapidations was bread and butter work but although his career preceded the wave of 19th century church rebuilding, Peniston found that it was not only the parsonages but the churches too that suffered dilapidation. At Bramshaw in the New Forest he designed a quirky brick tower and buttressed the old church. At Ibsley, also in Hampshire, and at Alderbury he assessed condition, advising rebuilding (again in brick) at the former but not the latter, although Alderbury was in fact rebuilt only thirty years later, by S.S. Teulon.

Peniston's major church, St James's in Devizes,

rebuilt in 1831/2, falls outside the scope of this book and herein lies a problem with this volume. The Peniston papers are a substantial archive relating to the business matters of three generations of Salisbury Architects over a period from 1823 to 1858. The letters of John Peniston from 1823 to 1830 are therefore only a small part of the whole. What is more, the 1830 cut-off date is arbitrary, leaving the reader or researcher suddenly stranded in the midst of interesting episodes. John Peniston was 52 and his career was still in the ascendancy. His role in the Yeomanry was also at its peak: he was leading the Salisbury troop at a time when a popular rising looked highly likely. But it is churlish to complain. Having had our eyes opened to this fascinating resource we are at liberty to pursue matters further, should we so wish. It is just such a luxury to have all the hard work done for us and done in such a meticulous and scholarly way.

MICHAEL DRURY

Desmond Hawkins (editor). *The Grove Diaries: The Rise and Fall of an English Family, 1809–1925*. The Dovecote Press, 1995. 375 pages; illustrations. Price £25.00, hardback. ISBN 1 874336 30 X.

Diaries make fascinating reading: they bring us into direct contact with the lives of real people and illuminate our knowledge of social life and behaviour gained from conventional historical 'secondary' sources. On the other hand, they can be frustrating for reasons any diary writer will understand. They are kept for a variety of purposes, such as recording daily activities, providing a means of pouring out personal thoughts and emotions, or perhaps providing a useful record for future readers. This last reason may inhibit the writer from recording certain thoughts, feelings, or actions, the diarist thus being self-censored.

The Grove diaries provide all these facets, giving us the opportunity to experience part of 19th- and early 20th-century life through the diary entries made by four members of a Wiltshire family between 1809 and 1925. Only the first, that of Harriet Grove, covering 1809 and 1810, has been published before; interest in her arises from her youthful romance with her cousin, Percy Bysshe Shelley. Both families appeared to accept their attachment and possibly had the idea that they

would eventually marry. Desmond Hawkins considered this relationship in detail along with the reasons behind its failure in his book *Shelley's First Love* (Kyle Cathie, 1992). Harriet later found it necessary to delete all references to 'dear Bysshe' with whom she had regularly and frequently corresponded. While leaving us with tantalizing omissions, this gives us some idea of the strength of her feelings for him, particularly through 1809 and the first half of 1810. Hawkins' intimate knowledge of the West Country has enabled him to correct a number of gaps and errors found in previously published editions, particularly where names of people and places are involved.

Harriet's older sister, Charlotte, takes up the tale in 1811, and it is through the entries in her diaries that we learn of Harriet's marriage in that year to a neighbour and family friend.

Charlotte's diaries, covering the years 1811 to 1860, provide a fascinating insight into the lives of the gentry as well as giving us a vivid portrait of Charlotte herself. While recording family concerns, social visits, neighbourhood births and deaths, she also notes the various bets she makes, her victories and defeats at chess, and how, given the opportunity, she is happy to dance until dawn. She mentions the novels, plays and poetry she and her family are enjoying: these are often read aloud or performed for the entertainment of other members of the family or visitors. On 5 November 1816 she records: 'We were very much amused with the novel of *Pride and Prejudice*'.

From Jane Austen's novels we might imagine that it was only young ladies who were earnestly concerned with the search for suitable husbands, but Charlotte records the hopes and disappointments of her brothers in their efforts to secure suitable partners. On 14 March 1817 she writes: 'A letter from John – like all the rest of my brothers he makes but a desponding lover'.

Charlotte herself married in 1827 at the age of 44 and developed the charitable interests suiting her new role as rector's wife. She and her husband, Richard Downes, opened a school, and she organised a Penny Club and coal tickets for the needy, visited the sick, and worried about the effects of the new Poor Law.

