

**The  
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and Natural History Magazine**



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WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
AND NATURAL HISTORY MAGAZINE

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This volume of the *Magazine* is affectionately dedicated to the memory of a distinguished and greatly respected former President of the Society, Bonar Sykes, who died on 1st April 1998

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Bonar H.C. Sykes, 1922 - 1998

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## THE WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Society was founded in 1853. Its activities include the promotion of the study of archaeology (including industrial archaeology), history, natural history and architecture within the county; the issue of a Magazine, and other publications, and the maintenance of a Museum, Library, and Art Gallery. There is a programme of lectures and excursions to places of archaeological, historical and scientific interest.

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.

*The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* is the annual journal of the Society and is issued free to its members. For information about the availability of back numbers and other publications of the Society, enquiry should be made to the Secretary.

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### NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

*Contributions* for the Magazine should be on subjects related to the archaeology, history or natural history of Wiltshire. Whilst there is no fixed length, papers should ideally be under 7,000 words, though longer papers will be considered if of sufficient importance. Shorter, note length, contributions are also welcome. All contributions should be typed/ word processed, with text on one side of a page only, with good margins and double spacing. Language should be clear and comprehensible. Contributions of article length should be accompanied by a summary of about 100 words. Please submit two copies of the text (with computer disk if possible) and clear photocopies of any illustrations to the editors at the Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire, SN10 1NS. A further copy should be retained by the author. The editors will be pleased to advise and discuss with intending contributors at any stage during the preparation of their work.

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FITZPATRICK, A., 1984, 'The deposition of La Tène metalwork in watery contexts in Southern England', in B. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds), *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain, 178-90*. Oxford: University Committee for Archaeology

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*Offprints:* Ten offprints of each article will be given free (to be shared between joint authors). Offprints are not given for notes and reviews.

### KATE FIELDEN

Dr Kate Fielden, who resigned as the Society's Honorary Editor during 1998, was responsible for editing *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* for ten years, beginning with volume 82. The meticulous care and scrupulous scholarship which she brought to the task has greatly enhanced the journal's reputation, and everyone interested in Wiltshire will remain in her debt for the ten issues which she produced. Tribute was paid to her at the Society's 1998 AGM, and it is fitting that her achievement should also be recorded here.

John Chandler and Joshua Pollard, Hon. Editors



# The 'Sanctuary', Avebury. An Architectural Re-assessment

by DERRICK LEES †

*Since the discovery of six concentric settings of post-holes at the Sanctuary on Overton Hill near Avebury there has been considerable debate about the appearance of the original structure. A sequence of free-standing rings has been suggested. Here an architect sets forward constructional evidence in favour of a roofed building of a single phase.*

## BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

'The Sanctuary', six timber rings replaced by a pair of concentric stone circles, was part of the prehistoric complex at Avebury, dating from between c. 3500-2500 BC (Fig. 1). In its final phase it consisted of two circles of stones linked to the Avebury henge by an avenue of paired stones, known as the Kennet Avenue (Burl 1993, 43-7). The existence of the 'Millfield' circle on Seven Barrow Hill was first described by Aubrey some three hundred years ago (1665-93, 48-53), then later by Stukeley, who was the first to call it the 'Sanctuary' (1743, 31-2). His sketch dated July 8, 1723 (ibid, 40) excellently illustrated the site before its destruction by farmers in 1724. The site was then ploughed over and lost. A search was made in 1930 by the Cunningtons who relocated the site. It was excavated in May and June 1930, and a report compiled by Maud Cunnington (1931a). The unexpected discovery of the six circles of timber posts about the same centre has led to debate about interpretation. Were the stone and timber circles contemporary, had there been a roof, or were there free standing posts? Cunnington also commented: 'Nothing found in the excavation threw light on this question [sequence of construction], the sherds of pottery found being similar in both stone and post-holes, so there remains nothing but the plan to help us.' The outcome is therefore partly dependent on architectural interpretation.

There have been several reconstruction assessments of the post-hole arrangements at 'The Sanctuary'. Their complexity led Maud Cunnington to believe that they may have been free standing posts, whilst Lt-Col Cunnington did attempt a single phase reconstruction (1931). Piggott (1940) proposed

several phases of building activity, followed by Musson (1971) on similar lines. A paper by Pollard (1992) argues by archaeological re-examination that the timber building must have been carried out in a single phase. One solution to the question of reconstruction, and that presented here, is through architectural interpretation.

## ARCHITECTURAL ARGUMENTS FOR A SINGLE PHASE STRUCTURE

This paper re-examines the data from the record of the excavations, and by architectural analysis confirms that the building must have been constructed in a single phase operation, and demonstrates how this could have been achieved. Models have been constructed and drawings prepared that illustrate the proposal.

An essential problem has to be resolved when considering a reconstruction which proposes a roofed, and therefore probably thatched, building. The thatch roof must be at a minimum of 45 degree pitch; all thatching manuals and expert advice for the British Isles say that this must be the case (Fearn 1976; Reynolds 1996, 194). However, a 45 degree pitch means that the inner posts are taller than the standard ratio of stability of one quarter buried to three quarters above ground. This paper demonstrates that by the use of struts during construction twice the standard ratio height is achievable, until cross bracing provides structural stability, and this difficulty is overcome.

Piggott (1940, 201-5) settled for a solution with a very low pitch, which would not have been waterproof. The proposal by Musson increases the pitch to 30 degrees on the basis that this is common practice in Ethiopia (Musson 1971, 366). This is not a pitch

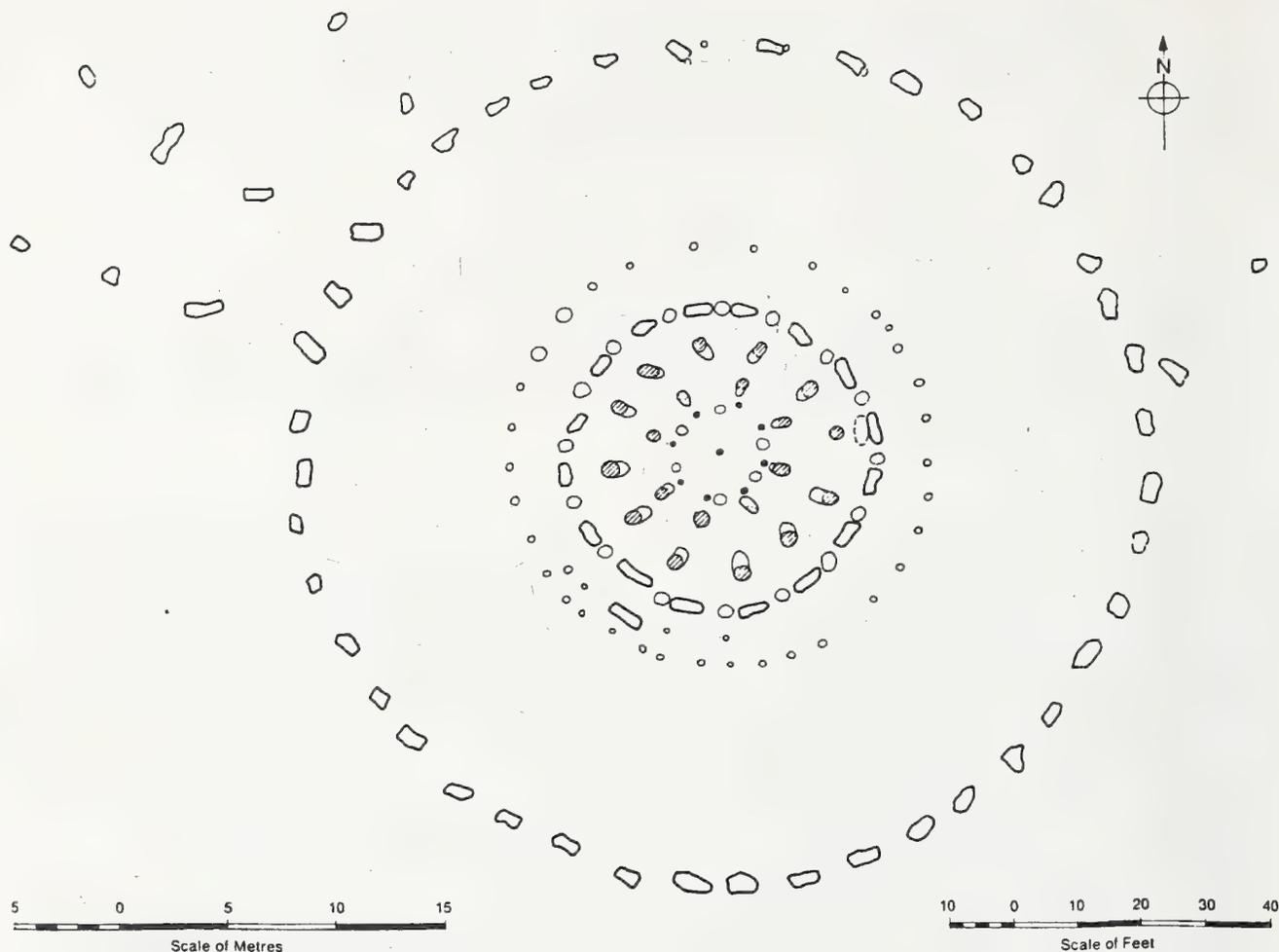


Figure 1. Plan of the Sanctuary

that is adequate for this country however; also, the inner posts are above the range of natural stability without an explanation of how they would remain vertical without falling over.

The main practical argument against a multi-phase solution is represented by the fact that the average depth of the post-holes for the three main inner circles of posts, circles 'D', 'E' and 'G' are identical; 1.6m, 1.6m, and 1.5m respectively. Speaking from a practical and architectural point of view, in no respect could there be identical depth if the construction were in different phases, and probably by different generations of people. It is unlikely that later builders would know how deep a previous generation had placed the posts, nor would they necessarily have wished to repeat the depth exactly. Trampling the ground, removal of top soil and wear and tear would also have its effect. The only explanation for identical post-hole depths is that

holes were all dug and prepared at the same time for a pre-planned scheme with posts cut and formed for a co-ordinated building solution. This is so that posts and beams would join together according to a designed arrangement. Another clue applies with the distinctly solitary post D5 where most other posts in the ring are described as doubled. The possibility that the inner posts represented a replacement building has to be ruled out because there could not be a replacement building with one post missing. If a new post had been placed in the socket of D5 this would be on the wrong arc from the centre. This is a clear indication that the second posts did not represent a replacement building.

There are two main changes of interpretation when explaining a single phase building solution. Instead of assuming that small holes were for posts as part of a building structure they should be seen instead as representing stake-holes against which

struts were braced during construction; also, some would have served as secondary setting out locations. In this model the small posts were therefore enabling requirements in order to achieve the main structure.

The other change in interpretation relates to the double posts in ring 'D'. Instead of assessing the second posts as evidence of replacement and multi-phase construction they should instead be regarded as supports for a gallery. In the reconstruction of an Iron Age house at Butser, Reynolds (1993) has demonstrated that a location on a gallery, 3m above ground, is the most comfortable part of a conical thatched building. It is the warmest location, away from draughts and where there is less likelihood of trouble from vermin. The secondary posts and beams for a gallery also assist in stabilising and strengthening the building.

Two postscripts followed within a year of the publication of the excavation report. The first by Maud Cunnington (1931b, 484-5) reported on the charcoals from the bottom of the post-holes, confirming them as oak, commenting that they would not have survived unless they had been charred. The second postscript was by Lt-Col. R. H. Cunnington (1931) who had assisted in the excavations and who had prepared and plotted the plans that were published in the report. He proposed a reconstruction of the structure which involved a single phase building with a 45 degree pitch roof. In this respect he must be regarded as on the right lines although this was not a fully comprehensive interpretation. He also explained that the double posts of ring 'D' could not have come about by replacement as there was not enough space to dig a new hole whilst the old core remained in position. The evidence from the excavator was therefore that the double posts must have been placed at the same time and not in sequence. It is therefore an error to think in terms of double posts as representing phased construction.

## RE-EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE AND OUTLINE OF RE-INTERPRETATION

The 'A' Ring represented a circle of 42 stones with a diameter of 38.6m (M. Cunnington 1931a, 304). Four post-holes were discovered under stone holes on the north side for which no explanation is offered except that they were perhaps setting out posts. This ring does not form part of the timber building interpretation and could have been built later. An explanation by Lees (1984) shows how the two stone circles could have represented a remarkable circular abacus calendar.

The 'B' Ring was 19.8m in diameter, with 32 small posts at irregular centres and two large posts on the north west side which are generally accepted as representing entrance posts. These two posts were the only ones to record cores and the others were only 0.56m deep on average. These small posts are now interpreted as representing pegs against which props were placed supporting main beams and the outer main posts during construction. Many fall on an exact alignment for the main beam interpretation suggesting that the main beams extended to ground level during construction and may even have remained in this position after completion.

The 'C' Ring was 13.7m in diameter with 16 substantial posts at an average depth of 1.3m. These are seen to represent the main outer posts of the timber building. The reason why they were not as deep as the inner main posts is because there was no need -- they would not have been very tall and would not have presented a problem with stability. Sixteen stone holes alternate with the post-holes without undercutting them. It is generally accepted that stones succeeded the posts with the post bases remaining in position (M. Cunnington 1931a, 310).

The 'D' Ring was 10.5m in diameter with 12 posts with an average depth of 1.6m. Most of the holes had double cores and these figures apply to the outer part of the ring of posts including the distinctly solitary post D5. The holes were mostly stepped with the inner cores being only 1.2m deep on average. There were several peculiarities which need to be identified and considered together.

D5 was not only a distinctly solitary hole but it was also slanting outwards. When the records are studied carefully it is recognised that there were no second cores found in holes D11, D8 or D12 as well as D5, and it is also appreciated that these form a symmetrical arrangement. D11 and D12 were astride the entrance and, centred on this, D8 is opposite D5. This is the evidence of the situation, and one has to respect the evidence. It would be wrong to assume second post-holes in these locations where none were recorded, and it is truer to assume that there were no second post-holes in these positions. D8 and D9 are also recorded as sloping outwards.

It is recorded that the stepped layout of the holes and the direction of the second post-holes were not towards the centre (R. Cunnington 1931, 488). This was considered odd and Cunnington thought that there must be a reason. A solution is offered here. Instead of assuming that the second posts were part of a phased building, an assumption that is already excluded in this paper, it is more realistic to consider the existence of a gallery or galleries. On the basis

that there were no second posts and therefore no connections to posts D1, D5, D8 or D12, two galleries are suggested to have existed on either side and one small gallery at the end, all in a symmetrical arrangement and very impressive within the building. Galleries would be extremely useful, either for sleeping accommodation or for storage. They achieve more space and this space is of better value by being off the bare earth. The inclusion of three galleries in the manner described at the Sanctuary also fits with the peculiarity of second posts not being directed towards the centre of the building -- the splays assist in enlarging each individual gallery.

Another advantage is that the galleries assist in strengthening the building, and triangulation is achieved in structural arrangement which stiffens the building against wind pressure. The inclination of solitary posts D5 and D8 would also be an advantage resisting sideways thrust from the roof.

The 'E' Ring was 6.4m in diameter with eight posts at an average depth of 1.6m. Some of these holes were described as stepped holes similar to those in the 'D' Ring, others, especially E6 and E8, were clearly circular. Only single cores were found in these holes, although Maud Cunnington commented that if there had been two they would have been very close together. The evidence is that only single cores were found and therefore it is proper to assume single posts. It is noted that only single concrete markers appear on site for this ring, a confirmation of Cunnington's opinion. The stepped nature of some holes in this instance can be assumed to be a matter of convenience

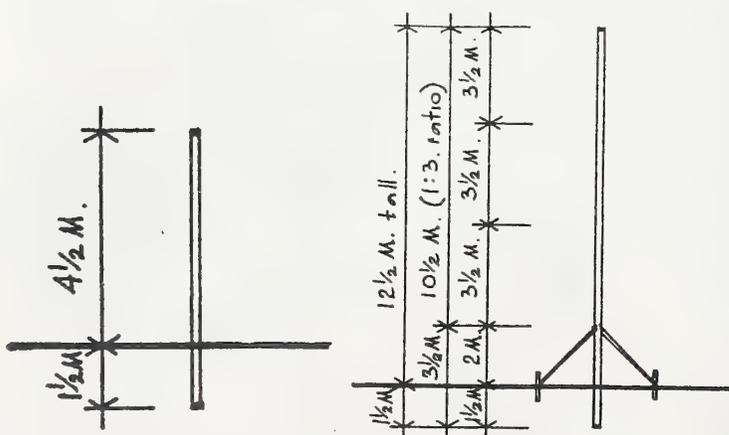


Figure 2. Free Standing Post. The standard formula for stability is approximately 1:3, that is the buried portion compared with above ground portion. A post buried 1.5m can be expected to support a post 4.5m tall.

Figure 3. Supported Post. Greater height can be achieved by bracing the post with struts. The 1:3 ratio applies from the location of support plus the buried portion. Therefore a post buried 1.5m and braced at a point 2m above the ground can support a post 12.5m tall.

for the original excavators. Those on the west side tend to be oval and stepped and those on the east side circular; perhaps there were two excavators, one producing oval and the other circular holes.

The 'F' Ring was 4.6m in diameter containing eight post-holes with an average depth of 0.76m. These post were set out very exactly and were of small size being no more than 0.15m diameter at the base; no cores were found. The impression is that they were setting out posts to establish part of the geometry of the building. Construction of a model by the author has confirmed this as they represent the location required for joining main beams directly above. This therefore represents the conclusion as part of the overall design. Piggott's proposal had been that they had been for 'a sacred hut, possibly for a holy man' (1940, 198), but it has been commented elsewhere that a hut this small would not need posts of this size and depth.

The 'G' Ring was 3.96m in diameter with six posts at an average depth of 1.5m. Cunnington (1931a) remarked that these were narrow holes and must have been difficult to dig in the first place. It must have been important to retain sufficient firm chalk between the holes to ensure stability of the posts. There was a central post-hole 1.1m deep and about 0.25m wide at the base. No core was found. This is consistent with the requirement to have a central post for placing struts to stabilise the tall posts of the 'G' Ring during construction. It would need to be of reasonable size, as the record indicates, and it would be removed once the structure had been established leaving no core.

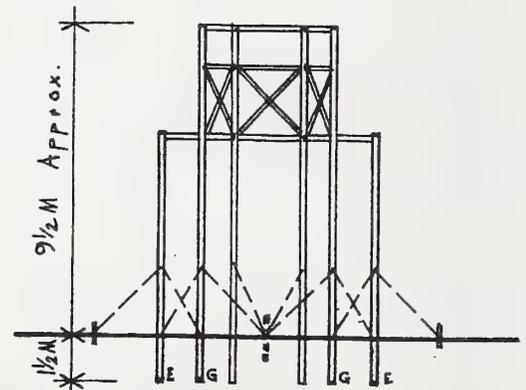


Figure 4. Comparison with 'The Sanctuary'. The projected timber post structure of 'The Sanctuary' must have had inner posts standing taller than the 1:3 ratio. These could be stabilised by the use of struts during construction which could be removed once the posts had been joined together forming a framed structure. For this purpose the centre post is essential for anchoring some of the struts.

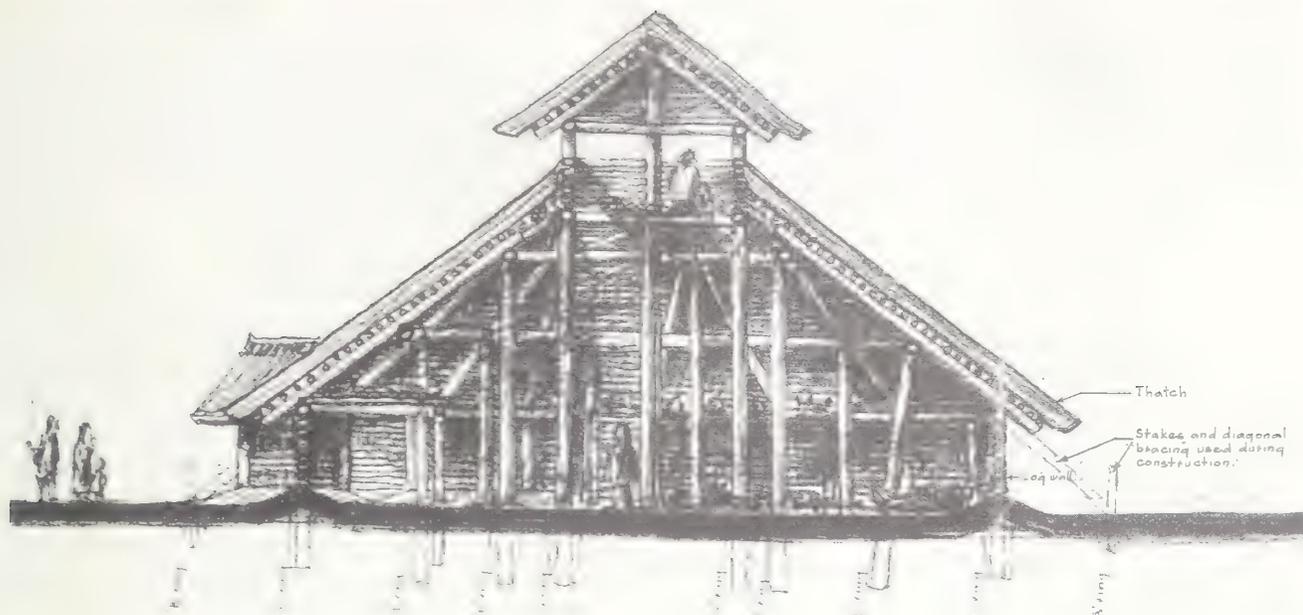


Figure 5. Theoretical reconstruction of 'The Sanctuary' (D. Lees).

## PROPOSED CONSTRUCTION SEQUENCE FOR A SINGLE PHASE BUILDING

*Stage 1.* Having identified the site the next stage would be to set out the plan and locate the future post positions with pegs. The centre position would be important as rings would be scribed from this position. It is possible that ropes may have been used initially for the setting out with knots at suitable intervals so that the plan could be seen in its entirety.

*Stage 2.* Trees would be selected for felling and the trunks brought to the site. They would be chosen with care for their individual location and requirement; tall straight posts would be needed for the centre situations and long slender poles for the beams. All of the posts were of oak.

*Stage 3.* The main objective with the first stage of construction would be to establish the centre portion as a strong structural tower that would represent a stable feature for the rest of the building to attach to. To this end holes would be dug for the six main posts of Ring 'G', the eight posts of Ring 'E', the setting out posts of Ring 'F' and the centre post would be firmly established. As each post was dropped into position and raised it would have to be held upright until struts from the centre location and other positions were made to hold each post firmly in place. The holes would be backfilled with firm chalk and rammed home. The staggered association between

Rings 'E' and 'G' is clearly an advantage to strut and support individual posts and this is undoubtedly deliberate. As the plan demonstrates each of the main posts is held by three struts, the outer struts for 'E' ring coming from peg locations in the 'D' Ring. The posts would then be joined by individual beams and bracing until they all represented a structural tower. Construction of the model has demonstrated that it would indeed be very strong. This completed the temporary struts and the centre post could be removed.

*Stage 4.* Placing of the main beams. Design experimentation indicates that the best arrangement for main beams is to place them in pairs, joined at the head to a post in 'E' Ring, and resting on cross beams between these posts. The bases of these beams would rest against some of the small posts in 'B' Ring. This mechanism works on plan and should be seen as confirmation of the general interpretation. These main structural beams would then be cut to fit round the posts' heads and bound together until all was fastened firm. The end location of these joined beams occurs directly over the small post positions of 'F' Ring which surely has to be more than a coincidence. The indication is that the posts of 'F' Ring were intended as guidance locations for the termination of the joined main beams.

*Stage 5.* Once the main beams were in place it would then be possible to carry on with the rest of

the structure, excavating holes, placing posts and connecting beams. Because the plan is irregular in several respects it would have been difficult to predict beforehand just how tall the other main posts would need to be. Once the main beams were in position heights could be measured from the base of excavated holes to the underside of beams and the post lengths determined. The main beams could be raised in the middle to eliminate sag, and cross beams between posts placed under them. They would then be all roped and secured together. The entrance porch would also be constructed.

*Stage 6.* The three galleries would be constructed and the result of roping together would add to the overall stability of the structure by introducing triangulation and provide valuable wind bracing. The building would now be firm and structurally intact.

*Stage 7.* The roofing would now need to be completed starting with the lantern. All of the minor beams would be placed and tied into position. Another advantage of the 'V' shaped layout of main beams is that it leads to economy of use of the minor beams as shown in the reconstruction drawing (Fig. 5). Hazel wands would probably be used as battens and thatching would then proceed presumably using reeds for the thatch material.

*Stage 8.* A final touch would be to provide a wicker wall directly outside the posts of 'C' Ring.

A possible *Stage 9* might be to cut short the main beams at eaves level. There is no need to do this; they might remain in position as occurs at Butser. The ends where they touch the ground are susceptible to rot, and it could be thought wise to cut these ends off. It is not important. They might be left on or taken away.

The building would now be complete, represent a cohesive entity and be fit for habitation or other uses. The principles and methods described in this paper are entirely practical and strictly follow the evidence provided in the excavation report. Almost all peculiarities and irregularities are explained, a normal confirmation of a correct definition. It is clearly demonstrated that the timber structure of the Sanctuary could indeed be built as a single phase building, confirming the archaeological assessment by Pollard (1992).

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Because of the untimely death of Derrick Lees this paper has been prepared for publication by his friend and colleague, Aubrey Burl.

# Further Excavations of an Iron Age and Romano-British Enclosed Settlement at Figheldean, near Netheravon

by JACQUELINE I. MCKINLEY

with contributions by MICHAEL J. ALLEN, W.A. BOISMIER, SHEILA HAMILTON-DYER, PAT HINTON, ANDREW HUTCHESON, LORRAINE MEPHAM and NICHOLAS A. WELLS.

*Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Wessex Water to conduct an archaeological excavation along the proposed route of a mains water pipeline. The trench was to cross the east side of a known Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed settlement, parallel to the site of a similar excavation conducted in 1991. A previously unrecorded ring ditch was excavated, forming the most south-easterly of a group of Bronze Age ring ditches concentrated in the south-eastern area of the later settlement. One other excavated ring ditch is likely to represent the most easterly of the known group. The line and extent of the east side of the Iron Age enclosure has been more clearly defined and evidence shows it had ceased to function by the early 2nd century AD. The trench appears to have passed through a marginal area of the Romano-British settlement, parts of which may have been set aside for agricultural processing and burial.*

## INTRODUCTION

In August and September 1995, Wessex Archaeology conducted an archaeological excavation along a c. 500m stretch of land on the west side of the A345 between the villages of Figheldean and Netheravon, Wiltshire (SU 1507 4691 to SU 1482 4734, Figure 1). The excavation was required in advance of a programme of works by Wessex Water to replace the water mains supplying the village of Netheravon. The proposed pipeline route (Figure 2) was to cross through the eastern area of a known Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed settlement, running parallel with, and 15-24m to the east of, the site of a similar trench excavated in 1991 during construction of a gas pipeline (Graham and Newman 1993). The area of excavation lay between the 95 and 100m contours on the eastern edge of Netheravon Down overlooking the Avon valley, which drops down steeply to the east. At its southern end the trench extended up the gentle slope of a south-east spur of land, continuing across the ridge parallel with the road, to drop at its north end into one of the many small dry valleys which dissect the edge of the downs along the Avon valley. The underlying bedrock is Upper Chalk, the land being under arable crop at the time of excavation.

The archaeological background to the excavation is presented in detail in the publication of the 1991

investigations (Graham and Newman 1993); the following represents a summary of that information. A number of extant round barrows have been recorded on the higher ground; aerial photographs show the presence of at least one (SMR No. SU14NW 612) and a cluster of four other ploughed-out barrows (SMR Nos. SU14NW 613-6). One of the latter was investigated during the 1991 excavations (*ibid.*, fig. 4). An extensive group of cropmarks (SMR No. SU14NW 655) noted in the aerial photographs and a scatter of finds had previously suggested the presence of a Romano-British settlement (SMR No. SU14NW 302). The 1991 excavations provided substantial evidence for a 1st-4th century AD rural Romano-British settlement contained within an Iron Age enclosure, corroborating the evidence from the aerial photographs (Graham and Newman 1993).

A Romano-British building (SMR No. SU14NW301) beneath the army camp at Netheravon, to the north of the site, was partly excavated in 1907. Believed to have been a villa, this site was subject to further investigations by Wessex Archaeology in 1996 (Wessex Archaeology 1997) which appeared to confirm the presence of a building or buildings of relatively high status. Recent survey work undertaken by the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments (RCHME), including extensive geophysical survey within the northern area

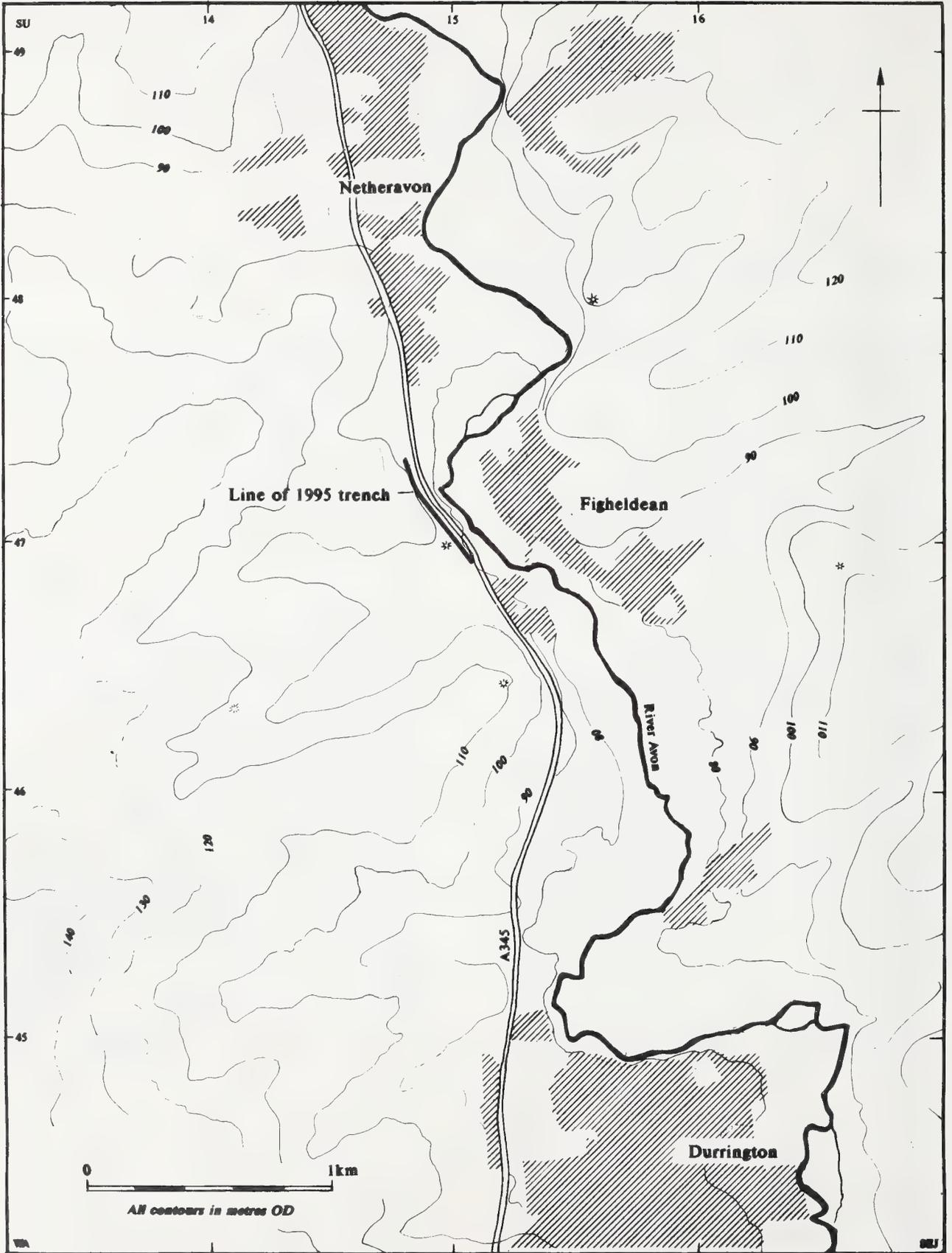


Figure 1. Site location

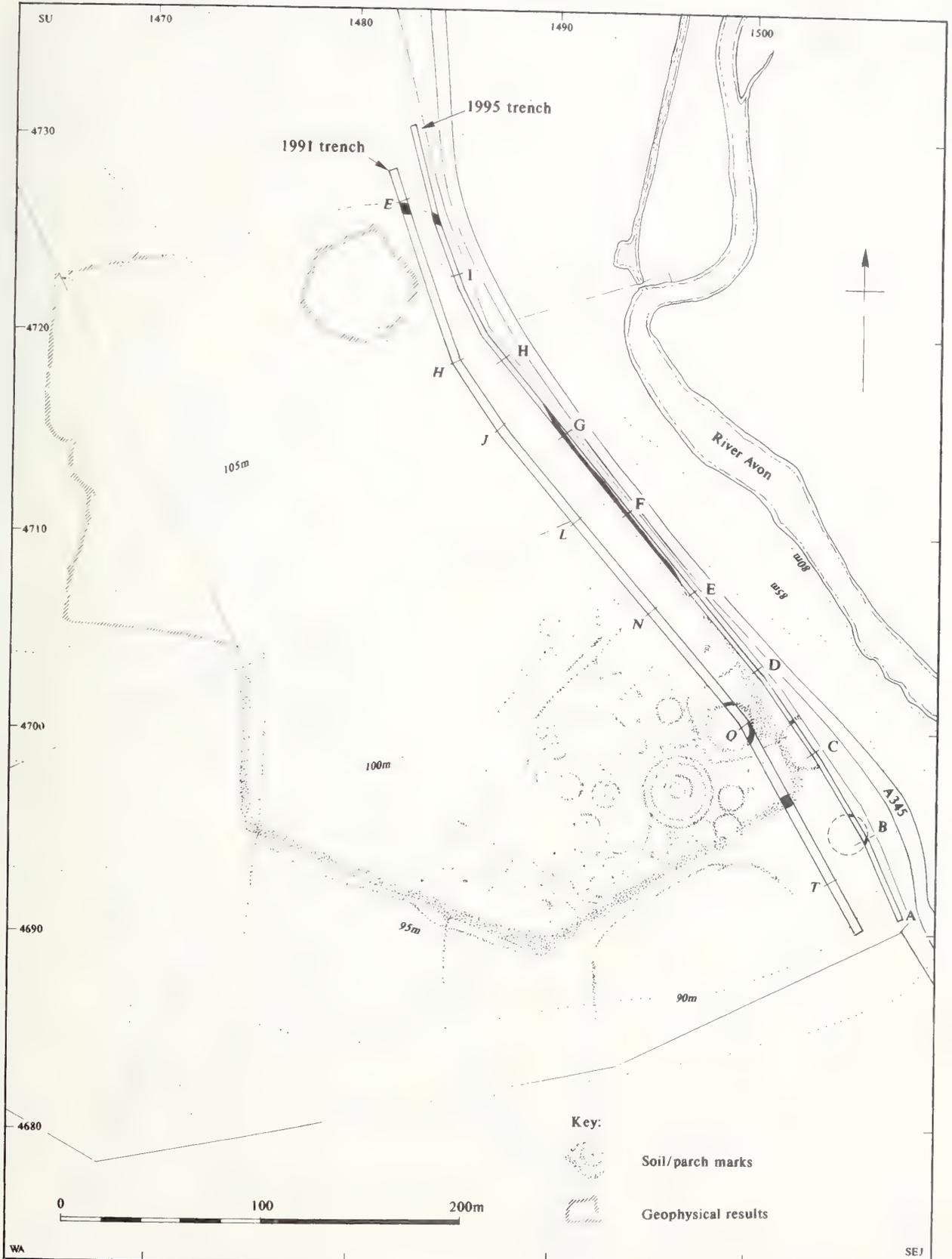


Figure 2. Trench location in relation to the 1991 excavation and the results of the RCHME surveys. The recorded position of main enclosure ditches and the two ring ditches is shown, together with the projected course of the enclosure ditch.

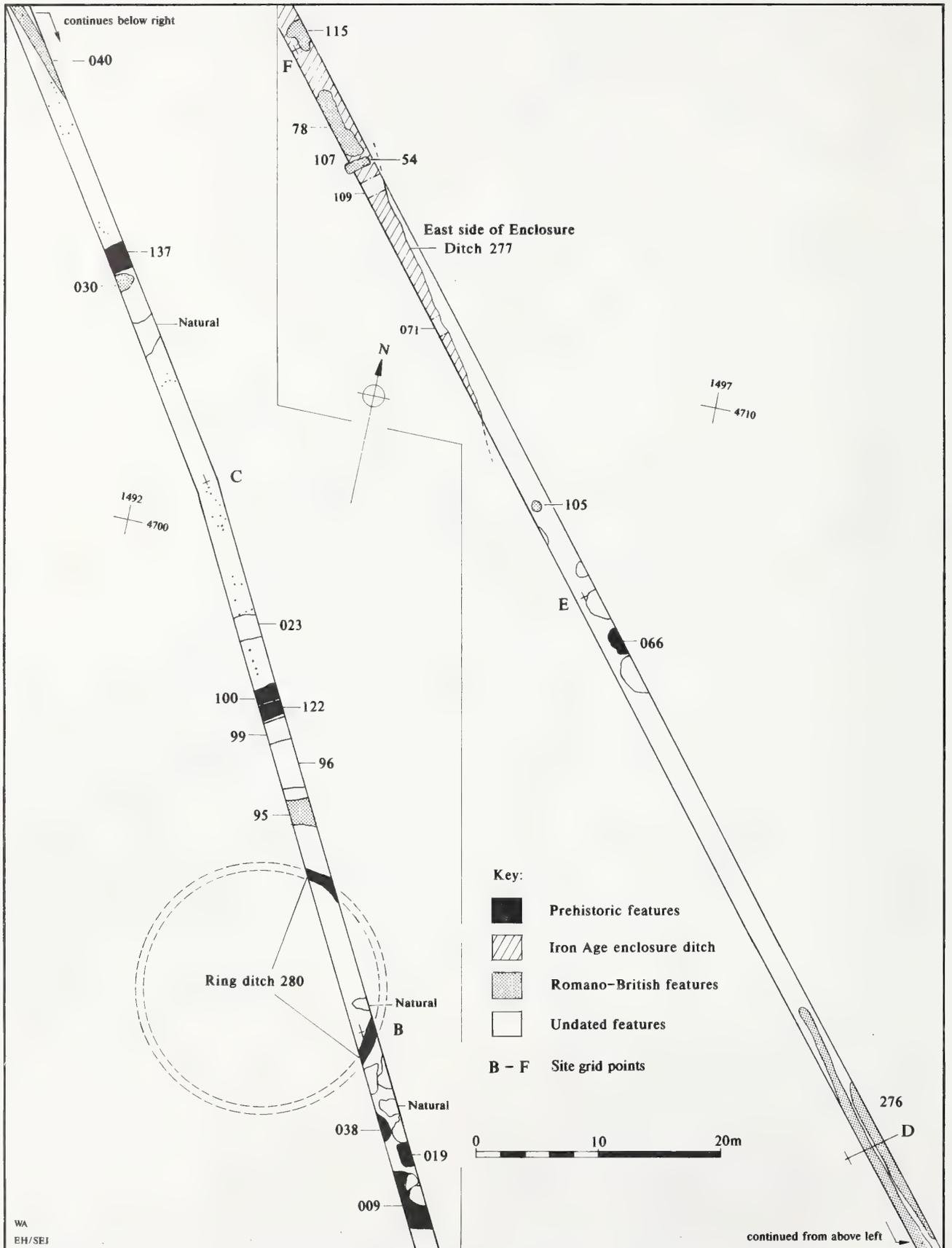


Figure 3. Phase diagram of features recorded in the south half of the trench from grid points B-F

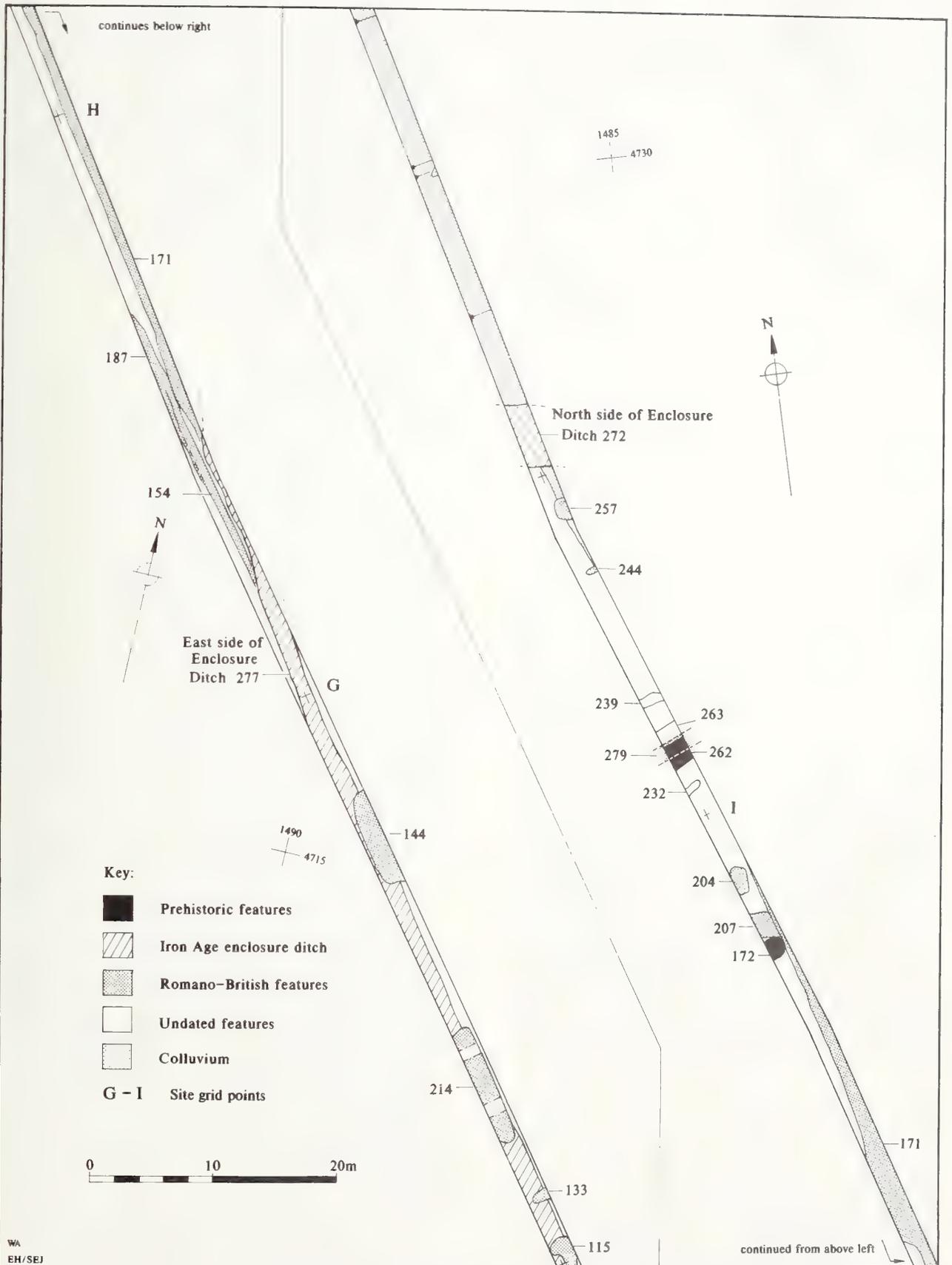


Figure 4. Phase diagram of features recorded in the north half of the trench from grid points G and I

of the known settlement, has illustrated further details of the settlement and surrounding area (Figure 2, RCHME forthcoming). The course and form of the main enclosure ditch has been further defined and the presence of a complex of internal linear features demonstrated, including one other smaller enclosure, together with a dense distribution of 'pit-like' features. More extensive external field systems have also been observed on the adjacent downs (RCHME forthcoming).

This latest phase of archaeological investigations, commissioned by Wessex Water, followed a specification provided by the Archaeological Section of Wiltshire County Council.

## EXCAVATION METHODS

The 6m wide easement for the pipeline route, located between SU151 468 and SU148 479 along the eastern edge of the field adjacent to the A345, was subject to initial machine stripping of topsoil to a depth of c. 0.30m. The spoil was deposited along the remaining 4m working width of the pipeline route on the west side of the easement.

Excavation was limited to the area within the known enclosure (Graham and Newman 1993, fig. 4) along a 498.5m stretch. The 2m wide trench was positioned along the east side of the stripped easement, the subsoil being removed by machine to the surface of the chalk natural or to a maximum depth of 1.20m. The depth of subsoil removed varied from a few millimetres in the southern portion of the trench to the maximum of 1.20m along much of the northern half.

All archaeological features and deposits within the 2m stripped area were recorded (Figures 3 and 4). Features within or across the central part of the 2m strip were excavated, this being the precise route to be followed and, therefore, cut by the insertion of the pipeline. All terminals and intersections between linear features were excavated. Linear features crossing the trench were subject to excavation of a minimum 0.60m central slot and a minimum 10% sample of each linear feature running along the trench was excavated. Where intercutting non-linear features were encountered a sufficient proportion was excavated to ascertain their inter-relationship, which occasionally meant extending beyond the central part of the 2m strip. Burials were subject to 100% excavation even where this necessitated extending beyond the 2m strip. All features were excavated to a maximum depth of 1.20m below the level of the topsoil stripping, the full depth of deeper

features being ascertained by auguring. Bulk samples of all excavated deposits containing carbonised remains were collected to enable recovery of environmental data. Lower grave fills were subject to whole-earth recovery as a series of specifically located samples to ensure full recovery of osseous material.

The full archive is presently held at Wessex Archaeology's offices at Old Sarum under the archive code W9644, to be deposited in the Ministry of Defence (landowners) Museum stores in due course.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS

The depth of excavated features varied greatly, a primary influencing factor being the shallow depth of topsoil and subsoil in the southern half of the trench. Here, the maximum of 0.30m topsoil and negligible subsoil, particularly in the southernmost 100m length of the trench extending down the slope of the spur, had provided little protection for the underlying features which had consequently been severely truncated by ploughing. The very shallow depth of features in this area rendered phasing difficult or impossible and interpretation of the nature of some was inconclusive. It is not improbable that features further downslope, between grid points A and B, have been totally eradicated.

Features were recorded along a 420m length of the trench. Although they tended to occur in clusters there were few areas devoid of any, a 28m length between grid points D-E comprising the most extensive. A substantial north-south ditch, comprising the east side of the main enclosure, crossed the central area of the trench at a very oblique angle along a 160m length between grid points E and H. Features were found both within the confines of the enclosure ditch and outside it to the south and east, others were cut into the upper fills of the ditch. The northern 80m of the trench crossed an area of colluvium (250) which overlay the natural gentle gradient of the land into the dry valley to the north and the Avon valley to the east. The colluvium was excavated to a maximum depth of 0.95m below the topsoil and augured a further 0.35m at the very north end of the trench before the natural chalk was reached. That the accumulation of colluvium was less extensive in the Romano-British period is demonstrated by the fact that the deposit had partly sealed the north side of the enclosure ditch (272). An investigation of the colluvial deposit was made in the 1991 excavations and a full discussion on its nature is included in the 1993 report (Allen and Wyles 1993).

Most phased features were of early Romano-British date, with a few later Romano-British examples dispersed along the length of the trench. Probable prehistoric features were primarily outside the enclosure ditch at the south end of the trench, with two other possible examples inside the ditch at the northern end. No artefacts of Iron Age date were recovered. All finds from the enclosure ditch came from the upper c. 1.20m of the fill (maximum depth excavated/augured) and were of early Romano-British date.