Charlotte's nephew, Thomas, continues the story in 1855. His diaries are in sharp contrast to those of his female relatives, being much more of a listing of social visits, hunting and shooting activities, and financial transactions. The death of his first wife in

1879 is recorded briefly with no further comment, and his second marriage in 1882, taking place in the same year as that of his eldest son, Walter, to Agnes Fox-Pitt, is treated similarly tersely. It is from Agnes's diary for the same year that we learn the details of the drama lying behind these events.

Thomas Grove's diaries do, however, chart his political career, providing an interesting commentary on national events at that time. Entering Parliament in 1865, he presents himself as a prosperous and influential figure in the locality, mixing with his peers among the sporting fraternity and landed gentry. Gladstone rewarded him with a baronetcy when he lost his seat in the 1874 election, but he was back in Parliament in 1886, and taking an interest in local politics through the new County Councils.

It was around this time that the seeds of future social change were sown and we can experience at first hand the gradual decline of the traditional 'country house' way of life. Thomas Grove's farming tenants experienced increasing difficulties in finding the means to pay their rents due to falling land values and growing competition from cheaper imports. Entries in Sir Thomas's diaries show that he was regularly forced to defer or reduce rents, while some of his tenants gave up completely as agriculture went into a national decline. In 1892 he lost his Parliamentary seat and the weakness of his financial position, with its heavy dependence on rents, was exposed to such a degree that he was forced to start selling land and family heirlooms. Following his death in 1897, Ferne was put on the market.

Throughout these three diaries Ferne, the family seat at Donhead on the Wiltshire/Dorset border, remains an important link between diary writers and generations of the Grove family. Harriet records the move from Ferne when it was demolished due to a structural fault in 1809. While it was being rebuilt there are regular references to the family visiting the site to check on progress, and Charlotte writes, on 1 September 1811: 'We got into the new house at Fern to our great joy. May the owners of this charming mansion enjoy years of happiness within these walls'. Some of her last diary entries record visits to her nephew at Ferne, but the family's link with the house, reaching back to 1563, was broken after Sir Thomas's death. The house was let to tenants, sold, and finally demolished in 1966.

Agnes Grove's diaries overlap with Sir Thomas's by some 14 years, running from 1882 to 1925. Her

early diaries are a vivid account of her girlhood at Rushmore and her romance and marriage to Walter Grove, which was initially opposed by both families. Her descriptions of family life throw an interesting light on the character of her father, Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, often described as the father of modern archaeology, who appears as an irascible and bad-tempered character, referred to by his daughter as 'The Man'.

During her married life Agnes developed a lively social life, with country pursuits mixed with visits to London contrasting with periods of illness and despondency. She became part of a literary circle and started writing, receiving advice from Thomas Hardy, and completed four books which were published to general public acclaim. She was also a strong supporter of Gladstone's liberal politics and spoke up for the cause of women's suffrage and against vivisection.

The accidental death of her young son, Terence, in 1902 was a bitter blow, while financial problems again lurk beneath the surface of an apparently giddy life style. In 1904 the Grove's Wiltshire property, Sedgehill Manor, was let and the family took up permanent residence in London, spending winters abroad. Poor Walter could no longer hunt and shoot at will, and one wonders how exactly he occupied himself. Agnes gives us few indications of his activities in her diary entries, while she continues her social whirl allowing herself a number of flirtations with her male friends.

The war put an end to much of this way of life and Agnes's last years until her death in 1926 were dogged by further money problems, worries concerning her children and vexations over unreliable means of transport.

Agnes's diary, while marking the last chapter in this family saga, also represents the beginning of Desmond Hawkins' interest in the Grove family. Hawkins, a well-known expert on Thomas Hardy, was researching the friendship between Hardy and Agnes Grove when he discovered the Grove family habit of diary-writing and the remarkable collection of diaries still held among the family papers. His subsequent book, *Concerning Agnes: Thomas Hardy's 'Good Little Pupil'* (Alan Sutton, 1982), deals in more detail with this chapter of the Grove family history. Hawkins' obsession with the diaries as a whole remained with him over a period of some twenty years, finally resulting in this publication.

Desmond Hawkins provides full details of the principal characters and the houses and places

connected with them. These make invaluable reference points although I felt a family tree might also have been helpful. His introduction, footnotes and commentary provide us with the necessary background and social and political context to help our understanding of the diaries and their writers, displaying them as a unique document of the period. Through the lives of one Wiltshire family over more than a century, history is brought vividly to life in a way no ordinary history book can hope to emulate.