## Prehistoric Features

### *Ring Ditches*

Two substantially truncated ditch segments, forming part of the eastern arc of a projected 24m diameter ring ditch (280) were excavated adjacent to grid point B at the south end of the trench (Figures 2 and 3). The flat-based, 'U'-shaped cuts, c. 0.90m wide and 0.50m deep, had two fills comprised of small-medium chalk rubble with flint, the primary and major fills being angled from the inner side of the ditch. Finds were sparse but some worked flint of Late Neolithic-Bronze Age type was recovered (Table 1). The form and location of the feature suggest that it represents the most south-easterly of a number of Bronze Age ring ditches concentrated in the south-eastern area of the later settlement (Graham and Newman 1993, fig. 4). The presence of this particular ring ditch was previously unrecorded either in excavation or by the RCHME surveys.

Two other east-west ditch segments of prehistoric date were excavated in the southern half of the trench. Located c. 35m apart, features 100 and 137 were of similar size and shape with steep, almost vertical sides and flat bases, 1.50m wide. Ditch segment 137 survived to only 0.58m depth compared with the 1.35m of ditch 100. The fills comprised a series of tip layers of chalk rubble of varying grades, primarily angled from the north side of ditch 100 and the south side of 137. No finds were recovered from 100, worked flint of Late Neolithic-Bronze Age type being found in all levels of ditch 137. The location of these two ditch segments corresponds with that of the one Bronze Age ring ditch shown in the concentrated group on the aerial photographs outside the enclosure ditch (*ibid.*, fig. 4) and is c. 12m north of ring ditch 280. The angle of the tip lines within both segments of the ditch suggests there was an internal bank or mound.

### *Linear Features*

Two east-west linears at the north end of the site may be tentatively dated as prehistoric by their form and the recovery of worked flint of Late Neolithic-Bronze Age type from the fills. No other datable finds were recovered. Feature 172 appears to represent the terminal for a 1.40m wide east-west linear feature with acute, almost vertical sides and a broad, flat base. The fills comprised two layers of graded chalk rubble over a thin layer of weathered chalk. Ditch 262, 15m north of 172, survived to a depth of 1.06m. It was 1.9m in width and showed the same steep sides and broad flat base seen in the ring ditches at the south end. No obvious link can be made between either of these features and any of those from the 1991 excavations or the RCHME survey. However, one prehistoric feature, pit 319, was excavated just to the north of the main enclosure ditch in 1991.

### *Pits*

Seven truncated, sub-rounded and sub-angular pits occurred in a concentration at the south end of the site. Two produced worked flint of Late Neolithic-Bronze Age date. No other datable finds were recovered. All had similarly steep or vertically sided cuts, 019 survived to 0.47m and 038 to 0.35m. In general, only a single coarse chalk rubble fill was evident. Several pits encroached slightly on one another. The purpose of these features is unknown and dating tentative.

Only one (066), in a group of six sub-circular pits adjacent to grid point E in the central-southern area of the site, produced any datable finds, consisting of five worked flints of Late Neolithic-Bronze Age type. The full depth of these pits is unknown since they all extended under the section. As excavated, all were relatively shallow with a maximum depth of 0.50m. All had steeply concave or vertical sides. Pit 066 had only a single coarse chalk rubble fill in common with most other pits in the group. As with the pits at the south end of the trench the purpose of these features is unclear. The dating of 066 is tentative and that of the other pits in the group unknown.

## Late Iron Age/Early Romano-British

### *The Enclosure Ditch*

Segments through the north and south sides of the enclosure ditch were excavated in 1991 (Graham and Newman 1993). In the 1995 excavations the north-south ditch (277) forming the east side of the

main enclosure crossed the central area of the trench at a very oblique angle from just north of grid point E to the north of grid point G. Extending along a 160m length of the trench, the projected c. 8m wide ditch was only ever excavated to a maximum width of 2m and was at no point bottomed. Five segments were excavated; cut 071, 7m from the southernmost appearance of the ditch and cut 109, 14m further north, showed the steeply angled, almost vertical east side of the ditch; two segments in the central area (214, 234) crossed the fill towards the west side but did not encounter the edge of the ditch; and one (144), at the north end, showed the western slope though, again, not the actual side of the ditch. The shape of the west side of the ditch is, therefore, unknown but likely to be steep-sided and similar to the east side.

The projected c. 8m width of the ditch corresponds closely with that of c. 7m for the south side of the ditch excavated in 1991 (*ibid.*). In cut 109 the fill was excavated to a depth of 0.80m, then augured a further 0.60m before encountering the natural chalk. Therefore, at 1.0m in from its eastern edge the ditch was 1.60m deep; deeper than the equivalent position in the south side of the ditch as shown in the 1993 report (fig. 5). This suggests that the sides of the east ditch of the enclosure were cut more steeply than the south ditch. The ditch was augured to a maximum depth of 1.20m in segment 214 but was not bottomed. It is likely to have extended to a similar depth as that recorded in the 1991 investigations of c. 3m.

The upper ditch fills (to c. 1.0m) in each excavated segment were very similar to those of the south and north ditch of the enclosure (Graham and Newman 1993), comprising fairly thick layers of occasionally graded, coarse chalk rubble with slight chalky silty loam infill. Tip lines in segments 214 and 234, a maximum of nine in 214, were angled in from the west side (i.e. the enclosure interior). In segment 109 horizontal layers butted the eastern chalk face, the only evident tip lines being from the south. The form and nature of the fills correspond with those observed in the south and north ditches of the enclosure (*ibid.*) where it was concluded there was deliberate backfilling, probably in the early Romano-British period, the angle of the tip lines suggesting the presence of an internal bank.

In contrast to the previous investigations, no finds of Late Iron Age date were recovered from the ditch fill or any other features. However, there is no reason to suppose any other construction date for the enclosure than that suggested by the earlier

excavations. Datable finds were recovered from the upper 1m of the ditch fills in most segments and consisted of pottery of mid 1st–early 2nd century AD date. Animal bone, burnt flint and fragments of metal were also recovered (Table 1). It appears, therefore, that by the early Romano-British period the enclosure had ceased to function as such and was backfilled over a relatively short length of time until the ditch was level with the surrounding area.

The line of the east side of the enclosure corresponds with that shown in the RCHME transcript of the aerial photographs (Graham and Newman 1993, fig. 4) and in the more recent transcription (RCHME forthcoming) where it is shown to extend as far as the first field boundary level with grid point F (Figures 2 and 3). The 1995 excavations have increased the known northerly extent of the east side of the enclosure by c. 40–45m and defined its location.

The north ditch of the enclosure (272) formed the most northerly of the recorded features and was partly covered by the colluvial deposit. Due to the depth of the trench at this point the feature was not fully excavated. A narrow slot was inserted to define the edges of the ditch, which was 5.25m wide, corresponding closely with the 5.40m for the segment excavated in 1991 c. 20m to the north-west (Figure 2). The ditch was augured in the centre to a depth of 1.20m, but was not bottomed, the composition of the fills being similar to those in the east ditch of the enclosure (277). The line of the ditch at this point suggests that the projected line shown in fig. 4 of the 1991 excavations presents too acute an angle. The change in direction from east–west to north–south appears to follow a much gentler line with, perhaps, a slightly sharper directional change once the ditch was in line with the contours of the hill slope.

#### *East–West Linear Features*

Pottery of mid 1st–early 2nd century AD date was recovered amongst other finds from two east–west ditch terminals, one (133) cut into the upper fill of the east ditch of the enclosure, the other (257) 2.75m south of the north ditch of the enclosure (272). Situated just north of grid point F, 133 appears to form the western terminal to an east–west linear ditch which extended at least half-way across the enclosure ditch. The ditch, 1.0m wide and 0.25m deep, had a single fill of small chalk-rubble with some charcoal flecking and animal bone. Feature 257 also appeared to form the western terminal to an east–west ditch. Partly sealed by the colluvial deposit this broad

(1.80m), shallow (0.22m) feature comprised three chalk rubble fills of differing grades and density originating from different sides of the ditch.

At the north end of the trench, a shallow (0.20m) but steep-sided feature (279) followed the same alignment as two earlier linears (262 and 263) cutting through both. Both of the two fills of the 1.40m wide linear extended across the full width of the feature. The thin primary fill comprised a compact layer of small chalk rubble with no finds. Animal bone and a fragment of early Romano-British pottery was recovered from the secondary fill which had few coarse inclusions.

#### *North–South Linear Features*

Two north–south linear features contained early Romano-British pottery. Ditch 276 was recorded over a c. 14m length and had a rounded terminal to the north of grid point D. Two fills extended across the width of the 0.25m deep ditch, which had a gentle sloping east side and a flat base. The west side of the ditch was under the trench edge so the full width is unknown. The excavated width was 1.0m. A late Romano-British linear (040) ran exactly parallel with 276 a few centimetres to the west. Slightly narrower than 276 it terminated 7m to the north. The location of this later ditch suggests that it may have formed a replacement to 276. Both ditches were located outside the main enclosure ditch 277 and, although tenuous, there is a possibility they may have been related to a small rectilinear enclosure shown on the aerial photograph transcription (Graham and Newman 1993, fig. 4; Figure 2). Three sides of this small enclosure fall inside the main enclosure, but the south side clearly crosses it and no east side is evident. The location of ditches 276 and 040 falls within the confines of the area defined by the north and south sides of the small enclosure, for which no entrance is presently apparent, and one or both ditches could possibly represent the missing east side.

The full extent of ditch 154, located between grid points G and H, was confused by a series of later ditches, and wheel and plough ruts crossing the trench in this area. The steep-sided, ‘U’-shaped ditch was evident along a c. 17.5m length of the trench. Two fills of coarse grade chalk pieces extended across the 0.48m width of the 0.41m deep ditch. It was located just inside the main enclosure ditch but had obviously cut into its upper fills to the south. This indicates that the enclosure ditch was fully backfilled within the early Romano-British period.

#### *Pits and Spreads*

An extensive 10m spread of material rich in charred plant remains and charcoal was deposited in the upper levels of the main enclosure ditch, 277, between grid points F and G. The feature was excavated in two broad segments (214/234) located at either end of the spread. Layers 186/180 formed the central of nine tip layers, all angled from the inside of the enclosure. All containing fairly large quantities of early Romano-British pottery, animal bone and burnt flint (Table 1). The layers sealing 186/180, 185/116, also contained a copper-alloy brooch and ring. Excavated to a combined depth of 0.50m within the segments, the full extent of the tip layer could not be ascertaining due to the narrow width of the trench. The four layers below 186/180, comprising varying grades of coarse chalk rubble, were devoid of any finds other than one fragment of early Romano-British pottery. At least six of the tip layers appear to be of early Romano-British date, but 186/180 and those layers above it seem to represent an intense episode of dumping of occupation debris, contexts 186/180 possibly relating to a single relatively large scale event.

Approximately 13m to the north of 214/234, a second spread of similar size and composition (144) was noted and found to comprise material rich in charred plant remains dumped into the partially filled-in enclosure ditch. As with 214/234, fairly large quantities of early Romano-British pottery were recovered from the silty loam fills together with much animal bone and burnt flint. In this area only two fills were represented, minimum depth 0.40m, with shallower tip lines but still angled from the inside of the ditch and overlaying coarse chalk rubble. The formation of this spread is likely to have been roughly contemporary with that of 214/234 to the south.

A large, 2.15 x 1.36m, rectangular pit (204) with undercut sides and a flat base, was excavated c. 35m south of the north ditch (272) of the main enclosure. The 0.45m deep pit contained a single fill of silty clay with frequent fragments of early Romano-British pottery spread through the fill together with large quantities of animal bone and burnt flint. A thick, central lens of material contained deposits of charred grain, chaff and weed seeds. One early Romano-British pit (353) from the 1991 excavations (Graham and Newman 1993), also located in the north-east corner of the enclosure 40m from the north side, showed a similar combination and wealth of inclusions to those noted in pit 204. The coincidence in location and fills may suggest that this area of the settlement was set aside for specific types of activity in this period.

Pit 115, cut 0.46m deep into the upper fill of enclosure ditch 277, had minimum dimensions of 2.10 x 1.40m. The primary and most substantial fill (0.22m deep) of coarse chalk pieces with occasional flint nodules, which covered the whole width of the pit, included relatively substantial deposits of early Romano-British pottery and animal bone (Table 1). This was sealed by a 0.10m deep deposit containing very high quantities of burnt grain (Table 5), large amounts of burnt flint and some pottery. The final layer was also rich in archaeological inclusions, among them fired clay.

One other pit contained pottery of early Romano-British date. 105 was a 0.80m diameter circular pit, with a single chalky clay loam fill 0.30m deep. It was located just outside the main enclosure to the north of grid point E. The archaeological inclusions appear to represent occupation debris.

## Late Romano-British Features

### *Linear Features*

The north-south ditch, 040, has been discussed above in association with the early Romano-British ditch 276, to which it appeared to form the successor or an accompaniment, their location being too similar for them not to be associated. This 1.0m wide ditch was evident along a 30.5m length of the trench, being excavated in four equally spaced segments. A maximum of 0.40m deep with two fills extending the width of the ditch, it was narrower with a more acute U-shaped profile than its predecessor, 276. Both fills of 040 contained animal bone, worked flint and pottery of both early and late Romano-British date.

A shallow, probably truncated, east-west ditch at the south end of the trench outside the east side of the main enclosure (cut 95) was 2.36m wide and 0.45m deep with gently sloping concave sides and a shallow dished base. The two horizontal layers of chalk rubble fill, of almost equal depth, suggest deliberate backfilling. No corresponding features were noted in the earlier excavations or RCHME survey, although, curiously, the position of ditch 95 does follow the projected line of the south ditch of the enclosure. Other finds included large quantities of animal bone, burnt and worked flint.

At the north end of the trench, a 2.1m wide east-west ditch (207) had a shallow gradient to a flat base 0.40m wide at a depth of 0.55m. A fragment of human bone and a piece of worked flint were recovered from the 0.13m deep primary fill of silty

loam with common chalk inclusions which covered the base. The layer above was angled steeply from the south to cover about two-thirds of the primary fill and also contained worked flint. This was sealed by a thick deposit of similar composition with a shallow tip line from the north, which contained five fragments of early and later Roman-British pottery. The upper layer extended across most of the ditch. Although the finds suggest a late Romano-British date for the ditch fill, the cut may relate to an earlier phase. There are no features from the 1991 excavations which correlate with this ditch.

### *Pit 030*

A sub-circular pit c. 1.68m diameter, 0.78m deep, 030 was located outside the main enclosure, immediately adjacent to the south side of the northern segment of the large ring-ditch 137. Steep sided with a slightly irregular flat base, the primary fill (0.14m) of small chalk and flint pieces was angled against the south side of the pit and had some animal bone and pottery inclusions. The main fill of silty clay loam with large chalk and flint inclusions contained frequent animal bone and pottery of early and later Romano-British date, together with fragments of fired clay, worked and burnt flint, quern and utilised chalk (Table 1). This layer was 'sealed' by a deposit of large flint nodules and small chalk pieces across the width of the pit prior to the deposition of the final layer of similar composition to the main fill. No pits of this form, with a fill of occupational debris, were noted in the southern area of the earlier investigations.

### *Graves*

A shallow grave 2.10 x 0.73m, 0.20m deep, oriented south-west to north-east, was cut into the upper fill of the main enclosure ditch 277. A slot was cut into the western baulk of the trench to enable full recovery of the skeletal remains (002). The burial had been made supine and extended with the head to the north-east, though the body had slightly slumped over on to the left side. Four iron hobnails were recovered from along the planter surface (sole) of the right foot, a further 23 being found in the grave fill. Numerous fragments of animal bone and early Romano-British pottery were recovered from the grave fill, together with some burnt and worked flint, all redeposited from the ditch fill.

Grave 54 had cut though an earlier grave (107) within which only the left forearm remained *in situ* on the north-west side. Redeposited bone from grave 107 was recovered from the backfill of 54, more was

probably lost as a result of plough damage and during machine clearance due to the shallowness of the feature.

Seven graves of this date were excavated in 1991, four spread over a 105m area in the northern part of the enclosure with three clustered in the southern part (Graham and Newman 1993). All the 1991 graves were substantially deeper than graves 54 and 107 and generally wider, those in the northern area apparently having been coffined. Hobnails were recovered with all the 1991 burials. The spread of graves both down the length of the 1991 trench and across a minimum 25m east–west area in the north implies many more graves are likely to remain presently undiscovered within this area of the enclosure.

#### *Spread 78*

Immediately north of grave 54 was a shallow (0.15m) spread of material over a 5.20m length of the upper fill of the enclosure ditch. The silty clay fill with occasional small flint and chalk inclusions contained a large quantity of animal bone, burnt flint and pottery of both early and late Romano-British date, together with some burnt and worked flint and an iron brooch (Table 1). This deposit has many similarities with the two early Romano-British spreads of material (214/234, 144) to the north, with the exception that it did not contain the rich deposits of carbonised plant remains found in the earlier features.

### **Other Romano-British Features**

#### *North–South Linears*

It is possible that linear feature 171 represents the northwards continuation of the extreme western edge of the east ditch of the main enclosure (277). It appeared to commence where enclosure ditch 277 passed under the eastern side of the trench to the north of grid point G and continued northwards on this alignment for a further 70m. Unfortunately, the feature was generally only evident as a narrow strip along the east side of the trench and this possibility is far from conclusive. Alternatively, 171 may simply have been fortuitously aligned parallel to the line of the enclosure ditch, situated on its inner edge. Finds of Romano-British date were recovered from 171.

The area around ditch 187, between grid points G and H, was much confused by later wheel and plough ruts, and a series of intercutting north–south

ditches (154, 171, 188 and 277). The extent and full course of these features was not, in all cases, clearly defined or possible to follow. Ditch 187 appeared to be broad (c. 0.97m) and relatively shallow (0.38m) and to curve into the west side of the trench. Animal bone, burnt flint and Romano-British pottery were recovered from both fills of coarse chalk rubble.

#### *East–West Ditches*

Ditch 99 was one of four apparently parallel ditches located over a c. 17m length of the trench at the south end. Set immediately adjacent to the southern arc of the large ring ditch 100, 99 cut through the north side of the undated ditch 96 to the south. The feature was 1.90m wide with steep, almost vertical sides and a flat base cut 0.35m into the chalk natural. The primary fill of fine grade chalk fragments was angled in steeply from the north side of the ditch. The angle of the tip lines suggests there was a bank on this side. The rest of the fill comprised a single layer of small chalk rubble with large angular flints from which fragments of Romano-British pottery were recovered.

Ditch 96, 3.90m wide and 0.60m deep, had almost vertical sides and a flat base, with four fills of graded coarse chalk rubble. The primary and secondary layers were cut by the parallel ditch 99 to the north, which indicate a Romano-British or earlier date for this latter feature. The form of ditch 96, with vertical sides and flat base, may suggest a Bronze Age rather than a Romano-British date. No features from the early excavations or the RCHME survey correspond with the line of either ditch 96 or 99, though a number of parallel ditches were recorded to the south of the enclosure ditch in the 1991 excavations.

The western terminal (244) to a small (0.55m wide), shallow (0.15m) east–west linear was excavated c. 8m south of the north ditch (272) of the main enclosure. A single sherd of Romano-British pottery was recovered from the single fill.

### **Undated Features**

In addition to the groups of largely undated pits discussed above, four east–west linears were excavated from which no dating evidence was recovered. Linear 009, at the south end of the trench, was substantially truncated leaving a maximum depth of 0.12m. It appears to form the base of a broad, 2.55m wide, flat bottomed ditch cut by two later, but also undated, pits. Feature 023, located

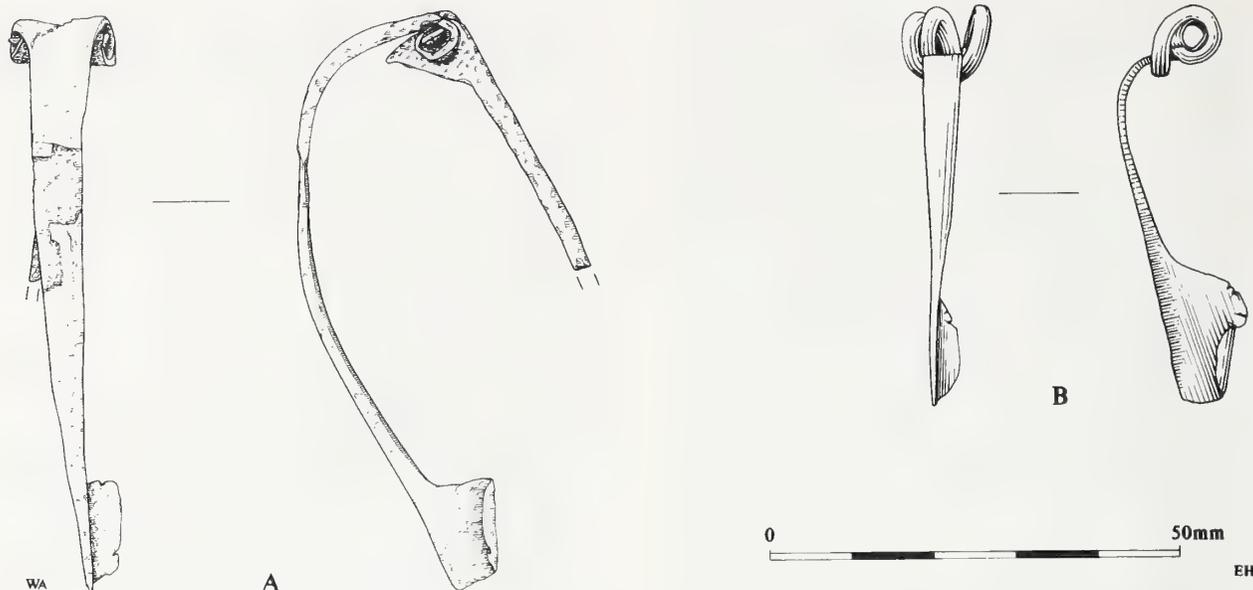


Figure 5: a. Iron strip brooch SF 5002; b. Copper-alloy bow brooch SF 5003

within the southern confines of the large ring ditch 100/137, survived to a depth of 0.36m. 2.0m wide with acute-angled sides and a flat base, the ditch had two horizontal fills of coarse chalk rubble, the lower of which contained a single struck flint. The form of this latter ditch suggests a prehistoric date. 239 and 263 were inside the enclosure at the north end of the site. Linear 239 was 0.96m wide and 0.22m deep, with one (south) steep and one gentle gradient and a slightly rounded base. Ditch 263 appears to have been 'V' shaped, 1.0m wide, with a flat base. Both the primary and secondary fill of this ditch were cut on the south side by ditch 262, tentatively dated as prehistoric, which would suggest that ditch 263 was also of an early date. Both 262 and 263 were cut by ditch 279, from which Romano-British artefacts were recovered. No features from the earlier excavations or RCHME survey showed any direct correspondence with these features.

Two north-south linears 188 and 189, the latter cutting the former, were noted in the area between grid points G and H where a concentration of intercutting linear features had confused relationships. Feature 188, 0.74m wide with concave sides and a flat base, had a single small chalk rubble fill. That 188 cut the Romano-British ditch 187 would imply a similar or later date for this feature. The projected course 188 follows closely that for 171 just to the north, but the form of the two linears did not correspond. Only a 0.20m width of linear 189 was evident against the east side of the trench, rendering interpretation very difficult. However, the 0.52m deep feature did cut linear 188.

Nine groups of undated stake holes were observed along the southern half of the trench. All of these features were of similar size and fill. Although some of the groups were linear in arrangement it was not possible to discern any distinct patterns of distribution. Most of the stake holes were cut into the natural chalk but two of the northerly groups were cut into the upper fills of the enclosure ditch 277, which would indicate a late Romano-British or later date.

An inconsistent set of undated parallel wheel ruts, which in places showed evidence of 'cobbling', were noted running north-south from just south of grid point F to between grid points H and G. In the latter location they cut across and confused a series of Romano-British features. This is the point at which the trench runs closest to the adjacent road and where there is the steepest gradient down to the river. A single plough rut extended along much of the trench between grid points D and I, demonstrating the shallow depth of ploughsoil and potential for damage or loss of underlying archaeological features as a result of ploughing.

## ARTEFACTUAL EVIDENCE

(Table 1)

### Coin

by NICHOLAS A. WELLS

One unstratified copper-alloy Roman coin was found (Obj. No. 5008), a radiate copy of late 3rd century

**Table 1: Finds Total by Feature**

Key: number of fragments/weight (g); Fe = iron; Cu = copper alloy; nat. = natural; enc. = enclosure

Feature	Animal Bone	Human Bone	Burnt Flint	Burnt Stone	CBM	Fired Clay	Worked Flint	Pottery	Stone	Metal
003 nat feature					1 8					
Gp. 280 ring ditch	3/4						2/102			
009 E-W linear	1/2						3/84			
016 pit							8/66			
019 pit	1/2						2/26			
023 E-W linear							8/318			
026 pit							5/28			
030 pit	130/726		2/10			6/390	6/62	15/200	2/3028	2 Fe
038 pit							1/6			
Gp. 40 N-S linear	62/224		1/50	4/18	1/2		4/52	22/260		1 Fe
054 grave	32 188	389/2700	6/202				5/34	24/233		27 Fe
066 pit	3/10						5/10			
078 pit	133/870		22/1676		1/36		3/25	46/690		2 Fe
095 E-W linear	161/1212		2/42				4/70	20/342	1/588	
096 E-W linear	8/72						2/24*			
099 E-W linear	3/18							2/28		
105 pit	1/2							9/64		
107 grave		18 76								
115 pit	44/410		20/2108			2/56	2/32	49/1548		
118 wheel rut	2/2							2/10		
133 E-W linear	9/26							19/152		
137 E-W linear	11 234						10/116			
144 spread in top E. side enc. ditch	61/824		37 1702				5/64	17/340		
145 wheel rut	6/12						1/2	2/14		
154/158 N-S linear	9/64		9/490				2/52	8/132		
166 wheel ruts	1/4						4/152			
Gp. 171 N-S linear	1/2		13/302		2/18		1/20	3/30		2 Fe
172 E-W linear			1/4				3/6			
187 curvilinear	1/26		6/256					4/28		
188 N-S linear	1/530									
190 N-S linear								1/12		
204 pit	177/1912		154/11038	1/66				75/2146		
207 E-W linear		4/22	1/22				14/202	5/122		
214 spread in top E. side enc. ditch	100/1362		21/1384		1/6			44/1148		1 Cu
234 spread in top E. side enc. ditch	64/266		36/2963					35/542		1 Cu
236 wheel rut								1/196		
237 wheel rut	1/4						9/64			
244 E-W linear							1/14	1/4		
249 wheel rut								1/16		
Gp. 250 nat feature	1/2		7/606	2/100			2/16	9/84		
257 E-W linear	14/58							1/10		
262 E-W linear	15/138						3/26			
272 N side enc. ditch	50/210		8/658				2/48	31/330		
Gp. 276 N-S linear	4/18							3/22		
Gp. 277 E side enc. ditch	11/92		26/1783					6/218		1 Fe
279 E-W linear	16/137						30/218	1/4		
Unstratified	11/86		4/270		3/84	1/29	33/644	33/440		2 Cu
<b>Total</b>	<b>1148/9749</b>	<b>407/2776</b>	<b>376/25566</b>	<b>7/184</b>	<b>9/154</b>	<b>9/475</b>	<b>178/2559</b>	<b>489/9365</b>	<b>3/3616</b>	<b>35 Fe; 4 Cu</b>

Table 2: Worked Flint

phase	cut	fill	flake	flake frag.	burnt flake	blade	core trimming debris	core	tool	Total
Neo./B.A.	137	139/143	4			1				5
	172	173	3							3
	262	266/267	26			4				30
	66	67	3			1				4
R.B.	-	-	96	1	2	1	4	3		107
Undated	-	-	11						1	12
Total			143	1	2	7	4	3	1	161

date, probably a PAX AVG type of Tetricus I. Copying is generally thought to have occurred between AD 275 and *c.* AD 294. This copy is a particularly poor and irregular example.

### Metalwork

by ANDREW HUTCHESON

#### Iron

A strip brooch (Obj No. 5002) was recovered from Spread 78. It is in very good condition, comprising a simple hinge consisting of an axis bar contained in the rolled-under head of the bow (Figure 5a). The lower part of the pin and part of the catch plate are missing. It is likely to date from the first half of the 1st century AD (Mackreth 1982, 245).

Other iron artefacts included 29 hobnails, four nails, one ?dog and fragments of two horseshoes. Four of the hobnails were found along the planter surface (sole) of the right foot of skeleton 002, with 23 others from the disturbed backfill of the late Romano-British grave (54) with two more from pit 30. An 'L-shaped' fragment of iron from the upper fill of the main enclosure ditch may represent part of a joiner's dog, probably of Romano-British date. The four nails were all recovered from Romano-British contexts; two may represent coffin nails.

#### Copper Alloy

A bow brooch (Obj. No. 5003) from a spread within the upper fill of the enclosure ditch (214/234) is a Nauheim derivative type with a four-coiled spring, internal chord, flat bow and solid catch plate (Figure 5b). The pin and fourth coil are missing. The brooch is a Camulodunum Type VII, dating from the second half of the 1st century AD (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 312, pl. XCII, 56).

A ring (Obj. No. 5004) made from a thick piece of wire, with rounded terminals meeting neatly at the points, was also recovered from the upper fill of the enclosure ditch (214/234). Possibly a finger or toe ring, it could also be a simple penannular brooch with the pin missing.

### Worked Flint

by W.A. BOISMIER

A total of 161 pieces of worked flint was recovered from various contexts (Table 2). Forty-two (26.1%) of the artefacts were recovered from prehistoric contexts, 107 from Romano-British contexts (66.5%) and 12 from undated contexts (7.5%). All artefacts recovered were made from flint obtained from local chalk sources. The condition is good with only one exhibiting minor post-depositional edge damage. Some 96.3% of the assemblage (n=155) exhibits a patina ranging from bluish-grey to white. No spatial patterning in the distribution of patinated artefacts was apparent in the material recovered from the various features.

Technologically, most of the artefacts conform to the general characteristics of the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age industries from southern England. The three cores are all prepared joint platform flake cores worked with both soft and hard hammers. Flake shapes are variable and include a small number of narrow bladelike flakes with thin platforms, and squat flakes with thick platforms and hinge terminations. The single retouched tool is a flake end scraper. This artefact is not datable and the lack of any technologically diagnostic pieces precludes any more refined dating of the assemblage.

The high proportion of the assemblage that was recovered from Romano-British contexts indicates that most of the assemblage is residual in character.

**Table 3: Pottery Fabric Groups and Wares by Feature**

Number of fragments/weight (g)

Feature	Grog	E155	Sandy	BB1	Flint	Ox	Samian	Fine	TOTAL
ENCLOSURE DITCH (upper fills)									
E side - seg.214	13/284	29/826	2/9						44/1119
E side - seg.:234	13/260	13/172	8/97		1/4				35/533
E side - seg. 144	3/70	12/244	3/10						18/324
N side: 272	7/84	7/158	17/100						31/342
E side: 277	3/166	2/16	1/36						6/218
LINEARS									
Linear 40	3/28	6/158	11/58	2/12					22/256
Linear 95	3/70	5/96	4/72	5/80			2/6		19/324
Linear 99			2/28						2/28
Linear 133	12/104	3/16	4/28						19/148
Linear 154/158	5/82	1/8	1/18		1/16				8/124
Linear 171		1/8	2/22						3/30
Curvilinear 187			4/28						4/28
Linear 190			1/12						1/12
Linear 207	1/52		2/8	2/62					5/122
Linear 244			1/4						1/4
Linear 257		1/10							1/10
Linear 276	1/10		2/8						3/18
Linear 279	1/4								1/4
PITS									
Pit 30		2/30	10/84	3/74					15/188
Pit 78	3/48	29/486	12/104			1/2		1/14fl	46/654
Pit 105		8/162	1/2						9/164
Pit 115	12/264	30/1132	1/46				6/58		49/1500
Pit 145	1/6		1/8						2/14
Pit 204	15/238	39/1490	19/318					2/10	75/2056
OTHER FEATURES/CONTEXTS									
Grave 54	6/46	7/120	10/58				1/4		24/228
Wheel rut 118			2/10						2/10
Wheel rut 236		1/196							1/196
Wheel rut 249			1/16						1/16
Nat. feature 250	3/29		5/45			1/8			9/82
Unstratified	20/320	1/10	5/76	5/28					31/434
<b>Total</b>	<b>125/2197</b>	<b>197/5338</b>	<b>131/1269</b>	<b>17/256</b>	<b>2/20</b>	<b>2/10</b>	<b>9/68</b>	<b>3/24</b>	<b>486/9182</b>

The small number of artefacts recovered from prehistoric features is limited to debitage classes associated with core reduction activities and does not allow for any inferences concerning the range of prehistoric activities occurring at the site. However, the number of primary flakes (n=13) and the occurrence of a small number of cores indicate that core preparation and reduction associated with the production of stone tools was one of the activities which occurred at the site.

### Pottery

by LORRAINE MEPHAM

The pottery assemblage comprises 486 sherds (9182g) of Romano-British date.

### *Fabrics and Forms*

The whole assemblage was subjected to full fabric and form analysis. Since the pottery derived from features which lay broadly within the area of the Romano-British settlement partially excavated in

1991, the analysis used the type series defined for the earlier excavation (Mephram 1993a). Twenty-seven fabric types were identified, all but two of which could be matched within the existing type series. These 27 fabric types fall into four broad fabric groups: flint-tempered (Group F); grog-tempered (Group G); sandy (Group Q); and 'established' wares of known type or source (Group E). Fabric descriptions for those fabrics matched within the existing type series are not repeated in full here, but may be summarised as follows:

E100 Black Burnished ware (BB1): for fabric description see Williams (1977) and Seager Smith and Davies (1993).

E155 Savernake ware: for fabric description see Swan (1975; fabric 1)

E170 Oxfordshire colour-coated fineware

E174 Oxfordshire coarse oxidised sandy ware

E300 Samian; source unspecified.

F100 Hard fabric with moderate flint <1mm; moderate quartz <0.5mm.

F101 Hard fabric with moderate flint <3mm; rare grog/clay pellet <2mm.

G100 Hard, soapy fabric with moderate grog <5mm; generally oxidised

G101 Hard, soapy fabric with common grog <2mm; rare quartz <0.5mm

G102 Soft fabric with sparse grog < 1mm; sparse quartz <0.5mm

G103 Soft fabric with moderate grog <1mm moderate quartz <1mm

G104 Hard fabric with sparse grog <2mm; sparse flint <2mm; sparse quartz <0.5mm

G105 Soft soapy fabric with sparse grog <3mm; rare quartz <0.25mm

Q100 Sandy greyware with visible ?glaucanite; quartz <1mm

Q101 Sandy greyware with visible ?glaucanite; quartz <0.5mm

Q103 Hard micaceous oxidised fabric; sparse quartz <0.25mm

Q104 Sandy fabric with moderate quartz <0.5mm; sparse grog <0.5mm; generally oxidised

Q105 Sandy greyware without visible ?glaucanite; quartz <0.5mm

Q106 Sandy greyware without visible glaucanite; quartz <0.25mm

Q108 Hard unoxidised sandy fabric; common quartz <0.5mm

Q109 Hard unoxidised sandy fabric; moderate

quartz <1.5mm; rare grog/clay pellet.

Q111 Hard black sandy fabric; common quartz <0.5mm

Q113 As Q106 but with obtrusive iron oxides

Q115 Oxidised sandy fabric with rare ?glaucanite; quartz <0.25mm

Q117 Sandy oxidised fabric; moderate quartz <0.5mm

Finewares are restricted to a very few sherds. Identifiable wares comprise samian and Oxfordshire colour-coated ware. The samian is all of South Gaulish type, with a date range of c. AD 70-110; identifiable vessel forms comprise two Drag 18 or 18/31 platters and one Drag 27 cup. The Oxfordshire finewares, on the other hand, are likely to be of late Romano-British date (3rd or 4th century AD).

Two other colour-coated wares were noted, which are not matched within the existing type series. Both are of unknown source, and may be described as follows:

Q120 Hard, fine-grained fabric; rare quartz <0.25mm; rare iron oxides. Oxidised brick-red with external creamy-white slip. Wheelthrown.

Q121 Hard, dense, moderately coarse-grained fabric; moderate, well-sorted quartz <0.5mm. Oxidised pinky-red with external red slip. Wheelthrown.

Fabric Q120 is represented by a single sherd, the rim and neck of a ring-necked flagon. Such white-slipped red wares are generally dated from the mid 1st-late 2nd century AD. The use of white slip to disguise red-firing fabrics is a widespread phenomenon observed across southern England, although the sources of such vessels are as yet unknown. A flagon of uncertain form in a similar white-slipped fabric was found at Maddington Farm, Shrewton, 10km to the west (Seager Smith 1996, fabric Q109), and a white-slipped face jug at Butterfield Down, Amesbury, 6km to the south (Millard 1996, fabric Q110).

The origin of fabric Q121 is even more uncertain. Both sherds present come from a single vessel of closed form, associated with Savernake ware and other wares of late 1st or very early 2nd century date (pit 204). The date range of this pit group appears to preclude the possibility that this is a British colour-coated ware; on the other hand, it does not seem to resemble any of the better-known continental finewares of this period. They may be of Gaulish origin (V. Rigby pers. comm.).

The coarsewares are dominated by grog-tempered fabrics, particularly Savernake ware. The other grog-tempered fabrics are likely to be part of the same tradition of native Iron Age wares which continued in manufacture into the early Romano-British period. Vessel forms are mainly bead-rimmed jars in a range of sizes from very small to large, thick-walled storage jars, although some necked, everted rim jars, some with neck cordons, are present, and two lids were also identified. All these vessel types are of characteristic early Romano-British type, and a date range of mid to late 1st century AD, possibly extending into the early 2nd century, can be suggested.

Coarse sandy wares are relatively uncommon. The 'catch-all' fabrics Q100 and Q101 (greywares with glauconite) and Q105 and Q106 (greywares without glauconite) are each likely to include wares from more than one source. Glauconitic wares could derive from areas of greensand in the north or west of the county; one possible greyware kiln has been identified at Westbury, on Upper Greensand (Rogers and Roddham 1991). Another centre of greyware manufacture, operating from the early 2nd to the 4th century AD, has been identified to the west of Swindon (Anderson 1979). Other possible sources include the Oxfordshire and New Forest production centres, although the bulk of the assemblage seems to pre-date the period of widespread distribution of the products of these centres. Greyware vessel forms echo those of the grog-tempered wares: bead-rimmed and everted rim jars. The small number of sherds of Black Burnished ware, however, all seem to be of late Romano-British date, with recognisable vessel forms including everted rim jars and dropped-flange bowls (Seager Smith and Davies 1993, types 3 and 25).

Flint-tempered wares are very scarce, represented by only three sherds, with no diagnostic forms present.

#### *Distribution on Site*

The pottery assemblage is derived from a number of features along the length of the pipeline, including the main enclosure ditch (upper fills only), other linear features, pits and the backfill of one grave (Table 1). Table 3 presents a breakdown of the fabric groups and known wares from each feature. From this it can be seen that the grog-tempered fabrics, including Savernake ware, are concentrated in the upper fills of the east side of the main enclosure ditch and the pits, while the proportion of these fabrics from the other linear features is much lower. The

linear features might thus be taken largely to post-date the backfilling of the enclosure ditch, and certainly one of these features (40) contained Black Burnished ware in 3rd–4th century vessel forms. The sandy wares from other linears, however, contain insufficient diagnostic material to confirm this dating. One of the pits (30) and one linear (95) also produced Black Burnished ware in 3rd–4th century forms; otherwise, the preponderance of grog-tempered wares in bead-rimmed jar forms, together with the presence of South Gaulish samian, confirms a date for these features in the later 1st or very early 2nd century AD.

#### *Discussion*

The pottery assemblage complements that from the earlier excavations, confirming the general date range of the enclosure and associated features. A very similar range of fabrics and forms was observed. It may be noted, however, that this assemblage has a stronger emphasis on the early Romano-British period, with a far lower proportion of wares which could be definitely dated later than the 2nd century AD. The complete absence of Iron Age or earlier pottery is also interesting. Vessel forms, together with the dominance of Savernake ware and other grog-tempered fabrics, and the presence of South Gaulish samian, help to tie down the dating of the early Romano-British features to a period of c. AD 70–110.

#### **Other Artefacts**

by LORRAINE MEPHAM

#### *Burnt Flint and Stone*

A total of 376 fragments of burnt flint was recovered from 35 contexts (19 features). Over 62% by weight came from pit fills where it occurred together with a variety of other artefact types. A substantial quantity was found in pit 115 which was rich in carbonised plant remains. A further 22% was recovered from the spreads of material rich in charred plant remains within the upper fill of the enclosure ditch. The abundant natural occurrence of flint in the vicinity, together with the distribution and associated finds suggests that most of the burnt flint was incidental to some form of domestic or agricultural burning process.

Seven pieces of burnt stone were recovered from three contexts/features, all in association with other types of artefacts including burnt flint.

### *Ceramic Building Material and Fired Clay*

Nine fragments of ceramic building material were recovered from six contexts including one unstratified and one natural feature. Most was of Romano-British date with the exception of some unstratified post-medieval fragments. All of the fragments are small and abraded making definition of form impossible. The features from which fragments were recovered were spread along the length of the excavated area with no significant clustering. Fragments were generally recovered together with a variety of other artefact types.

A small quantity of structural daub/cob, mostly of chalk composition, was recovered from two contexts, most being from pit 30. Part of a clay disc of unknown function, similar to examples found during the previous excavation (Mephram 1993b, fig. 13), was also found.

### *Worked/utilised Stone*

A fragment of quern was recovered from the east-west linear 95 at the south end of the site. The fragment comprised the flat face only of a probable rotary quern made from a quartz conglomerate. Two other ?chalk 'blocks' were found in pit 30, which were probably utilised though not apparently worked.

## ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE

### **Human Bone**

by JACQUELINE I. MCKINLEY

Human remains from two intercutting Romano-British inhumation burials were analysed, together with redeposited bone fragments from an early Romano-British context.

### *Methods*

Age was assessed from the stage of tooth development and eruption (van Beek 1983); the stage of ossification and epiphyseal bone fusion (Grey 1977; McMinn and Hutchings 1985; Webb and Suchey 1985); tooth wear patterns (Brothwell 1972); and the general degree of cranial suture fusion. Sex was assessed from the sexually dimorphic traits of the skeleton (Bass 1987). Platymeric and platycnemic indices were calculated (Bass 1987), and stature was estimated using Trotter and Gleser's regression equations (1952; 1958). Pathological lesions and morphological variations/non-metric traits were recorded and diagnoses suggested where appropriate.

### *Results*

Articulated bone was recovered from two shallow, intercutting graves cut into the upper fill of the east side of the main enclosure ditch. Only part of the left forearm and hand bones of 106 remained *in situ*, a few other fragments of the left upper limb bones being recovered from the backfill (062) of the later grave cut for 002 (c. 5% skeletal recovery). The *in situ* skeleton (002) was disturbed during machine stripping of the site (maximum depth of grave 0.20m) and had probably been subject to plough damage. Some bones were also recovered from the grave fill 062 (c. 62% skeletal recovery). A fragment of left ulna was recovered from the base of ditch 207.

Most of the bone was badly fragmented, some from 002 was slightly root marked, as was all the bone from 106. The bone from context 208 was not at all weathered which suggests rapid reburial after disturbance from its original resting place. A series of seven Romano-British and two prehistoric burials were excavated along the length of the trench in the previous investigations (Newman and Graham 1993), the north-south locations of which corresponded with grid points D-I on Figure 2. It is likely, therefore, that the bone from 208 originated from a disturbed burial in the c. 20m intervening area between the two trenches, presumably cut by the insertion of ditch 207. In view of the early Romano-British date for ditch 207 it is probable that the bone was from a pre-Romano-British burial.

Parts of three individuals were identified; 002, a mature adult (25-45 yr) male, a subadult (c. 14-16 yr) of unknown sex (106) and an adult (208). Several minor pathological changes were noted in 002 including: caries (1); mild calculus and periodontal disease; osteoarthritis in the left sacro-iliac joint, costo-vertebral (2 left), thoracic and lumbar articular processes; osteophytes (marginal new bone) in the auricular surfaces, both hip joints, right sacro-iliac, left talus, left patella and a minimum of four lumbar articular processes; *spina bifida occulta* (minor version of deformity, no significant symptoms); calcified thyroid cartilage; destructive lesions periarticular to the right acetabulum; exostoses (new bone at tendon/ligament insertions) on the iliac crest, calcanea, patella, right proximal femur, right lesser trochanter and right cuboid; pitting in the right lateral cuneiform; vastus notch (morphological variation).

The stature of 002 was estimated at 1.68m (5ft 6in), the platymeric index (degree of anterior-posterior flattening of the proximal femur) was in

the platymeric range and the platycnemic (mesolateral flattening of the tibia) in the eurycnemic range. The small size of the group, even when added to those excavated in 1991, precludes much meaningful demographic comment.

### Animal Bone

by SHEILA HAMILTON-DYER

The condition of the bones varies from good, with fine surface details preserved, to poor, eroded and fragile. Several bones were excavated in pieces and have been counted as single fragments where reconstruction is possible (see Table 1 for actual fragment numbers) but some were not recovered complete owing to the nature of the excavation.

### Methods

Species identifications were made using the writer's modern comparative collections. Some fragments could be identified only to the level of cattle/horse-sized and sheep/pig-sized, other small, indeterminate fragments were recorded as mammalian only. The few measurements available follow von den Driesch (1976) and are in millimetres unless otherwise stated. Withers height estimations of the domestic ungulates are based on factors recommended by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974). The taxa identified and their abbreviations are listed in archive. Details not in the text, including anatomy and butchery may be found in the archive.

### Results

A total of 622 bones was recovered by hand, with a further 194 from 10 litre soil samples. The latter were from a small number of contexts only and are marked \* in Table 4. Animal bone was found in 56 contexts (34 features) and, as a result, many groups total less than 10 fragments. Very few of the bones are sufficiently complete for measurement.

Of the overall total of 816 bones, half were identified to species. The assemblage is dominated by sheep/goat (probably all sheep), followed by cattle. Horse and pig are minor constituents and other taxa are rare; there were occasional fragments of red deer, dog, shrew, voles, fowl, raven, amphibians, and eel. A summary of the taxa recovered from each feature is given in Table 4.

### Prehistoric Features

Only three fragments were recovered from the ring ditch (280), none could be positively identified to

species although one is of cattle size. A few fragments (15) were recovered from seven contexts in five features. Seven of these were identified to species; three sheep/goat teeth, a pig tooth, and fragments of a cattle pelvis, femur and ulna. Material from linears 137 and 262 is very poorly preserved.

### Early Romano-British

A total of 427 bones is attributed to this period, of which 250 fragments were recovered by hand. Much of the bone is from the spreads of material within the upper fills of the main enclosure ditch. The main domestic ungulates, cattle, sheep, pig and horse are present together with unidentified fragments of this size. The only other large species represented is red deer in spread 214. This is a proximal fragment of radius, cut across the shaft front. Bone recovered by sieving adds raven, eel, voles and amphibians, mostly from pits 115 and 204.

Nine sheep and sheep/goat jaws were among the fragments from the spreads. Of these three had full adult dentition and would have been over two years old, the remaining six were at wear stage 3 or 4, equivalent to an age of 12–24 months (Maltby 1979). Pit 204 contained a further nine, three under two years and six over. These include two pairs from sheep over four years old. Oral pathology was noted in six jaws and includes displaced teeth, malocclusion, caries and periodontal erosion.