FELICITY GILMOUR

J.D. Hill. *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 242, Tempus Reparatum, 1995; 189 pages, 174 plans, illustrations and tables. Price £33, paperback. ISBN 0 86054 784 1.

I recently spoke to a local archaeological society about hillforts in Wessex and afterwards a member of the audience approached me, triumphantly exclaiming 'You're a follower of J.D. Hill, then!' – a clear indication of the impact his researches are having on our general understanding of the Iron Age. The book reviewed here is essentially a reworking of Hill's doctoral thesis, widening the discussion to include a number of topics excluded from his original text. For those of us raised on a diet of Wheeler and Hawkes, this current presentation will come as something of a shock. A blizzard of facts and figures backed by theory may seem off-putting, but it is written with a strong and well structured narrative. Gone are the notions of a functional Iron age, where banks and ditches around settlements are defensive, and pits are only for storage. Instead with the work of Hill and a number of others, notably Mike Parker-Pearson, Richard Hingley and Andrew Fitzpatrick, we witness the rise of symbolic archaeology, questioning our long held assumptions. After reading Hill's offering it is difficult to resist the new order.

The first few chapters set the scene, examining our traditional interpretation of settlement hierarchies and beliefs about the function, for example, of hillforts as pseudo-urban central places. Preconceived ideas about 'Wessex' take a pounding as does our understanding of 'Celticism'. It is a lively account and the main thrust of Hill's work

focuses on pit and ditch deposits across a wide range of settlements. He argues specifically that the contents of these features should not be considered as garbage and that they were filled in a less than accidental manner. Nine sites are included in his study ranging, in geographical terms, from Dorset to Hampshire, thus making the book of great interest to the local readership.

Although it has long been recognised that pits may have been used for human burial and also as receptacles for special animal deposits, Hill states that these various 'pit belief systems' are not detailed enough. He has looked at finds from individual layers within pits and ditches and cross referenced these, not only with other layers in the same feature, but also within the overall layout of the site. This approach has led to some startling conclusions. First, that much of what we regard as waste products, such as broken pottery, animal bones and other small finds, were discarded in a structured manner and that this structured deposition, occasionally, may have had a ritual element to it. Secondly, that very few pits were being used at any one time within settlements; thus sites such as Danebury may not have been centralised grain stores. One of the most important assertions though, is that the pattern of finds from different contexts is not solely due to preservation variances. At Winnall Down, Hampshire, the 'average' pit saw fresher material dumped in the lower and middle parts with the upper parts being reserved for older midden material. This has important implications for site phasing based on finds from pits: the latest pottery may be an unreliable guide for the date of the pit. On other occasions human burials and collections of animal bones were placed in the same pit and there seems to be an association between small finds such as querns, worked bone and antler.

A similar analysis carried out on the fills of ditches surrounding Iron age enclosures confirms the same general trend: deposits of chosen material were placed within the ditch and interleaved with 'natural' material such as chalk. In effect, these boundaries were dug and backfilled soon afterwards, and if we accept this, our whole understanding of the nature of enclosure boundaries comes into question. It is clear that the ditches were re-cut to allow the insertion of further deposits and that the nature of these deposits varied throughout the entire circuit. The relative positioning of different sorts of 'material' also varied greatly across sites.

Indeed, much of the internal organisation of settlements seems to be highly structured, with the careful placing of pits in relation to houses extending even to house and enclosure entrance orientation. It has long been known that most house entrances face generally south-eastwards; a custom usually thought to be related to the need to exclude the prevailing winds. Hill, drawing on the work of Alisdair Oswald, suggests that the dominant orientation is, in fact, towards the rising sun. It is suggested that this correct alignment is associated with some form of cosmological mapping, marking the passage of time and the changing of the seasons. The movement of light around the building or enclosure may also have been important since it is clear that our prehistoric ancestors were obsessed with oppositions: light and dark, front and back, inside and outside, clean and dirty; and much of the observed patterning in the pits and ditches of the enclosures conforms to this phenomenon.

I have relatively few quibbles. Each chapter is laid out methodically with a series of questions posed then assessed against the available data, followed by a conclusion. This simplicity of presentation works well. There are a number of typographical errors and many of the figures are clumsily designed. More seriously, however, I look forward to the day when archaeologists cease to depend upon ethnographers to validate their theoretical claims (as if results from fieldwork in the areas of anthropology/ethnography are objective and 'true'). Hill's frequent recourse to statistics is in many places unnecessary and, I feel, little more than an attempt to employ facts and figures as some form of scientific objectification and verification of his main theses. Occasionally, the theory left me confused; I am still unsure of the differences between structured deposition and ritual activity. Also, there is much repetition of the major points, though this may be a deliberate attempt to press home the message. Hill is at pains to stress that this work is only intended to stimulate debate and should not be regarded as the final say. I found his arguments persuasive and refreshing but then, I am a disciple!

DAVID MCOMISH

Andrew Langley and John Utting (editors). *The Village on the Hill: Aspects of Colerne History.* Colerne History Group, 1990; xvi + 168 pages. Price £5.00, paperback. ISBN 0 9515728 06.

Joyce Utting and John Utting (editors). *The Village on the Hill: Aspects of Colerne History Volume 2.* Colerne History Group, 1995; viii + 312 pages. Price £6.75, paperback. ISBN 0 9515728 3 0.

One of the pleasing features of local history studies today is the amount of research undertaken by local history societies. Taking the place of the antiquarian interests of 19th-century clergymen, these societies involve many people, both members and others, in their work. We are fortunate in the fact that many such societies have published at least one volume on their town or village. In 1990 Colerne History Society published its first volume to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the parish church. Much of the book deals with the early history of Colerne with due mention of the parish and other churches. The 17 people named as having contributed to the volume have made extensive use of primary sources including, in the section on monumental inscriptions, those written in stone.

Unlike the *Victoria History of Wiltshire*, which has yet to cover the parish, works such as these do not have to cover the whole history of the parish but can provide an insight in greater depth into some aspects of that history. As with all societies, the material published is likely to reflect the personal interests of the contributors; this means that even more hours of research are likely to be spent on a congenial topic.

More than one third of Volume 2 is concerned with older village houses, providing excellent material on a variety of buildings including some, such as Vale Court, Lucknam House and Cleggs Mill, which are of great interest to people far beyond the village boundaries. Other substantial articles include two on families who inhabited some of these houses, the Walmesleys of Lucknam and the Drewetts of Vale Court and several other properties. The rapid growth of Colerne in this century can, in part, be attributed to the RAF and a well-researched article on the early years of 1940 to 1946 provides a finely illustrated account of 'The Camp'.

These two worthy and entertaining volumes of village history lead one to hope that a third will be forthcoming in the future.

MICHAEL MARSHMAN

Donald Watts, Barbara Rogers and others. *Architects and Building Craftsmen with Work in Wiltshire.* Wiltshire Buildings Record, 1996; 132 pages, paperback. Price £6.00. ISBN 0 9527933 0 X.

That excellent body, the Wiltshire Buildings Record, has followed its three illustrated publications on Wiltshire buildings with something that looks more utilitarian and will certainly prove most useful to all who are studying, researching or publishing the greater and the lesser buildings of our county.

In her introduction, the editor Mrs Slocombe tells us that this project began in 1984 when a WBR member, Donald Watts, passed on his card index of material gathered from many sources. Others, to whom she pays warm tribute, added more material and carried out practical tasks to produce the index she has now edited.

An attractive cover reproduces a mid-Victorian illustration of model farm buildings at Stalls Farm, Horningsham, and there are a few black and white illustrations of buildings, existing or demolished, as well as portraits of 14 architects and builders from that invaluable source, Dorling's *Wilts and Dorset at the Opening of the Twentieth Century* (1906), and four reproductions of advertisements from local directories.

Architects famous and obscure, builders large and small, craftsmen famous and humble, are listed by name and dates, together with buildings they worked on, with dates where known. They range from (taking quite arbitrary samples) Jones, Inigo to Jones, Daniel and Charles (of Bradford-on-Avon); Scott, Sir George Gilbert to Scott, William, carpenter, of Dauntsey; Lutyens, Sir Edwin to Lee, James, of Birmingham, maker of iron churches such as the one at Brokerswood; and so on. There is also a complete index of places, parish by parish.

How can one person, living in one Wiltshire town, properly 'review' a historical directory of names, places and buildings covering the whole of our wide county? He can only test the work by looking up names and places of which he has some personal knowledge. Inevitably (as happens with almost any publication on any subject at any level) he will find much to agree with and something to correct. But such discoveries do nothing to detract from the great value of this enterprise nor the high praise due to all concerned in its production.