Few measurements were available but a sheep radius in spread 144 gives an estimated withers height of 0.55m, and measurement of a broken but complete cattle metatarsus from pit 204 provided an estimate of withers height of 1.24 m.

### Late Romano-British

The 315 bones were recovered from four features, including two linears (40 and 95) and two pits (30 and 78). No material was recovered by sieving but amphibian bones were, nevertheless, found in pit 30. A coprolite containing bone was also recovered from this pit as well as two bones of dog, and several bones had been gnawed. Dog bones were also recovered from ditch 95, comprising seven bones from the forelegs and neck of a good sized but not unusually large individual. The bulk of the bone from this phase was, again, of cattle and sheep and fragments of this size. There is, however, a higher percentage of unidentified material and less sheep than in the earlier phase. Excepting pit 30, the bones are a little less well preserved and this may help to explain the higher percentage of unidentified material (57% in comparison with 44% from the early

Table 4: Summary of Animal Species Distribution by Feature (number of fragments)

Feature	H	C	S/G	P	Dr	CS	SS	M	Dg	B	SM	E	A	Total
<b>PREHIST</b>														
009 E-W linear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
019 pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
066 pit	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
137 E-W linear	-	2	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
242 E-W linear	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Gp. 260 ring ditch	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>percentage</b>		17.6	6.0	6.0		41.2	11.8	17.6						
<b>ERB</b>														
015 pit	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
045 pit	-	7	7	-	-	1	2	10	-	-	11*	2*	2*	27+16*
138 E-W linear	-	1	3	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
142 spread in top E side end ditch	-	4+2*	13+11*	1	-	2+3*	4+5*	17*	-	-	-	-	-	24+13*
154 156 N-S linear	1	2	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
202 pit	2*	14*	2+26*	2*	-	1+7*	7*	16*	-	1*	11*	1*	5*	34+22*
214 spread in top E side end ditch	2	9	30+2*	6+1*	1	8	19+1*	8*	-	-	3*	1*	-	75+21*
234 spread in top E side end ditch	-	8	7	2	-	10	8	9	-	-	-	-	-	44
257 E-W linear	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
272 N side end ditch	1	4	13	-	-	7	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	31
Gp. 276 N-S linear	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Gp. 277 E side end ditch	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	9
279 E-W linear	-	2	3	-	-	6	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>427</b>
<b>percentage</b>	1.4	13.1	28.3	2.8	0.2	11.9	14.1	18.0	0	0.2	7.3	0.9	1.6	
<b>LRB</b>														
30 pit	-	8	13	-	-	10	7	1	2	1	-	-	1*	57
Gp. 40 N-S linear	1	3	9	-	-	6	21	2	-	-	-	-	-	42
78 pit	1	13	11	5	-	43	3	18	-	-	-	-	-	94
95 E-W linear	-	20	26	1	-	14	34	20	7	-	-	-	-	122
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>315</b>
<b>percentage</b>	0.6	13.3	18.7	1.9	0	23.2	20.6	13	2.9	0.3	0	0	5.4	
<b>RB u/s</b>														
54 grave	-	4	10+6*	-	-	3*	2+1*	4+6*	1+1*	-	-	-	-	21+17*
96 E-W linear	-	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
099 E-W linear	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
187 curvilinear	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gp. 171 N-S linear	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>percentage</b>	0	1.4	5.4	0	0	1.6	1.2	2.0	0.4	0	0	0	0	
<b>unphased</b>														
145 wheel run	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
118 wheel run	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
166 wheel run	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
138 N-S linear	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
237 wheel run	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gp. 250 column	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>percentage</b>	0	14.3	42.9	0	14.3	0	28.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	
<b>Overall total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>816</b>
<b>percentage</b>	1	13.3	24.6	2.3	0.2	17.0	16.5	16.0	1.3	0.2	3.8	0.5	2.9	

KEY \* - material from flotation/sewing material. PREHIST - prehistoric. ERB - early Romano-British. LRB - late Romano-British. RB u/s - Romano-British non-specific phasing. H - horse. C - cattle. S/G - sheep/goat. P - pig. Dr - deer. CS - cattle size. SS - sheep size. M - mammal. Dg - dog. B - bird. SM - small mammal. E - eel. A - amphibian.

Romano-British contexts). The lower amount of sheep may also be partly attributable to the poor condition (Maltby 1985a) but the percentage of loose teeth from both periods is similar at just over 25% of the sheep total from ditches and a little less for the pits. This is comparable with the findings at Winnall Down, Hampshire where deposit type and differential preservation affected the proportions of species and elements making it very difficult to discern temporal differences (Maltby 1985b).

#### *Other Contexts*

Small numbers of bones were recovered from unphased Romano-British and undated contexts. Cattle, sheep, dog and red deer were identified. The red deer bone is a partial skull from linear 188; it is of a large male and knife marks across the frontal indicate that it had been skinned. The femur of a very large red deer was recovered from the previous excavations, in ditch 459 (Graham and Newman 1993).

#### *Discussion*

This assemblage is typical of those recovered from pipeline excavations with relatively small amounts of bone from a large number of disjointed features. It does, however, offer further samples for comparison with those recovered from the settlement during the 1991 investigation (Egerton *et al.* 1993).

The assemblage is broadly similar to that from the previous excavations; cattle and sheep are the main species together with small amounts of pig, horse, dog, deer and birds. Preservation of the material varied between contexts from moderately eroded to excellent, and the fragmentation and differential preservation restricts the information available and the subsequent interpretation.

There are differences between these two assemblages and the current material offers additional information. Metrical data are very limited; only 22 bones were measured from the entire assemblage. This is, however, an improvement on the single bone measurement from the 1991 assemblage. The two withers heights fall within the range reported for material in southern England and the three measurements of sheep distal tibia fall very close to the Romano-British mean (Maltby 1981).

The relative proportions of the species in each context is generally similar but there is a significant discrepancy in the representation of sheep from the late Romano-British groups. Although there is a slight drop in the representation of sheep compared with cattle in the current assemblage (ERB 13.1%

cattle:28.3% sheep, LRB 13.3% cattle:18.7% sheep) it is not as dramatic as in the previous material (ERB 14.1% cattle:21% sheep, LRB 12.6% cattle:2.7% sheep). These results may be unduly influenced by the small number of fragments.

Additional species were recovered from the sieved samples from the current investigations; these are raven, domestic fowl, shrew, vole and eel.

The sample of sheep jaws is larger than from the previous assemblage but, with the problems of small sample size and differential preservation, is still insufficient for more than a tentative suggestion that they were culled at prime meat age or when old.

These differences, from sites only a few metres apart, illustrate the difficulties of interpretation of small assemblages from rural sites. Their value lies in the accumulation of data which can give an overview of the activity within the rural landscape.

#### **Charred Plant Remains**

by PAT HINTON

Three samples from Late Iron Age/early Romano-British contexts were processed at Wessex Archaeology by standard flotation, with flots retained on a 0.5mm sieve and residues on a 1mm sieve. The flots were presented to the writer, together with all charred material extracted from the residues by Sarah F. Wyles. The flots were then searched with binocular microscope (7-40 x magnification).

#### *Results*

Nomenclature and order (except for the cereals) in Table 5 conform to Stace (1991). There were many fragmented grains in the sample from pit 115 and the totals have been estimated. Glume bases of *Triticum* spp. are recorded but fragments of the upper parts of glumes are not included in the totals.

#### *Cultivated plants*

Cereals form the main constituent of all three samples. *Triticum spelta* (spelt) was identified by a few characteristically shaped grains and its presence confirmed by more diagnostic glume bases. Many of the wheat glume bases are damaged and incomplete, and possibly include some of *Triticum dicoccum* (emmer) but only one grain, from spread 186, at all resembles emmer. Many other grains, especially in the richest sample from pit 115, are obviously wheats but because of their degradation the species cannot be identified more closely. There are no grains to suggest a free-threshing bread wheat and it is very likely that most, if not all, represent spelt.

*Hordeum vulgare* (hulled barley) occurs in all three samples and is the major cereal from pit 115. A few asymmetric grains and one rachis node fragment indicate 6-rowed barley.

There is evidence of *Avena* species (oats) in the form of very small fragments (1–3mm) of the twisted basal parts of the awns from all three contexts, with a few grains from two. It is not possible to identify these more closely but in the sample from pit 115 there are also some fragments of oat chaff, including two floret bases with the characteristic abscission scar of *Avena fatua* (wild oats). In Table 5 the oats have been listed with the other cereals since some might well have been cultivated, but the two floret fragments undoubtedly indicate the presence of wild, and therefore presumably weed, oats.

#### Wild plants

The ten *Brassica* seeds from pit 115 may possibly be misplaced when listed with the wild plants. It is difficult to distinguish the various species which include cabbage, turnip, black mustard, and so forth, and therefore difficult to tell whether they may have been cultivated.

Of the legumes, only the seeds of *Vicia tetrasperma* (smooth tare), also from pit 115, could be confidently identified by their size and very small hilum; other small (c. 2mm diameter) *Vicia* seeds on which no hilum could be discerned may be the same, or possibly *Vicia hirsuta* (hairy tare). Larger *Vicia* or *Lathyrus* (c. 2.8mm diameter) seeds have not been identified, but there is nothing to suggest that they are other than wild plants.

*Lithospermum arvense* (corn gromwell) seeds are present in greater numbers than the other seeds but they are very hard and more resistant to burning, their yellow-white testas becoming dull and grey rather than typically charred.

The range of wild plants is similar in all the samples and although a few may today be more commonly found in waste places all are likely to have grown with the cereals. Some, for example corn gromwell and *Valerianella dentata* (narrow-fruited corn-salad), are particularly associated with fields on the chalk. There are no seeds of plants which are more likely to occur on heavier poorly drained soils.

#### Discussion

The provenance of the charred remains in the samples is difficult to interpret. They may represent single depositions but not necessarily the results of single burning episodes. Since all contain cereal grains, chaff and seeds of plants which are common

cereal crop accompaniments it is likely that they result from crop processing routines.

Because many grains are too poorly preserved for accurate identification and counting it is impossible to calculate exactly the ratios of cereal grains to chaff. Also the damaged condition of the grains makes it probable that some of the more fragile chaff must have been destroyed. However, a rough comparison of the numbers of the identifiable surviving wheat grains and glume bases suggests that complete spikelets are involved, the result of breaking up of the ears by threshing. A mixture of threshed spikelets and weed seeds would occur during the sieving stages of the crop cleaning procedures. The barley is accompanied by only one rachis fragment in one sample and this again suggests that the grain had been threshed.

The smaller amounts of cereal and weed remains in spread 186 and pit 204 may have been derived from the disposal of burned processing or other domestic refuse and some perhaps by chance from a general background scatter. The greater density of remains in the pit 115, with threshed wheat spikelets and a larger amount of threshed barley, has the appearance of a single deposition and was possibly the result of one burning, but its origin was likely to have been more than one cereal crop.

In summary the results suggest the cultivation of spelt wheat and six-rowed hulled barley on the chalk soils available nearby. Barley is an appropriate, possibly spring-sown, crop for such light well-drained soils. The spelt wheat, with the evidence of *Galium aparine* (cleavers), may well have been autumn-sown. Comparing these results with those from the previous investigations of this site (Ede 1993) shows spelt and hulled barley as the main cereals in both cases. The weed assemblages also are basically similar, but for two important exceptions: the presence in one of these current samples of at least two species of vetches and tares, and *Brassica* seeds which could possibly represent cultivated plants, while the previous report recorded sedges, suggesting damper conditions.

#### Other Environmental Material

by MICHAEL J. ALLEN

One calcium-phosphate replaced coprolite was recovered from a pit of later Romano-British date. It is typical of the coprolite preservation on rural chalkland sites. It is broken but survives to 37mm,

Table 5: Charred Plant Remains

Feature		Spread 186	Pit 204	Pit 115
Context		214	206	135
Sample (all 10 litres)		1010	1011	1008
<b>Cultivated</b>	<b>Common name</b>			
<i>Triticum cf spelta</i> - grains	spelt	5	3	35
<i>T. spelta</i> L. - glume bases		6	6	66
<i>T. cf dicoccum</i> - grain	emmer	1		
<i>T. dicoccum spelta</i> - glume bases	emmer spelt	15	18	75
<i>Triticum</i> sp(p). - grains	indeterminate wheat	8	1	145*
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> L. - grains	hulled barley	11 (1)	4	340*
<i>H. vulgare</i> - rachis internode fr.		1		
<i>Avena</i> sp(p). - grains	indeterminate oats	3 (3)		14 (3)
<i>Avena</i> sp(p) - awn frags.		70	25	40
<i>Avena fatua</i> L. - floret bases	wild oats			2
Cerealia - grains + frags (in ml.)	unidentified cereals	12 + 1.5ml	4 + 1ml	6 + 25ml.
<b>Arable &amp;/or Ruderal</b>				
<i>Fumaria</i> sp.	fumitory	1	1	
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	fat hen	2		5
<i>Atriplex prostrata patula</i>	spear-leaved common orache	2	1	1
<i>Stellaria media neglecta</i>	common/greater chickweed	2		3
<i>Silene</i> sp.	campion			1
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i> L.	knotgrass		1	
<i>Fallopia convolvulus</i> (L.) Á. Löve	black bindweed	(1)	1	2
<i>Rumex</i> sp.	dock		1	4
<i>Brassica</i> sp.	cabbage/mustard etc.			10
<i>Vicia tetrasperma</i> (L.) Schreber	smooth tare			11
<i>V. tetrasperma hirsuta</i>	smooth/hairy tare	2		9
<i>Vicia/Lathyrus</i> sp.	vetch/vetchling	2		10
<i>Trifolium cf pratense</i>	red clover	2	2	4
<i>Trifolium/Medicago</i> sp.	clover/medick			2
<i>Lithospermum arvense</i> L.	corn gromwell	24 (1)	8	39
<i>Plantago lanceolata</i> L.	ribwort plantain	1		2
<i>Veronica cf serpyllifolia</i>	thyme-leaved speedwell			1
<i>Galium aparine</i> L.	cleavers	6	4	6
<i>Valerianella dentata</i> (L.) Pollich	narrow-fruited corn-salad	2		
cf <i>Artemisia vulgaris</i>	mugwort			8
<i>Tripleurospermum inodorum</i> (L.) Schultz-Bip	scentless mayweed		1	
<i>Festuca Lolium</i> sp.	fescue/rye grass	2	8	11
cf <i>Alopecurus/Phleum</i>	foxtail/cat's tail	1		
<i>Bromus cf secalinus</i>	brome grass, chess		1 (1)	6
Poaceae indet.	unidentified grasses - small	3		2
	medium	2		3
Unidentified seeds		4	1	5

Key: ( ) = identification uncertain

\* = estimated

and is 24mm in diameter with concentric composition. It contains small fragments of splintered bone.

Fragments of oyster were recovered from two contexts and represent three individuals. Two right valves and one left valve were present.

## CONCLUSION

The problems inherent with excavations of this type have yet again been highlighted. In excess of 50 features were investigated over a 420m length of trench to a maximum excavated width of 2m, with most being excavated to c. 0.60m. Such 'keyhole' archaeology places understandable constraints on the depth of excavation, level of artefact recovery and interpretation of features. Inevitably, a proportion of the features were undatable, and the nature and even the full form of others remain inconclusive. In this instance, however, interpretation has been assisted by the information available from the earlier archaeological analyses of this well-known settlement site in the form of aerial, geophysical and land survey, as well as previous, if similarly constrained, excavation. Considered in combination, the results from the 1995 excavations not only confirm and corroborate previous evidence, but have also advanced and added to our understanding in several key areas.

The site discussion included in the 1991 excavation report (Graham and Newman 1993, 50–52) placed the settlement in its context within the known Romano-British landscape of Salisbury Plain and there is little to be gained from repeating that information here. Much of the discussion pertaining directly to the settlement itself is also of immediate relevance to the results presented in this report, the two excavations running parallel through the same part of the site, separated from each other by only 15–24m. This discussion will, therefore, largely be limited to new information gleaned from the various investigations undertaken since 1991.

### *Prehistoric*

Artefactual evidence for prehistoric activity was limited to a small assemblage of struck flint of Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age date. Unfortunately, over half of the assemblage was redeposited within later features. With the exception of the ring ditches at the south end of the site, none of the features classified as prehistoric could be attributed to any particular phase, although the form of some of the

linears suggests they are most likely to be Bronze Age. One of the known cluster of ring ditches at the south end of the site fell within the line of the excavation, extending the recorded circumference of the feature. A previously unrecorded ring ditch, similar in size to others, was found situated on the south-eastern edge of the group. The fills of both these ditches suggested the original presence of an internal bank.

### *Main Enclosure*

As in the 1991 excavation, no artefacts of Iron Age date were recovered from the fill of the enclosure ditches, though this is not to suggest any other than a later Iron Age date for the feature itself. There is clear evidence to show that the ditch on the east side was fully backfilled by the early Romano-British period, which corroborates evidence for the south and north sides from the 1991 excavations. As noted previously, there is evidence to suggest deliberate backfilling of the ditch, the angle of the tip lines and nature of the fills suggesting the presence of an internal bank. Several extensive spreads of early Romano-British material, comprising deposits of domestic and agricultural debris, were found in the upper fills of the ditch. These deposits were angled from the inside, showing that the process of infilling was on-going and implying that the ditch still provided some boundary to activity. However, two features of early Romano-British date also cut the upper ditch fill, as did several late Romano-British features. This suggests that the late 1st–early 2nd centuries AD form the period over which the enclosure ditch fully ceased to function and activity related to the settlement spread eastwards across it.

Survey work carried out by RCHME since 1991 has added to the known extent of the main enclosure (Figure 2) including increasing the northwards extension of the east side of the ditch by c. 80m to the level of the field boundary at grid point F. The line of the enclosure as shown in the survey transcript was picked up in excavation and extended a further 40–45m towards the north. Together with the location of the north side of the enclosure ditch at the north end of the trench, this allowed the north-eastern line of the enclosure to be more clearly defined. The north-east corner has a gentler angle than previously suggested (Graham and Newman 1993, fig. 4) and extends further across to the east. The line of the east side of the ditch cannot have followed a truly straight line and has probably been cut slightly by the present road or its bank along a possible 100m length.

A possible early Romano-British date may be suggested for the small, rectilinear enclosure shown in the south-east area of the site on the survey transcript. If linears 276 and 040 represent the east side of this enclosure, this would imply a continuum of use throughout the Romano-British period.

The location of the two Romano-British burials, taken in consideration with that of contemporaneous burials from the previous excavation, suggests the possibility of a fairly extensive cemetery in the north-eastern area of the enclosure. The transcript of the geophysical survey in this area (RCHME 1995) shows the presence of a small rectilinear enclosure with a fairly dense distribution of 'pit'-like features, some of which may represent burials.

The excavation revealed parts of at least 12 linear features of Romano-British date, the courses of which do not appear to correspond with any previously identified features. Their nature remains unknown. The great density of features both within the enclosure settlement and on the north and western outskirts of it have been demonstrated in the recent RCHME surveys (1995). There was clearly intensive activity in the settlement, to which the present results add only a small part, but on the significant eastern margin.

Unlike the 1991 excavations, there was no structural evidence other than a few fragments of very abraded ceramic building material and cob/daub which may have been redeposited from anywhere in the general vicinity. There is limited evidence for Romano-British occupational and agricultural debris being deposited in two or three pits along the length of the trench and in the upper fill of the enclosure ditch. In general, however, the trench appears to pass through a marginal area of the settlement, parts of which may have been set aside for agricultural processing and burial.

The environmental evidence from the site tallies closely with that recovered from the earlier excavations, indicating the cultivation of spelt wheat and six-rowed barley and the predominance of sheep/goat in the economy, followed by cattle. Minor discrepancies in the representation of particular domestic animal species and different weed assemblages may be linked to different areas of the site being used for the carrying out of different processes, but little more can be said.

The recent survey transcripts show an intensity of activity within and immediately around the settlement (RCHME 1995). Extensive field systems have also been plotted in the general vicinity, especially to the north around Netheravon where

two additional villas have been identified at Compton and Fyfield Folly, but also on the edge of the Plain to the west and along the adjacent Avon river valley (M. Corney *pers. comm.*; RCHME forthcoming). The results from the present investigations have added tangible evidence, however slight, to our understanding of this clearly important settlement, forming one of the increasing number (WAM 1994; McKinley and Heaton 1996) within the extensive Romano-British landscape emerging across the Plain.

*Acknowledgements* The project was funded entirely by Wessex Water, and the on-site co-operation of Wessex Water Engineering Services and their contractors, Thomas Docwra Ltd, is duly acknowledged. Wessex Archaeology are grateful to the landowner, the Ministry of Defence, for access to the land. The collaborative role of Helena Cave-Penny and Duncan Coe of Wiltshire County Council Archaeology Service is also acknowledged. Access to as yet unpublished survey information on the settlement and surrounding area was greatly appreciated and Wessex Archaeology are indebted to Mark Corney and RCHME for their assistance.

The archaeological investigations were managed on behalf of Wessex Archaeology by Mick Rawlings and directed on site by Jacqueline I. McKinley with assistance from Julie Lovell. The illustrations were prepared by Erica Hemmings, S.E. James and Karen Nichols.

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# Further Investigations of an Iron Age and Romano-British Farmstead on Cockey Down, near Salisbury

by JULIE LOVELL, with SHEILA HAMILTON-DYER, EMMA LOADER  
and JACQUELINE I McKINLEY

In May and June 1996 Wessex Archaeology carried out an archaeological excavation between Cockey Down reservoir and Clarendon water pumping station to the north-east of Salisbury (SU 1700 3140). The excavation was undertaken in advance of the construction of a replacement water main from the reservoir to Petersfinger by Wessex Water Engineering Services, who also commissioned the excavation. This is a summary of a detailed report contained in the archive deposited with Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Cockey Down is a series of chalk bluffs forming the south-eastern side of the valley of the River Bourne to the east of Salisbury (Figure 1). The summit of the down is at 145m aOD and the ground falls steeply to the narrow floodplain which lies here at 45-50m aOD. An extensive 'Celtic' field system (Wilts SMR nos SU13SE644 and SU12NE608) has been identified on Cockey Down, the remains of which are still visible as low earthworks. In addition, aerial photographs of the summit have also revealed a large, ditched, sub-circular Iron Age enclosure with internal features (SU13SE301). During the construction of an earlier pipeline to the reservoir in the 1970s, a number of inhumation burials and some late Roman pottery were recovered (Wilts SMR nos SU13SE302/305). This earlier pipeline was initially replaced in 1989, revealing additional settlement features within the enclosure, as well as associated remains extending at least 70m to the south of the enclosure ditch (Figure 2; Trott 1991). These remains appeared to indicate activity from the Early Iron Age (c. 600-400 BC) through to the late Roman period (c. AD 300-410), although, notably, pottery characteristic of the 3rd century BC (i.e. 'saucepan' vessels) was not found. On the basis of these results, a programme of archaeological works was instigated during the 1996 phase of pipeline replacement.

## METHODS

A wheeled mechanical excavator stripped the topsoil from a trench measuring 200m by 12m using a

toothless ditching bucket. The trench was excavated to the surface of archaeological remains (consistent with the surface of the underlying chalk) under close archaeological supervision, and was aligned approximately north-north-west to south-south-east, with Cockey Down reservoir to the north and Clarendon pumping station to the south. Archaeological features were sampled or fully excavated by hand, depending on their nature.

## RESULTS

In summary, the excavation revealed and investigated 66 archaeological features (Figure 2), of which 19 contained dating evidence. Of the latter, nine were considered to be Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age in date (c. 1100-400 BC), five Late Iron Age/early Romano-British (c. 100 BC-AD 150), three late Romano-British (3rd-4th century AD), and two post-medieval (i.e. post-AD 1500). An additional feature could not be more closely dated than 1st-3rd century AD. The excavation has therefore produced evidence for three main phases of activity on the site, of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, Late Iron Age/early Romano-British and late Romano-British.

The main focus for activity in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age appears to have been a sub-rectangular six-post structure measuring 6m by 3m, aligned south-east to north-west. The post arrangement was subsequently replaced by an open-sided, ditched enclosure (Figure 3, 002) on the same alignment (6m by 4m), although the long sides were slightly bowed, giving a semi-elliptical appearance in plan. A pit immediately to the south of this structure, and an additional four post-holes (Figure 3, 083, 120, 122, 179) further to the south, also contained pottery of this date range, as well as a fragment of possible loomweight or spindle-whorl from the pit.

Most of the fragments recovered from one of the post-holes were from a single bipartite jar (Figure 4) with fingernail impressions on the carination and on the edge of the rim. This vessel is unusual in that its rim is severely distorted, and it appears to have been burnt prior to deposition. Ninety-seven sherds of pre-Roman pottery (727g) were recovered, most of which are undiagnostic. The pottery assemblage comprises

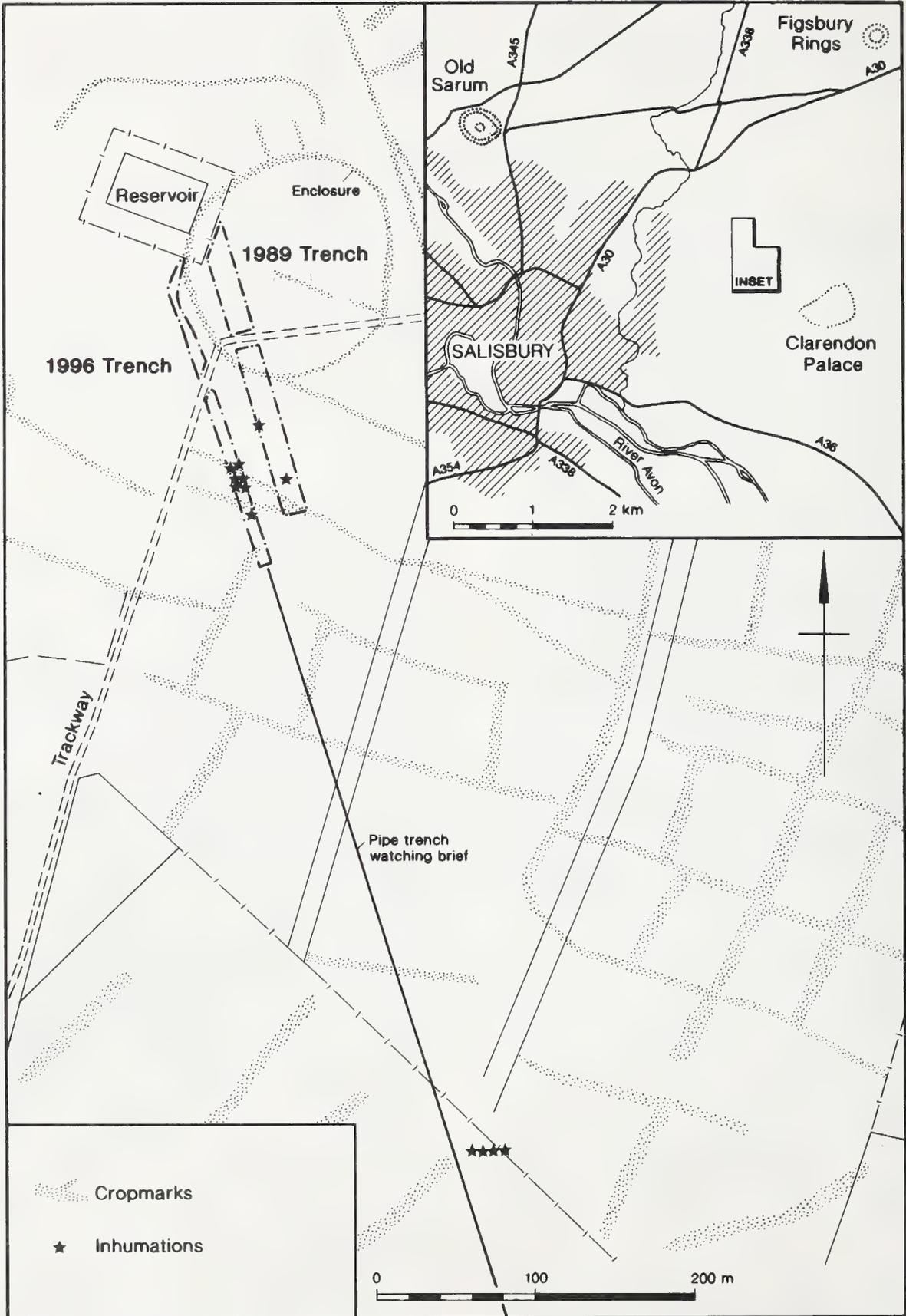


Figure 1. Cockey Down: Location Plan

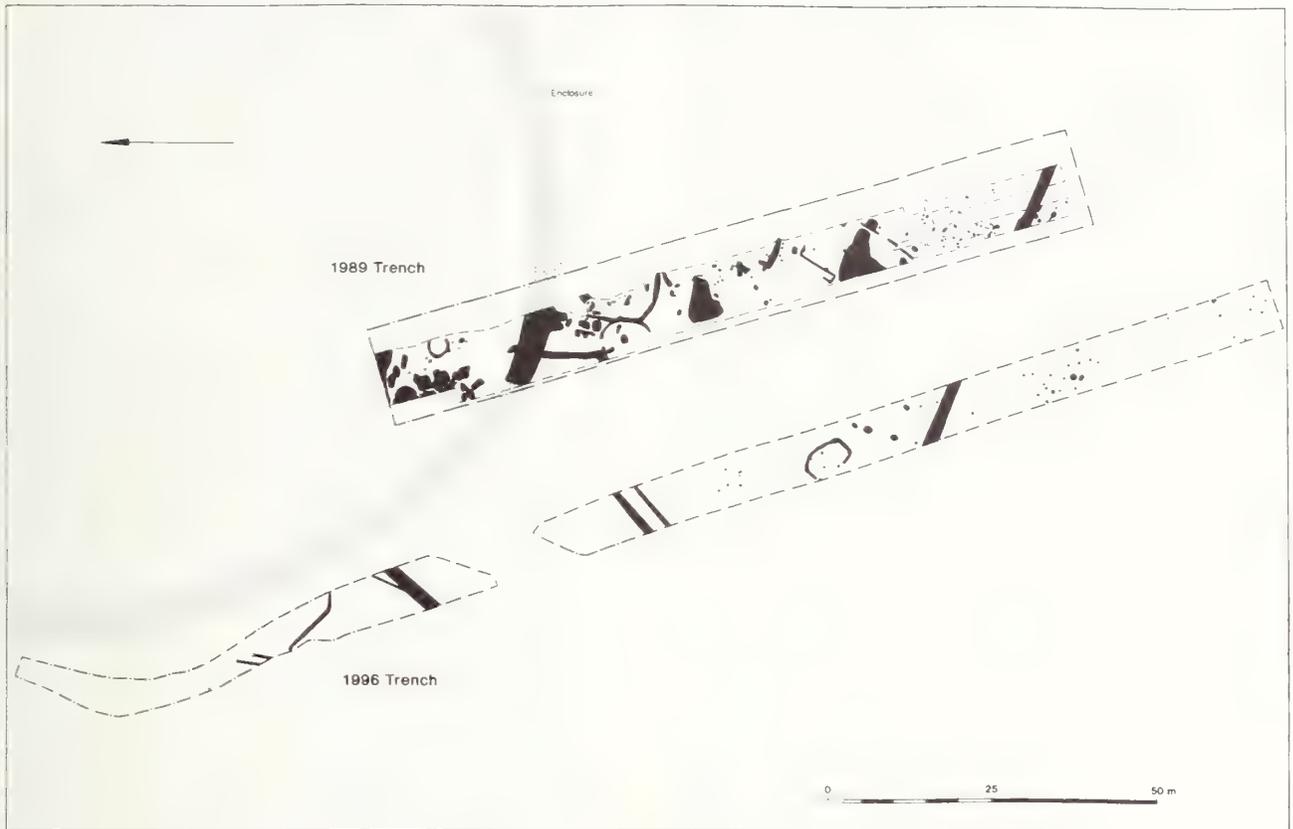


Figure 2. Cockey Down: location of 1989 and 1996 trenches

flint, grog and shell-tempered fabrics, as well as sandy wares, which are likely to be fairly local in origin. Additional fragments of pottery from this phase were recovered from the late Romano-British ditches to the north and south of the enclosure, where they are considered residual. One hundred and twelve pieces of struck flint recovered from a variety of contexts across the site are of a broadly Late Bronze Age date and comprise undiagnostic waste pieces and two crude cores. A few fragments of animal bone included sheep/goat and cattle.

During the Late Iron Age/early Romano-British period, a group of at least five inhumation graves was dug to the south of the earlier enclosure (Figure 3, 001, 023, 061, 108, 185). In addition, a further three isolated post-holes could also be dated to this period (Figure 3, 154, 172, 200).

Human bone was recovered from seven features, five of which were graves containing inhumation burials. Most of the graves were shallow, with depths of between 0.07m and 0.52m. Consequently, much of the bone was badly fragmented, primarily as a result of plough damage. Two of the graves contained skeletal material from two apparently separate acts of burial, one made directly above the other. The dual graves

must argue for some form of close relationship between the two individuals buried within each of them. That grave 001 was re-opened some years after the first interment to allow insertion of the second, without any apparent re-cutting of the grave, demonstrates that it must have been clearly marked and presumably maintained. The large flint nodules forming the upper fills of most of the graves presumably served as such markers.

The graves contained seven *in situ* burials. Redeposited bone from two immature individuals was recovered from the backfill of grave 108 above and among the remains of inhumation burial 505 (Figure 5). Redeposited bone from another immature individual was collected from various parts of grave 061. The fragment of human bone from the fill of pit 112 may have been redeposited from one of the excavated graves. A single fragment of cremated human bone was recovered from the upper fill of grave 061 and another from the sample taken from around skeleton 501.

Leg bones from burial 502 from Grave 001 and burials 503 and 504 from grave 061 were submitted to the Scottish Universities Research and Reactor Centre for radiocarbon dating. Although the calibrated

date for burial 502 (390-110 cal BC at 2 sigma; 2190±50 BP, GU-4959) overlaps with those from grave 061, the probability distribution showed that it probably occurred 150-250 years earlier. The two dates from grave 061 (GU-4969, 2070±60 BP, 350 cal BC-cal AD 60; GU-4961, 2070±50 BP, 340 cal BC-cal AD 20) are statistically indistinguishable and confirm that the two individual burials in this grave occurred within a short timespan.

Activity during the late Romano-British phase is represented by two probable boundary ditches (Figures 2 and 3, 020 and 051) and a possible ditched trackway aligned approximately north-east to south-west, although only one of the parallel flanking ditches (029) produced any reliable dating evidence. The southernmost of the two ditches (020) attributable to this phase is aligned with a previously recorded ditch from the 1989 investigations (Figure 2), and may therefore be the same (Trott 1989).

The 173 sherds (1323g) of pottery from 029 comprise three coarseware fabrics (Black Burnished ware from the Wareham/Poole Harbour area of Dorset, New Forest Parchment ware and coarse sandy grey wares from a number of different sources) and one fineware fabric (New Forest Colour Coated ware). In addition, three fragments of late Romano-

British brick and tile were recovered, as well as four iron objects (a small perforated square plate, a latch lifter, a rod fragment and a ring), two fragments of quernstone (one greensand and one quartz conglomerate) and one fragment of fine grained micaceous sandstone, possibly architectural. Although these are undiagnostic, they were recovered in association with late Romano-British pottery and are therefore considered to be of a similar date.

Seventy-three animal bones, in poor condition, were recovered, of which only 23 could be identified to species. These included the usual domestic species of cattle and sheep/goat, together with dog and horse. The domestic species are mostly represented by head and foot bones; this is no doubt partly due to the better preservation of more robust parts of the skeleton but also suggests the deposition of carcass waste. Most of the bones were from the ditches, a common occurrence on Romano-British chalkland sites resulting from a combination of preservation bias and disposal practices (Maltby 1985a; 1985b; 1995).

A pair of post-holes was dated to the post-medieval period (Figure 2, 194, 197), with a small quantity of post-medieval pottery, brick and tile, and metalwork also recovered throughout the site as both in situ and intrusive finds. Many features were undatable,

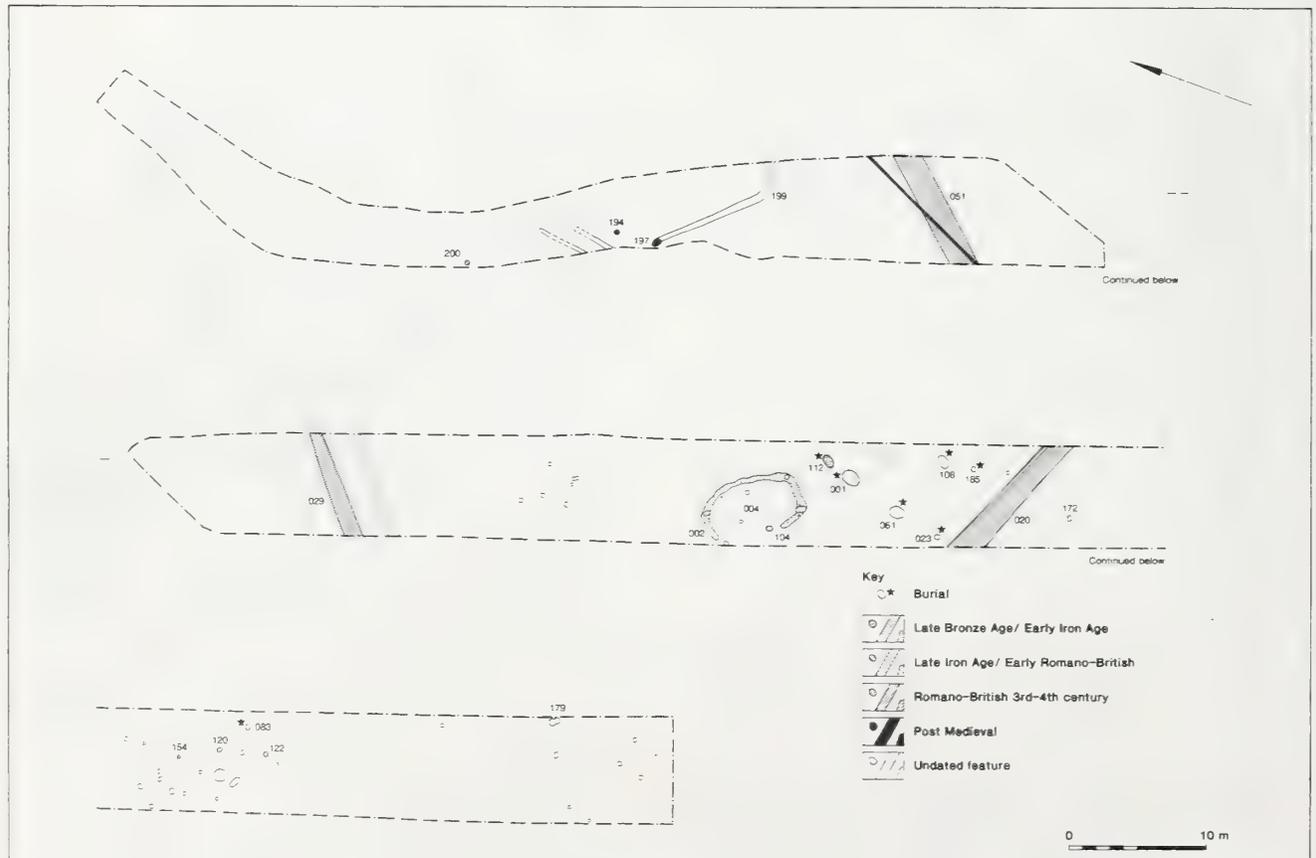


Figure 3. Cockey Down: dated features and phasing

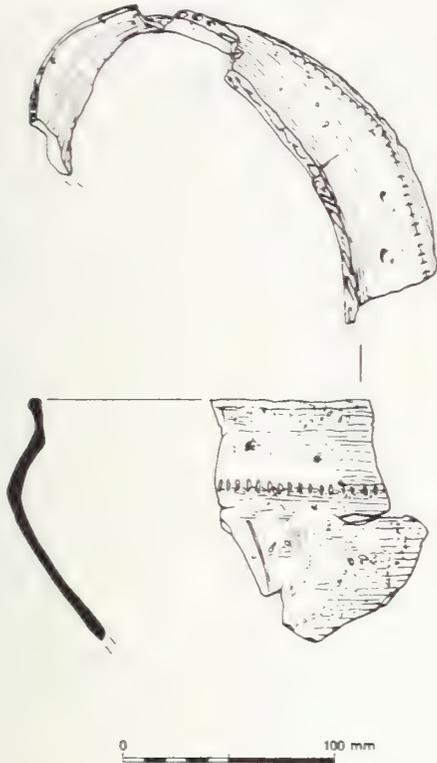


Figure 4. Cockey Down: distorted Early Iron Age bipartite jar

including numerous post-holes, some of which appear to form four-post square patterns and may therefore relate to settlement activity. In addition, 1.6kg of unworked burnt flint was recovered. Although undiagnostic, this material is probably prehistoric in origin.

## DISCUSSION

The results of this excavation can be broadly compared with the 1989 investigations, in terms of the periods of activity represented, and this discussion incorporates the results of both episodes of work.

It is possible that settlement on Cockey Down originated in the later Bronze Age but the first significant phase is represented by a large ditched, sub-circular enclosure, probably constructed during the Early/Middle Iron Age (Figures 1 and 2). Limited investigations in 1989 within the enclosure revealed a number of interior features including two 'beehive' pits. To the south-west of the enclosure a pit and a small sub-rectangular feature of unknown function were identified. Several post-holes possibly representing the remains of post-built structures were also excavated. These features appear to represent a small Early/Middle Iron Age rural agricultural settlement.

During the Late Iron Age/early Romano-British period the enclosure ditch was infilled and a roundhouse and a small sub-rectangular enclosure were constructed to the south. Burials were also taking place at this time. The remains of at least 12 individuals were recovered from a series of graves and the upper fills of several pits. Radiocarbon dating carried out on three of the skeletons provided Late Iron Age dates and it is likely that all the burials belong to the same general phase of occupation, which may have taken place, continuously or intermittently, over a period of at least 150-250 years. Ten of the skeletons have been examined in detail and the remains of five immature individuals, one sub-adult/young adult, and four adults were identified. The age ranges cover neonatal to older mature adult. Only one female was identified amongst the adults, and three were identified as male. Pathological information included indications of gum disease, osteoarthritis, sinus infections and the possible infection of the meningeal membrane which may have contributed to the death of one adult male. At least one incidence of a possible traumatic break to the scapula of the adult female was noted, which could have been the result of a blow. With the possible exception of the meningeal infection, none of the pathological data is unusual in a population of this type and date.

The small size of the cemetery group and the potential for further burials existing outside the excavated area precludes much demographic comment. However, the presence of a full range of ages and both sexes suggests that they represent a normal domestic cemetery of the period, associated with a small farmstead settlement and its field system.

Burials continued to take place on Cockey Down into the early Romano-British period when at least two infants were interred. A group of irregular intercutting pits appears to suggest some fairly



Figure 5. Cockey Down: inhumation burial 505 in Grave 108

intensive and/or long-term settlement activity at this time. The site continued to be used for farming purposes during the late Romano-British period when a corn drier was constructed and two ditches were dug. A possible trackway also crossed the site.

Although it is unclear whether the three phases identified above represent continuous settlement activity on Cockey Down, it is certain that they indicate persistent occupation of the area by a small community engaged in both arable and pastoral farming. The 1996 excavations seem to have been positioned towards the edge of the main focus of settlement activity, in an area possibly predominantly used for burial.

A similar pattern of small, mixed farming communities has been identified at other sites in the Salisbury Plain area such as Figcheldean, near Netheravon (Graham and Newman 1993; McKinley 1997), where excavations have revealed evidence of continuous occupation dating from the Bronze Age through to the later Romano-British period. Once again, the focus of the Iron Age activity was a sub-circular ditched enclosure. The settlement appears to have shrunk during the later part of the Romano-British period and the vacant land used as a burial site. Excavations near Durrington Walls (Wainwright *et al.* 1971) revealed a small Iron Age kite-shaped enclosure and several storage pits with an unenclosed late Romano-British settlement nearby which included a number of small ovens or kilns. At Butterfield Down (Rawlings and Fitzpatrick 1996) evidence of settlement dating from the Late Neolithic through to the Romano-British period is represented, the final phase comprising a late Romano-British village covering at least 6 ha which included a corn drier, timber framed buildings, and a possible rural shrine, based on a mixed farming economy. Other sites which suggest continuity of occupation on the chalk downs in this area from the later Iron Age well into the Romano-British period include Coombe Down, Enford and Bishopdown Farm/Pond Field. Investigations at Maddington Farm (McKinley and Heaton 1996), Shrewton, also encountered what appeared to be the fringes of a small Romano-British farmstead which included at least one circular post-hole structure, hearths, pits, field boundaries and a sequence of peripheral inhumation burials.

The results from Cockey Down add further to the evidence for the presence of numerous small

farmsteads scattered across Salisbury Plain which had their origins in the Iron Age, or possibly earlier in some cases, and continued in occupation through the Romano-British period. Whether occupation of each was actually continuous or not has been difficult to ascertain in most cases and fortunes may have varied. Butterfield Down, for instance, seems to have flourished in the later Romano-British period while sites such as those at Figcheldean and Boscombe Down West (Richardson 1951) may have declined at this time.

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# Excavations at Vespasian's Camp Iron Age Hillfort, 1987

by KURT HUNTER-MANN

with contributions by MICHAEL J. ALLEN, LORRAINE MEPHAM and ANN WOODWARD

*Small-scale excavations were undertaken at Vespasian's Camp, Amesbury, in 1987. Two phases of glacial-type chalk rampart construction, dating to the Early Iron Age, were identified on both the west and east sides of the hillfort. The rampart construction phases were separated by thick layers of probable domestic waste. Evidence of indeterminate Roman activity and medieval to early Post-medieval arable farming was also found.*

## INTRODUCTION

The hillfort known as Vespasian's Camp, 1km west of Amesbury and 11km north of Salisbury (SU 146417), occupies the south end of a ridge to the west of the River Avon (Figure 1). The Harroway, the ancient trackway that connected the Stonehenge area and south-east England, runs past the hillfort's north end. The hillfort is univallate, enclosing 16 hectares. The south and east sides slope down steeply to the floodplain of the River Avon. The defences on the less commanding north-west side had been strengthened by a counterscarp bank. There is a possible entrance in the south-east corner of the hillfort, now obscured by Stonehenge Road. A more definite entrance at the north end would have once provided access to the ridge to the north, now separated from the hillfort by the cutting for the A303 trunk road. The remains of two Bronze Age barrows stand on the crest of the ridge in the middle of Vespasian's Camp; they were excavated in 1770. The hillfort is heavily wooded, having been afforested as part of the landscaped garden for Amesbury House, across the River Avon, in the eighteenth century (RCHME 1979, 20-22; figs. 13a and 13b).

The writer's interest in the hillfort stems not from the Iron Age occupation, but from the possibility of its re-use at the end of the Roman period. Two other reasons for archaeologically investigating Vespasian's Camp were the product of its densely wooded nature. Firstly, as the hillfort is overgrown and largely impenetrable during the summer, previous archaeological investigation had been restricted to the examination of the section of the western defences exposed when the modern Stonehenge Road was constructed through the hillfort in 1964 (RCHME

1979, 20); consequently, the monument's archaeological character is poorly understood. Secondly, it was evident that many trees were dying, and being replaced by new plantings. It was therefore considered necessary to assess what effect trees were having on archaeological deposits across the site.

The archive report, along with the finds and excavation records (site code VCP 87) are held by the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

## THE EXCAVATIONS

Three trenches were excavated (Figure 1, Trenches A-C), and the contexts in each trench have been grouped into phases of related activity. The phase numbers in each trench are not comparable with the corresponding phase numbers in other trenches.