So (declaring an interest) I feel bound to

dissociate myself (quoted, all unworthily, as a source) from the statement attributed to me that William Talman the architect 'also lived at Paxcroft Farm, Hilperton'. This may result from a casual remark misheard or carelessly made; but in my article in the *Georgian Group Journal* (1993), I said merely that people called Talman can be traced back to the 13th century at Great Hinton and that a Talman was living at Paxcroft in the 16th century. I have no reason to suppose that William Talman, in the later 17th century, had any connection with Paxcroft.

I apologize to Mrs Slocombe for using so much space on this one matter. I am full of admiration for the effort that has gone into this publication. I think I have looked at every page and found something of interest, likely to inspire a reader to look at a building or follow up a reference.

Mrs Slocombe writes that 'the index is, of course, still in its infancy' and she suggests sources still untapped from which more information could – and surely will – be gathered. She invites readers to contribute new entries and biographical details towards a lengthier edition or supplement. She makes the interesting suggestion that much could also be discovered by questioning elderly members of building firms. Local historians, please take up the challenge!

MICHAEL LANSDOWN

Avice R. Wilson. *Forgotten Harvest: The Story of Cheesemaking in Wiltshire*. Published privately by the author, Bremhill, 1995; 218 pages; illustrations; 5 maps. Price £12.50, paperback. ISBN 0 9526544 0 7.

As the author rightly notes, cheesemaking has tended to be neglected in studies of the history of farming in England. Perhaps because it was so often carried on by the farmer's wife as a side-line to the main business of the farm, the fact that it has been of considerable commercial significance in some areas and at some periods has frequently been ignored. In this book Avice Wilson provides us with a picture of cheesemaking in Wiltshire, tracing it from its small-scale origins to its height as a major local industry and on to its almost total disappearance in the latter years of the 19th century and final demise in the 20th. She speculates on the production of cheese in the prehistoric period, and

traces its development through the scanty records of the Saxon period to the firmer documentary base of the Middle Ages. Extensive use is made not only of documentary sources but also of the evidence from elderly local farmers and others involved in the industry in the latter stages of its existence.

Ms Wilson ranges widely around the topic, discussing the breeding of dairy cattle, the types of buildings, and the role of other enterprises on the dairy farms. She describes the evolution of the dairy and of dairy equipment, and the transport and marketing system which was essential for the industry's commercial success. The different kinds of cheese produced are considered in some detail, drawing attention to seasonal as well as regional differences. It is postulated that most early cheesemaking in the county made use of ewes' milk, rather than cows', with the latter attaining increasing importance by the 13th century.

Some interesting questions emerge concerning the general applicability and scientific basis of some of the ideas and customs associated with Wiltshire cheese-making. For example, I have not encountered the practice of share-milking, whereby the owner leased out cows during their lactation period, in other counties with which I am familiar. Ms Wilson suggests that it was a means of supplying the labour necessary for the cheesemaking process, though she argues that its persistence in the mid 19th century owed more to social attitudes: it was beneath the dignity of the large farmer to milk his own cows, or to allow his wife to engage in cheesemaking. It appears to have been the arrival of the Milk Marketing Board which finally killed this custom. On a completely different question, it would be interesting to know whether there is any validity in the long-held belief that both rich milk and rich pastures produced poorer cheese.

By implication, commercial cheesemaking was often a somewhat marginal economic activity in the county, for Ms Wilson states (of the making of cheese in South Wiltshire in the high Middle Ages) 'As so often has happened . . . it became more lucrative not to make it'. She argues that the rising profitability of wool led to the demise of the cheese industry here in the later Middle Ages, with the North Wiltshire 'Cheese Country' rising to take its place when the dissolution of the monasteries allowed the consolidation of holdings. This second area had its own problems, for Wiltshire's landlocked nature made access to markets difficult until the 17th century when merchants started to use the

Thames for transport to London. The decline through to the present day is attributed to a complex of factors, with foreign competition, the demands of the fresh milk market, and a shortage of labour, more specifically dairymaids, all playing their part.

It is perhaps churlish to be too critical of the standard of production of a self-published volume, but there are a substantial number of misprints, and there are examples of whole phrases being repeated. There are even some sentences which do not make sense. Nevertheless, this work will be of value not only to those interested in the history of Wiltshire but also more generally to those concerned with the history of agriculture in this country.

JOHN CHAPMAN

BOOKS ALSO NOTED

June Badeni. Past people in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. Norton Manor, 1992; [5] + 213 pages, pedigrees. Price £15.00, hardback. ISBN 0 950 8397 1X.

Stories of houses in north-western Wiltshire and the families who owned them. A successor to *Wiltshire Forefathers*, with a great deal of previously unpublished material.

John Broome. John Warburton: Servant of a Covenant God. Gospel Standard Trust Publications, 1996; xiv + 274 pages. Price £7.95, hardback. ISBN 1 897837 05 4.

Fascinating biography of a man, born into a poor family living near Manchester, who became Pastor of Zion Baptist Church, Trowbridge, for 42 years, wrote a Christian classic and regularly preached to congregations of as many as one thousand.

Tim Bryan. The Great Western At War 1939–1945. Patrick Stephens Limited, 1995; 192 pages, photographs. Price £19.99, hardback. ISBN 1 85260 479 4.

Authoritative work, by the curator of the G.W.R. Museum at Swindon, on a hitherto neglected area of G.W.R. history. Well illustrated.

Brian McGill. Village Under the Plain: The Story of Market Lavington. Bedeguar Books, 1995; 128 pages, photographs. Price £9.99, paperback. ISBN 1 872818 28 5.

Well constructed chronological account of village and community history from earliest times, with descriptions of the principal buildings and houses. Well illustrated.

Rex Sawyer. Tales of a Wiltshire Valley: The Nadder. Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1995; vi + 122 pages, photographs. Price £8.99, paperback. ISBN 0 7509 11778.

Good material, much from unpublished oral sources, on 19 towns and villages in the valley. A well-illustrated sequel to the author's *The Nadder Valley* (1994) in the Britain in Old Photographs Series.

MICHAEL MARSHMAN

Obituary

Brigadier Alexander Ronald Forbes, affectionately known amongst his fellow officers and friends as Freddie, died on 30 July 1995. Born on 2 April 1904, he was educated at St Andrew's School, Eastbourne, Eton and Sandhurst, and was afterwards commissioned into the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, joining the 1st Battalion at Gravesend before moving to Dover in 1925.

Promotion was slow in the early years after the 1914–18 War and, despite gaining the rank of Lieutenant in 1926, Freddie had to wait a further ten years before achieving his captaincy. At Dover he served as Unit Education Officer. Later, in 1927, after attending a weapon training course he was transferred to training staff at the Battalion Depot, Pontefract.

In 1930 Lt. Forbes was married to the former Sibyl Vaughan-Price. He was posted three years later to India to join the 2nd Battalion of his Regiment, moving to Burma by 1935 as Second-in-Command of B Company.

With the outbreak of the 1939–45 War promotion came rapidly. He returned to England at the end of 1938 when his career first became linked with the Provost Service. Promoted Deputy Assistant Provost Marshal with the B.E.F. in 1939, Forbes rose in 1940 to Assistant Provost Marshal with 10 Corps in England, and afterwards the Middle East. By 1941, with the rank of Lt. Colonel, he was Deputy Provost Marshal serving with the 8th Army.

The following year saw him as Provost Marshal, attached to Pai Force in Iraq and Persia, an appointment which brought him into contact with the 1st Battalion of his old Regiment. After only nine months and promoted Brigadier-General, he became Provost Marshal of India, a distinguished and demanding appointment which he carried through with his customary efficiency.

At the cessation of hostilities, the Brigadier returned to England, there serving for a brief spell as Commandant of the Depot and Training Establishment of the Royal Military Police. It was his last military command, ending with retirement from the forces in 1948.

Never a person to remain idle for long, the Brigadier soon found occupation: first with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents, and later with Security Express. Living in Wiltshire for a number of years, he and Sybil eventually settled in All Cannings at the time of his appointment as Secretary of the Society, a post he held from 1964 until 1974.

Working in association with Freddie Forbes within the Society's Museum was never less than a pleasure. High-ranking officer as he had been, he never pulled rank; neither did he amongst Museum personnel attempt to step beyond the terms of his own secretarial duties. His sense of duty and self-discipline came naturally but always combined with an acute sense of humour and a genuine enjoyment of people. These qualities permitted him to treat with tolerance such idiosyncracies as, on odd occasions and not unexpectedly, manifested themselves amongst the membership of an antiquarian society such as ours.

Shortly after Sybil's death Freddie moved, in 1975, to Dorset to be close to his niece Elizabeth and her husband Ronald Nelson. But he continued to be as ever a delightful host and, whenever visiting Wiltshire, rarely failed to make contact with old associates and to be interested in the continuing affairs and activities of the Society and its membership.

KEN ANNABLE

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