A phase	B phase	Activity	Date
6	12	Topsoil	Modern
	11	Ploughsoil	Post-medieval
5	10	Rampart slippage	) Medieval
	9	Ploughsoil/colluvium)	
	8	Flint surface	Late Roman
	7	Secondary build up/colluvium	IA/Roman
4	6	Secondary Rampart	)
	5	Quarry fill	) Early Iron
3	4	Primary build up	) Age
2	3	Primary rampart	)
	2	Quarry cut	)
1	1	Buried soil and natural	Neolithic/Bronze Age

Table 1. Site phasing and dating

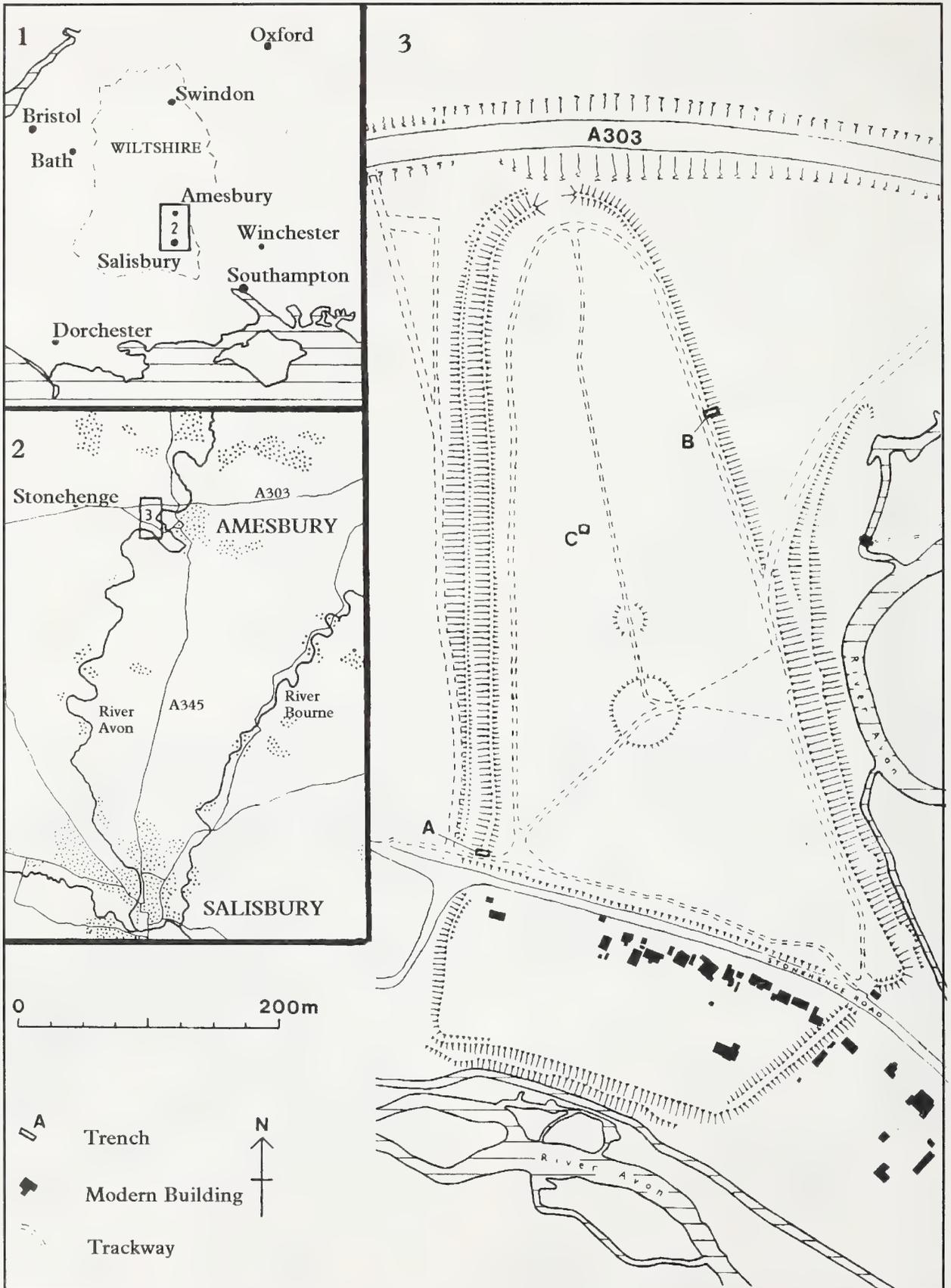


Figure 1. Vespasian's Camp: location of 1987 trenches

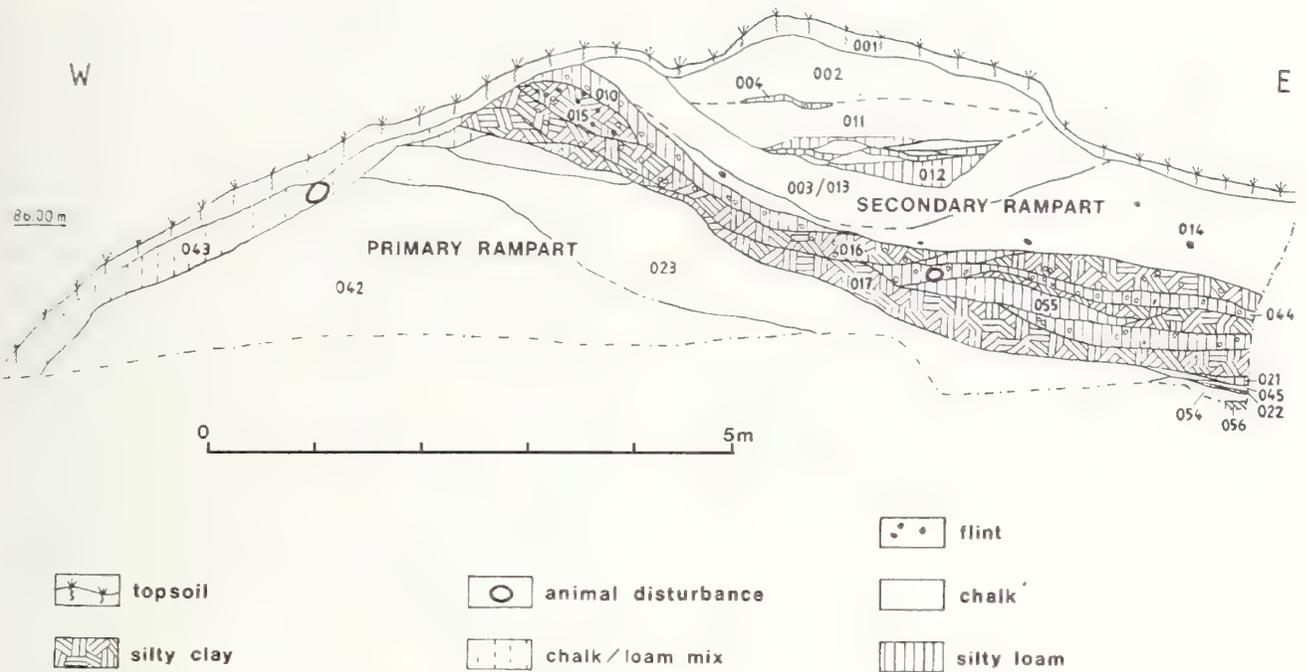


Figure 2. Vespaian's Camp: Trench A, south-facing section

**Trench A**

This involved the re-examination of the west rampart section on the north side of Stonehenge Road, first investigated in 1964. As the very steep face had clearly been subject to slumping, the section was cut back in two steps. The section measured 12.5m long (east-west) and was a maximum of 3.6m deep (Figure 2).

**Phase 1: Natural.** The earliest deposit encountered was a brown silty clay (056) at the east end of the section. Although excavation of 056 was limited, this appeared to have been the top of undisturbed natural deposits.

**Phase 2: Primary Rampart.** Overlying 056 was a thin layer of chalk (054), possibly intended to act as a marker during construction of the rampart, for it represents the east end of the primary rampart. The primary rampart comprised two massive deposits of chalk, the upper of which (023) was less compacted than the lower (042); whether this is due to 023 having been less well constructed or 042 having been subjected to greater compression, from the weight of the overlying deposits, is uncertain. The primary rampart was 11.5m wide and at least 2.3m high. The base at the west end was not reached, but an estimation of its original size can be attempted. As there was no evidence of internal structure within the chalk deposits, it seems that the

rampart was of *glacis* construction. Assuming that the original ground surface continued to slope down steadily to the west, and that the west face of the rampart was at an angle of 30 degrees to the horizontal, the rampart originally would have measured about 13.0m wide and at least 3.0m high.

Overlying the east end of the primary rampart were small deposits of silty clay (022) and silt loam (045), both of which contained considerable amounts of chalk. They are thought to have been the product of slippage and/or erosion of the exposed east face of the chalk rampart.

**Phase 3: Primary Build Up.** The primary rampart was overlain by a series of silty clay or loam deposits, over 0.5m thick overall (010, 015, 016, 017, 021, 044 and 055). These deposits appear to represent the dumping of domestic waste over a prolonged period of time.

**Phase 4: Secondary Rampart.** Overlying the rubbish deposits were a number of chalk layers (002, 011, 003/013 and 014) interleaved with small deposits of silty clay (004 and 012). This is interpreted as a secondary rampart; the less compact nature of the chalk deposits, and the interleaved silty clay layers, suggest that it was not as well constructed as the primary rampart. It brought the height of the excavated rampart to about

3.5m. Assuming that it was a *glacis* rampart with a front face at 30 degrees to the horizontal, this probably originally measured 16.0m long and at least 4.0m high.

Phases 5 and 6: Rampart Erosion and Topsoil. A mixed silty loam and chalk layer on the west face of the rampart (043) is thought to be slippage. The entire rampart was overlain by a silty loam topsoil under turf (001).

### Trench B

Trench B (9.5m long by 2.0m wide) was situated roughly mid-way along the hillfort's east edge (Figure 3). It was excavated to investigate the postulated east rampart, which was not visible along much of the hillfort's east side.

Phase 1: Natural and Buried Soil. Natural chalk was encountered only towards the west end of the trench. Overlying the chalk was a light-yellow brown silty clay, 0.1m thick, mixed with chalk fragments (051). In the deepest part of the east end of the trench similar deposits were found (057-8), and are considered to be weathered parent material. These deposits were in turn overlain by a black silty loam (049), 0.2m thick to the west and over 0.5m thick to the east, which is interpreted as an original topsoil. The top of this layer was at 93.55m Above Ordnance Datum (AOD) to the west, but it was at only 92.6m AOD at the east end of the trench. The steady slope down to the east is due to the prevailing slope of the undisturbed natural down to the River Avon.

Phase 2: Quarry Cut. Cut into the natural chalk at the trench's west end was a large feature at least 2.5m wide and 0.45m deep (034). This is considered to have been a quarry, dug to provide chalk for the rampart.

Phase 3: Primary Rampart. Overlying the topsoil was a layer of clay loam (050), 0.35m thick at the east end, but tapering out by the middle of the trench. This is interpreted as a make-up for the primary rampart of the hillfort, intended to prevent slippage of the rampart down the slope. Lying on 050 was a compact chalk deposit (008, 019/048), which is interpreted as the primary east rampart. It was 4.5m wide and up to 0.9m high. Taking the rampart to have been of *glacis* type with a front (east) face at 30 degrees to the horizontal, this rampart has survived largely intact and was probably no more than 1.0m high originally. A mix of silty loam and chalk fragments (047) lying against the rampart's west face may have been part of the rampart proper, or its slippage.

Phase 4: Primary Build Up. Lying against the west face of the primary rampart and sloping down into feature 034 was a series of silty loam and silty clay deposits (027, 032, 036-7, 046 and 053). Charcoal fleck and burnt flint inclusions indicate that these deposits were produced by dumping domestic waste.

Phase 5: Primary Quarry Fill. Filling quarry cut 034 was a silty loam (035). This deposit is thought to represent the dumping of domestic waste, as well as the filling in of the quarry cut.

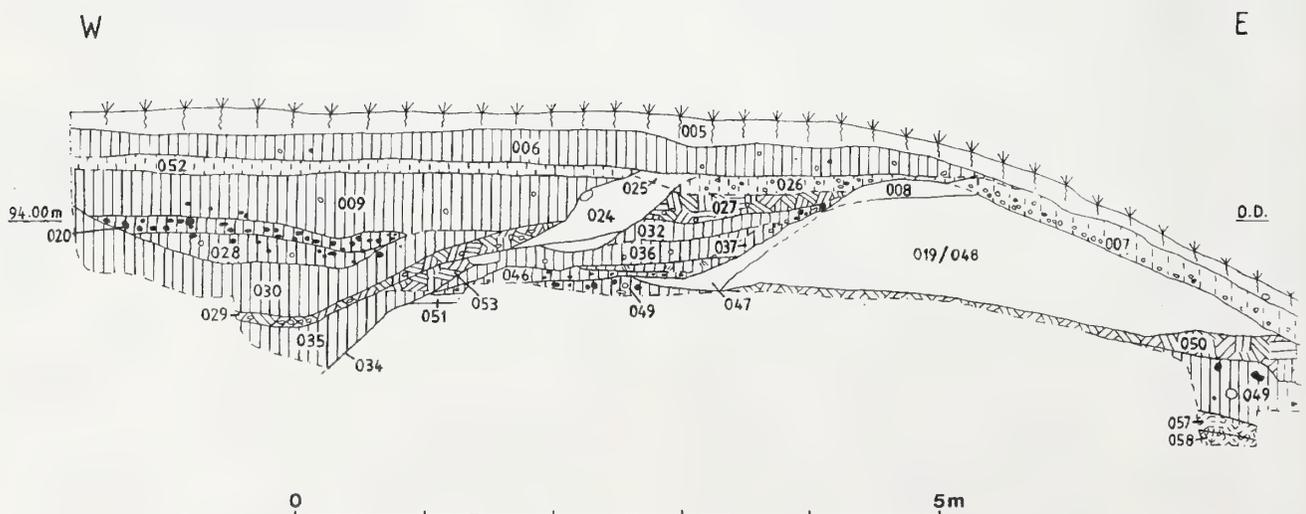


Figure 3. Vespasian's Camp: Trench B, south-facing section

Phase 6: Secondary Rampart. Overlying these deposits was a layer of chalk (024-5), up to 1.3m wide and 0.5m thick. This is tentatively interpreted as a secondary rampart. A thin layer of mixed silty clay and chalk (029) overlying the fill of quarry ditch 034 is considered to have resulted from erosion of the secondary rampart.

Phase 7: Secondary Build Up/Colluvium. Overlying 029 were thick deposits of sandy silt loam (028 and 030; also 031, not on section), which formed the uppermost fills of feature 034. They are thought to have resulted from the dumping of domestic waste, or hill-wash of soil and occupation deposits down the hill slope.

Phase 8: Flint Horizon/Surface. 028 was overlain by a silty loam deposit containing many flint fragments (020). The reason for this flint concentration is uncertain, but it appears to have been deliberately laid and it is tentatively interpreted as a path.

Phase 9: Ploughsoil/Colluvium. Sealing 020 was a thick silty loam (009). This is interpreted as a soil, perhaps partly resulting from the accumulation of hill-wash against the rampart.

Phase 10: Rampart Erosion. Lying against the rampart's east face was another mixed deposit of silty loam and chalk fragments (007), thought to have been the result of prolonged rampart erosion.

Phases 11 and 12: Ploughsoil and Topsoil. Overlying 009 and the top of the rampart was a thin layer, comprising a mixture of silty loam and chalk flecks (052, 026/033). At this level the tops of the primary and secondary ramparts (008 and 025 respectively) appear to have been disturbed, perhaps through ploughing. Overlying the chalk horizon was a sandy silt loam (006), regarded as a ploughsoil. 006 was beneath a silty loam topsoil under turf (005).

### *Trench C*

Trench C, 5m square, was located in the middle of the hillfort (Fig. 1). It was excavated to ascertain the nature of any archaeological deposits on the top of the ridge which forms the backbone of the hillfort. The undisturbed natural chalk was directly overlain by a ploughsoil some 0.3m thick (061). No definite archaeological features could be identified. Grooves in the chalk are thought to have been produced by ploughing, and there was considerable tree-root disturbance.

## THE FINDS

For the purpose of this report, detailed discussion of the finds is limited to the pottery, primarily for its value as a dating tool; and the molluscs, for the evidence of environment and land-use they provide. Not discussed in detail in this report are the small finds, ceramic building material and animal bone. There were six iron objects, all nail fragments (although one could possibly be a strip). The four flints comprised three blades and a flake, all unmodified and undiagnostic. There were 681 fragments of animal bone, of which 219 could be identified to species. Sheep accounted for approximately 60%, followed by cattle and pig; the small sample precluded detailed analysis of the animal population and butchery practices. The handful of tile fragments were medieval or later in date.

### Prehistoric Pottery

by ANN WOODWARD

Some 313 sherds and 20 fragments of daub were recovered. Almost all the pottery derived from stratified contexts. Most was of Iron Age date, but a maximum of 15 sherds were of Neolithic or Bronze Age type. The pottery was recorded by fabric and context, and the featured sherds were separated for individual description. Eight fabric types were defined macroscopically:

- A Hard coarse sandy fabric with mica; grey, brown or black.
- B Coarse sandy fabric with burnished exterior surface; brown or black.
- C Fine sandy fabric with highly burnished or coated surfaces; dark grey.
- D Hard fabric tempered with sparse, angular, ill-sorted fragments of medium to large-sized flint inclusions; buff (Late Neolithic).
- E Hard fabric tempered with sparse, rounded, well-sorted fragments of small to medium-sized flint inclusions; grey (mainly Middle Bronze Age).
- F Hard sandy fabric tempered with sparse, rounded, well-sorted fragments of small to medium-sized flint inclusions; grey.
- G Soft fabric tempered with ill-sorted, angular and platy fragments of shelly limestone; grey, buff or pink-orange.
- H Soft fabric with voids, probably originally filled with organic material.

The occurrence of these fabric types by phase is summarised in Table 2. It may be seen that sandy fabrics were most common throughout, though there may have been a slight increase in flint-tempered fabrics through time, at the expense of shelly wares.

Phase	Description	Fabric								Total sherds	
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		
<i>Trench A</i>											
3	primary build-up	19	-	-	-	-	5	4	-	28	
4	secondary rampart	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	
<hr/>											
		19	-	-	-	1	5	5	-	30	
<i>Trench B</i>											
1	buried soil	1	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	7	
3	primary rampart	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	3	
4	primary build-up	62	7	1	1	11	36	14	1	133	
5	primary ?quarry	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
6/7	secondary rampart/ build-up	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	6	
7	secondary build-up	34	1	-	1	1	22	8	-	67	
8	flint surface	12	-	-	-	-	12	12	-	36	
9	ploughsoil	5	1	1	-	1	5	4	-	17	
10	rampart collapse	4	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	10	
<hr/>											
		123	10	2	2	13	83	45	1	281	
										Total	311

Table 2. The occurrence of Prehistoric pottery fabrics by phase

*Featured sherds (Figure 4)*

Bronze Age Biconical Urn. Fabric F. Context 017, Trench A, phase 3.

9 Base sherd from an urn. Fabric E. Context 012, Trench A, phase 4.

*Neolithic and Bronze Age**Iron Age**Trench A**Phase 3*

10 Simple base angle. Fabric A. Context 010.

11 Simple base angle. Fabric G. Context 021.

*Trench B**Phase 3*

12 Flat-topped plain rim sherd. Fabric G. Context 050.

*Phase 4*

13 Flat-topped plain rim sherd. Fabric A. Context 027.

14 Simple upright plain rim sherd. Fabric A. Context 036.

15 Simple base angle. Fabric A. Context 036.

16 Four joining sherds, everted rim and shoulder from a plain round-bodied bowl. Fabric B. Context 027.

17 Wall sherd from a bowl or lid (see no. 28 below) with a cordon and fine chevron decoration incised after firing. Fabric C. Context 036.

1 Ridged wall sherd decorated with bold diagonal impressions; worn. Late Neolithic Peterborough Ware.

Fabric D. Context 030, Trench B, phase 7.

2 Everted rim sherd with horizontal lines of worn decoration, probably tooth-comb, below the rim. Beaker. Fabric A. Context 027, Trench B, phase 4.

3 Wall sherd decorated with horizontal cord-impressed lines grouped in pairs. Beaker. Fabric A. Context 020, Trench B, phase 8.

4 Simple plain rim. Beaker. Fabric F. Context 049, Trench B, phase 1.

5 Wall sherd with traces of three fingernail impressions in horizontal row. Probably Middle Bronze Age. Fabric E. Context 027, Trench B, phase 4.

6 Wall sherd with one vertical fingernail impression, probably part of a row. Probably Middle Bronze Age. Fabric E. Context 009, Trench B, phase 9.

7 Rim and shoulder from a sharply shouldered jar; fingertip decoration on the top of the rim. Late Bronze Age. Fabric E. Context 030, Trench B, phase 7.

8 Wall sherd of oxidised fabric forming part of a large complex lug; smoothed surfaces. Possibly from an Early

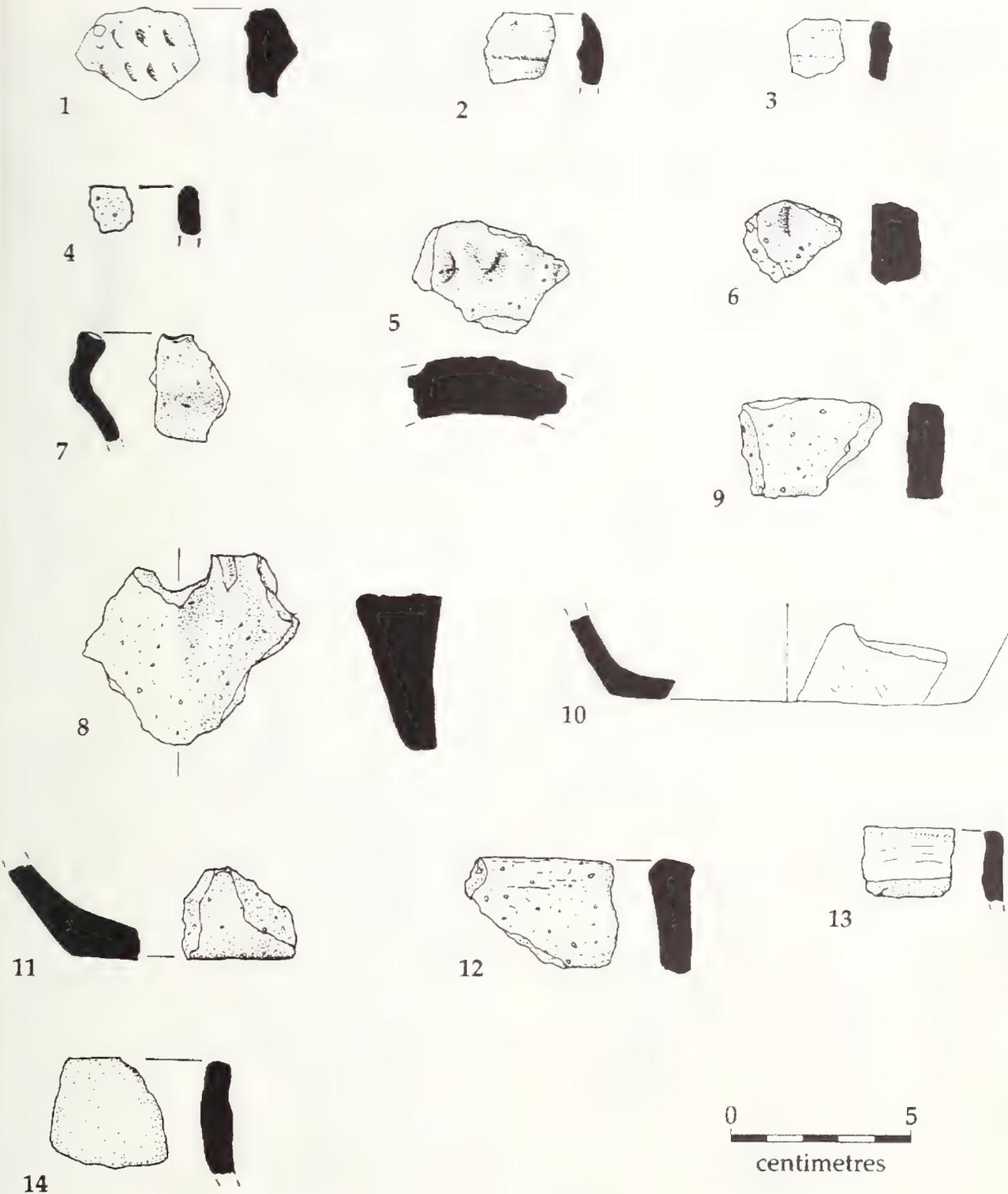


Figure 4 (this page and overleaf). Vespasian's Camp: Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age pottery (Featured sherds 1-14; 15-31 overleaf)



15



17



18



16



19



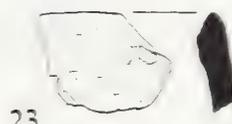
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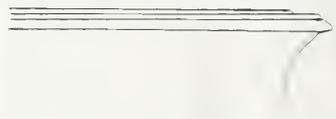
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31



centimetres

18 Everted rim sherd, probably from a jar. Fabric F. Context 046.

19-20 Two wall sherds decorated with horizontal and diagonal burnished strokes. Fabric F. Context 047 (phase 3-4).

21 Flat-topped plain rim sherd. Fabric G. Context 027.

22 Tapered rim sherd from a shouldered jar. Fabric G. Context 032.

23 Simple plain rim sherd. Fabric G. Context 032.

24 Externally expanded base angle with oxidised exterior surface. Fabric H. Context 032.

#### Phase 7

25-6 Two flat-topped rim sherds. Fabric G. Context 028.

27 Simple rim sherd. Fabric G. Context 028.

28 Slightly everted rim sherd. Fabric G. Context 028.

#### Phase 9

29 Decorated sherd, possibly the rim and ledge from a lid; decorated with ridges and a fine chevron design incised after firing. Fabric C. Context 009.

30 Flat-topped rim from a straight-sided jar. Fabric G. Context 009.

31 Simple straight rim sherd. Fabric G. Context 009.

### Discussion

The range of Iron Age pottery fabrics represented at Vespasian's Camp may be matched among Late Bronze Age and Iron Age assemblages in the region. At Potterne, a site dating mainly from the Late Bronze Age, coarse flint-gritted wares give way to shelly or oolitic limestone-tempered and sandy fabrics towards the beginning of the Iron Age (Gingell and Lawson 1985, 104). At the Packway Enclosure, and other Iron Age sites in and around Durrington Walls, the Early Iron Age pottery was characterised mainly by flint-tempered and sandy wares (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 315). Slightly further afield at Danebury in Hampshire, sandy fabrics are less common. A trend towards finer flint inclusions through time can be detected, and shelly fabrics tend to be early (Cunliffe 1984, 232). Similarly at Vespasian's Camp it has been suggested that shell-tempered fabrics were more common in the early rampart phase.

The main Iron Age forms represented are scratched cordoned bowls, plain shouldered jars and plain bucket-shaped vessels. These belong to the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill group of the Early Iron Age, as defined by Cunliffe (1974, 37-8 and Fig. A: 6). The only vessel which may be of Middle Iron Age form is the plain

round-bodied bowl (No. 16), but none of the distinctive decorated wares normally associated with such vessels were recovered in the excavation trenches. The Early Iron Age forms at Vespasian's Camp occur within ceramic phases 3 to 5 at Danebury, dating mainly from the 5th century BC (Cunliffe 1984, 242, 249; Fig. 6.17 bottom right and 250; Fig. 6.18). The most diagnostic items at Vespasian's Camp are the fragments of scratched cordon bowl (Nos. 17 and 29). These wares have been discussed by Cunliffe, who regards them to be a late component of the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill style. Their distribution and petrology suggests the existence of a manufacturing centre located near Salisbury (Cunliffe 1984, 255; Fig. 6.22).

The Neolithic and Bronze Age sherds range widely in form and date. They may derive from earlier prehistoric occupation on the hill, or from ploughed-out barrows and the buried soils formerly sealed beneath them. At least two round barrows are known to have existed within the confines of the later fort (RCHME 1979, 22). The absence of any pottery belonging to the Early or Later All Cannings Cross groups indicates that the fort was not constructed before the 6th century BC. Similar conclusions also apply in the case of other local hillforts such as Figsbury, Quarley, Bury Hill and Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, 254). Most of the pottery at Vespasian's Camp belongs to the Early Iron Age period and the lack of any decorated saucepan pots or Atrebatian wares suggests that any Middle or Late Iron Age activity, at least within the vicinity of the excavation trenches, was sparse.

### Roman and Later Pottery by LORRAINE MEPHAM

A total of 28 sherds was examined, including sherds of Romano-British, medieval and post-medieval date. These are listed by phase as follows:

Context	Sherds	Description	
Phase			
<i>Trench A</i>			
Phase 6			
001	1	Medina ware	post-medieval
	1	Stoneware bottle	
<i>Trench B</i>			
Phase 7			
028	1	Oxidised mortarium, red colour-coated, unknown form	
	2	Romano-British greywares	
	1	Oxidised sandy, Romano-British	
	1	Samian, probably Central Gaulish, form uncertain	

030	1	Romano-British greyware
Phase 8		
020	3	Romano-British greywares
	1	Black Burnished Ware (BB1), rim from everted jar, probably of 1st/2nd century type
	2	Oxford red colour-coated wares, forms uncertain
	1	Dressel 20 amphora, bodysherd. 1st-3rd century AD
Phase 9		
009	6	Romano-British greywares
	1	Samian, probably Central Gaulish, form uncertain
	2	Medieval, both probably Laverstock-type coarsewares, including one jar rim (13th or early 14th century)
Phase 11		
006	1	Glazed earthenware, possibly Crockerton type (post-medieval)
Unstrat	1	New Forest colour-coated ware - base sherds, uncertain closed form
	1	Verwood-type glazed earthenware (post-medieval)
	1	Redware flowerpot (Modern)

### Comments

The bulk of this small assemblage is of Romano-British date. Both finewares and coarsewares are represented. The finewares include Central Gaulish Samian (two small sherds from unknown vessel forms), and Oxfordshire and New Forest colour-coated wares. While the Samian is likely to be of 2nd century AD date, the British finewares are more likely to be of late Roman date (3rd/4th centuries AD). In the late Roman period finewares from both production centres had a wide distribution. They are found on late Roman sites in Wiltshire (such as Durrington) in roughly equal proportions, although in different forms; open forms (including mortaria) from Oxfordshire and closed forms from the New Forest (Swan 1971). The sample here is very small but it may be noted that the only recognisable forms are one Oxfordshire mortarium and the base of an uncertain New Forest closed form.

The coarse greywares are not easily characterised. Greywares such as these are ubiquitous on Romano-British sites in Wiltshire, as elsewhere. Almost certainly several different sources are represented here, most if not all at least fairly local. There are known kilns around Swindon, producing greywares from the beginning of the 2nd century to the early 4th century AD (Anderson 1979), and manufacture is also suggested at Westbury,

where wasters and kiln furniture have been found (Rogers and Roddham 1991). The possibility that some greywares may also have arrived with the Oxfordshire and New Forest finewares cannot be ruled out. It is evident that Black Burnished Ware was travelling from the Poole Harbour area.

### Molluscs

by MICHAEL J. ALLEN

A column of 17 contiguous samples and a single spot sample were taken approximately 1m from the western end of the south side of Trench B by Roy Entwistle in 1987. Samples were taken over, but not through, what appears to be a quarry for the rampart. Unfortunately, no samples were obtained from the buried soil preserved beneath the Iron Age rampart bank. All the samples were processed at Wessex Archaeology following standard methods outlined by Evans (1972) and detailed by Allen (1989; 1990 and 1991). The results are depicted in Figure 5; mollusc nomenclature follows Kerney (1976).

The spot sample was taken from the early Iron Age primary build up layer against the rampart (036, Phase 4). The column of samples was taken through the weathering deposits of the secondary rampart (029, Phase 6), the secondary build up (030 and 028, Phase 7), the late Romano-British surface (020, Phase 8) and the post-Roman ploughsoil/colluvium (009, Phase 9) and ploughsoil (052, 026/033 and 006, Phase 10) built up against the rampart. This sequence encompasses the later stages of the environmental history, but unfortunately does not elucidate the pre-hillfort environment.

With the exception of the spot sample and basal sample, mollusc preservation and shell numbers was good, rising to 697. All the samples are predominantly open country assemblages, but various changes of local environmental significance can be detected within the sequence. The mollusc sequence can be grouped into six main assemblage zones (Figure 5) which relate to the faunal changes at Vespasian's Camp.

Zone 1: the assemblage is characterised by low shell numbers, *Pupilla muscorum* dominant with *Vallonia costata* and *Trichia hispida*. Some shade-loving species are present, notably *Ena obscura*, *Discus rotundatus* and Clausiliidae. A badly preserved but mature mollusc fauna of grassland possibly with local scrub. The high humic context of the deposit may indicate that this is largely topsoil derived and may represent a humic soil stabilisation horizon forming against the bank.

Zone 2: this assemblage is again characterised by low shell numbers but *Trichia hispida* with *V. costata* are the most



Figure 5. Vespasian's Camp: molluscan sequence from Trench B

significant species with *P. muscorum*, *Vallonia excentrica* and *Helicella itala* also present. A mixed open country assemblage, in which shade-loving species are virtually absent. The assemblage is not dissimilar to many recovered from colluvial sequences, which might reflect the open, but eroded nature of this very localised deposit.

Zone 3: is characterised by high numbers of shells, dominated by *P. muscorum* which attains superabundance and represents up to 76% of the assemblage. *V. costata* is the only other relatively abundant species. Open grassland, possibly trampled, and thus indicative of occupation and activity within the hillfort. Towards the top (context 20), the presence of *Pomatias elegans* in the Romano-British surface indicates more disturbed and loose contexts locally, possibly bare soil resulting from localised shrub growth, animal or human disturbance.

Zone 4: *V. costata* and *T. hispida* are the main species in a typical colluvial deposit (see Allen 1992). This may indicate tillage of the hilltop within the fort. This is certainly consistent with the descriptions provided indicating a typical, but highly localised, colluvium.

Zone 5: *H. itala* and *V. costata* are the main species with very few *Pupilla*. *Vertigo pygmaea* occurs and the presence of the introduced Helicellids is recorded. Very open dry conditions, possibly ploughed or short grassland within the hillfort interior and dating to the medieval period or later.

Zone 6: more shade loving species are present, and there is a significant reduction in all open country species; *V. costata* being the only significant open country species represented. Vegetation regeneration is indicated, with shade locally, indicating the abandonment of farming in the interior of the hillfort and colonisation of trees and shrubs.

Discussion

Undoubtedly the open country assemblages reflect the occupation of the hilltop and the local environment within the hillfort. However, most of the local environment was under grassland or arable cultivation by the later Bronze Age (Allen et al. 1990, fig. 155). The earliest sample (context 036; zone 1) from the sequence produced a depauperate assemblage (18

shells) but was an open country one, and similar to that at the base of the main mollusc column (zone 2). The lack of shade-loving species in the zone 1 assemblage indicates that deforestation had occurred on the site by Phase 4; it may have been a considerable time prior to the Iron Age occupation, probably associated with the construction of the Bronze Age barrows (cf. Allen and Wyles 1993). Open grassland, possibly rough pasture, probably existed prior to the hillfort's construction. This small assemblage is particularly hard to interpret, and natural fauna may have been affected by the inclusion of 'special deposits'; a whole sheep and a large amount of charcoal were found in this layer. Charcoal from the mollusc sample was mainly *Crataegus* (Hawthorn) and *Corylus* (Hazel), typical shrubs of open rough pasture.

During the Iron Age and Roman periods (Phases 4, 6, 7 and 8) the interior, or at least that adjacent to the banks, consisted of short trampled grassland. No evidence of abandonment and vegetation regeneration between the Iron Age and Roman occupation was recorded. In the post-Roman period (Phase 9), extensive colluvial deposits accumulated against the ramparts. The hilltop was used for farming and both tillage and grazing probably occurred. By the medieval or post medieval period (Phase 11), more intensive farming is evidenced by assemblages of very open dry chalkland; this equates with the documentary evidence of arable fields mapped within the hillfort in 1726 (RCHM 1979, 22). At the top of the sequence the occurrence of shade-loving species indicate the abandonment of all farming practices allowing vegetation regeneration. This represents the initial stages of the woodland that now dominates the hillfort.

Despite the proximity to the River Avon, none of the mollusc assemblages indicates the exploitation of this environment; no fresh- or brackish-water shells were recovered from any of the samples. In the Dorchester environs the occasional inclusion of these species was common and suggested the manuring of fields with mud or vegetation from local rivers (Allen 1997). At Balksbury exploitation of the local riverine resources was also indicated by a number of fresh and brackish water species from the pits (Allen 1995).

## CONCLUSION

### *Activity pre-dating the hillfort*

The presence of two barrows within the hillfort suggests that the hill had been at least partially deforested by the Bronze Age. This is perhaps supported by the

occurrence of Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery on the site.

### *Use of the site as a hillfort*

The excavations confirmed the interpretation of the western rampart sequence established during investigations in 1964. There were two episodes of rampart construction, separated by dumps of domestic debris. The pottery evidence from Trenches A and B indicates that the first episode of hillfort rampart construction probably occurred c.500BC. This rampart was of *glacis* form. The defences on the eastern side seem to have been relatively insubstantial, no doubt due to the commanding position of the eastern defences on the edge of the steep slope down to the flood plain of the River Avon. The bulk of the chalk that formed the east rampart was derived from an internal quarry ditch. The western rampart was necessarily much more massive due to the lack of a naturally commanding position. It is suspected that the building material was obtained from both an internal quarry and a counterscarp ditch. The *glacis* type of defence was employed both as a first fortification and as a replacement for vertically faced ramparts (Megaw and Simpson 1979, 357-59). At Danebury the *glacis* defences were constructed c.400BC, replacing an earlier phase of timber-framed rampart (Cunliffe 1986, 76-7). However, there was no such evidence at Vespasian's Camp, nor of occupation deposits preceding the *glacis* rampart, and so it appears that the *glacis* rampart was the first fortification here.

The rampart building was followed by a period of intense occupation of the hillfort, represented by deposits of domestic waste over 1.0m thick that accumulated against the inner face of the ramparts. The bulk of the pottery and animal bone was recovered from these deposits. This occupation is dated by the pottery to the 5th century BC.

The second episode of rampart construction is thought to have taken place around 400BC. This work was demonstrably inferior to the first construction, the east rampart rebuilding being little more than a chalk surface over the dumps that had built up against the rampart. The west rampart rebuilding comprised a variety of deposits, including some probable redeposited dumps of waste. This could have been the result of a lack of care during rampart maintenance, or hasty repair of the defences in more pressing circumstances. The latter explanation is considered more likely. There is a lack of secondary occupation deposits, the pottery dating mainly to the 5th century BC, with Middle Iron Age types being almost entirely absent, even residually in later contexts. The impression

gained is that there had been a desire to strengthen the defences, but that occupation did not continue to any great extent afterwards.

#### *Roman and later activity within the hillfort*

After the Iron Age occupation of the hillfort ceased, colluvium accumulated against the inner face of the eastern rampart. At one point this process was interrupted, as indicated by a horizon of flint fragments. It is thought that the flints were deliberately laid to form a surface, perhaps a path running parallel to the rampart. Another possibility is that the flints were derived from a flint breastwork on top of the rampart. The flint horizon was associated with pottery that shows that this deposit was laid down in the later Roman period. Unfortunately, it is not possible to be more specific about the nature or date of this activity.

Following further accumulation of colluvium against the east rampart, the interior of the hillfort came under plough. This activity truncated the eastern rampart, and probably removed much of the archaeological remains overlying the natural chalk on the crest of the ridge. The pottery suggests a post-medieval date for the ploughing. This is supported by a map by Flitcroft and a terrier of 1726, which shows the hillfort interior divided into strip fields collectively named the Walls Field (Wiltshire R.O., 944/1-2, map 6). Finally, the existing topsoil formed as the site returned to woodland as part of the 18th century landscaping.

The hillfort has remained heavily forested since the 18th century, and nowadays the woodland is managed. As a result, regeneration of the woodland is occurring. In addition, Vespasian's Camp is home to a rabbit population with the usual burrowing propensities. It is to be hoped that the remains of the closely-dated period of Iron Age occupation and the enigmatic late Roman activity are not further denuded by these processes.

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# The Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries of Coombe Bissett

by JENNIFER ACORNLEY

*Anglo-Saxon charters form a valuable source for the local and landscape historian. A charter of AD 956 for land at 'Ebbesborne' has been identified with part of Coombe Bissett, and some other charters for the same area are discussed.*

The River Ebble runs from the west into the River Avon 3km south of Salisbury. In its valley is located the parish of Coombe Bissett, with the parishes of Homington and Stratford Toney to the east and west respectively. Since 1934 Coombe Bissett and Homington have been combined to form one civil parish, but the old ecclesiastical parishes are shown on the earlier Ordnance Survey maps, and are marked on Figure 1. How the territory in this part of the valley was divided before the establishment of the parishes in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and whether the parish boundaries followed any earlier pattern, can be determined to some extent from evidence contained in Anglo-Saxon charters identified with this area. Their boundary clauses describe a series of topographical features on the boundaries of the estates referred to in the grants, which can often be followed on the ground, on historical maps and in one instance, in a sixteenth-century estate document. The charters also contain indications of early land use.

A group of Anglo-Saxon charters refers to grants of land at 'Ebbesborne' along the Ebble valley, and these are listed by Sawyer (1968), whose numbering system is used in this text. G.B.Grundy (1920) identified one of these dated AD 961, for five hides, as being for part of Coombe Bissett (S696), and another, also for five hides, dated AD 986, as part of Stratford Toney (S861). He was unable to identify the location of an earlier charter of AD 936 (S635), which refers to five hides at Ebbesborne and a detached meadow at Homington, but suggested it was either for part of Coombe Bissett or Odstock, to the east of Homington. Evidence will be presented here that this charter is, in fact, for part of Coombe Bissett. All three charters were regarded as authentic by Finberg (1964). They were grants by kings to their ministers or thegns, enabling these supporters to hold lands near the royal centre of Wilton, bordering Stratford Toney to the north.

Land at 'Ebbesborne' was also included in charters relating to estates granted to Winchester

Cathedral. A hundred-hide estate was traditionally granted by King Cenwalh to Winchester Cathedral soon after its foundation in the seventh century. The grant was in two parts, one part at Downton itself, and the other nearby at 'Ebbesborne'. It may have subsequently been granted away, and Darlington (1955, 84) thought that genuine traditions may be behind the tenth-century charters which 'restore' a hundred hide estate at Downton to the Cathedral. Five hides at Ebbesborne were granted away by King Edred to his man Aelfsi in AD 947, and by King Eadwig to Aelfric ten years later, and these have been identified with the northern part of Bishopstone, on the west boundary of Stratford Toney (Birch, 1885-93, nos. 832, 1004; Grundy, 1919, 297, 298). These hides, with the rest of Bishopstone, were included in the bounds given in King Aethelred's restitution charter of AD 997 (Boulay-Hill, 1909, 50; Grundy, 1919, 150), and the parts of Stratford Toney and probably Coombe Bissett north of the Roman Road from Old Sarum to Badbury Rings were also included. More southern parts of Coombe Bissett and Stratford Toney may also have been in the original Winchester Cathedral estate, but if they were ever restored it would have been for only a short time. In Domesday Book the entry for the Downton estate of the Bishop of Winchester probably included Bishopstone, which parish was part of the Bishop's estate until the sixteenth century, and a detached part of the Downton Hundred. Coombe Bissett (*Cumbe*) and Stratford Toney (*Stratford*) had separate entries, *Cumbe* having been held before 1066 by Gytha, King Harold's mother, and Stratford by Earl Aubrey. *Cumbe* was a 23½ hide estate in 1086, held by King William, and it may have included West Harnham with which it shares a boundary to the north (Thorn and Thorn, 1979; Jones, 1856).

Coombe Bissett and its neighbouring parishes are of a pattern typical of those on chalklands, narrow linear units, running from downland in the north across the river valley to downland in the south (Fig.

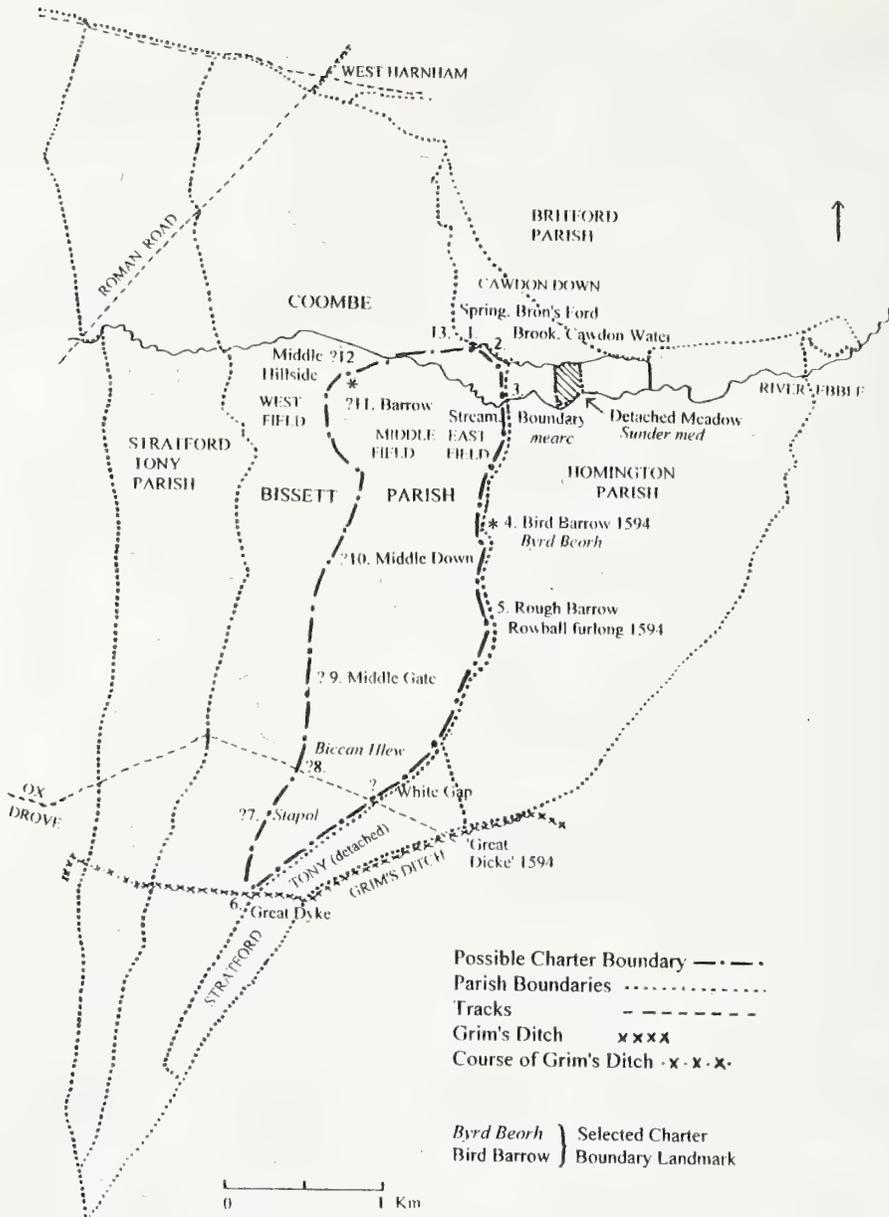


Figure 1. Charter bounds for part of Coombe Bissett and a meadow at Homington, AD 956 (S635)

1). The earlier Saxon charter estates were also organised to include pasture land on the upland chalk downs, arable on the lower slopes and meadow land on the alluvium of the valley bottoms.

The earliest of the charters relating to Coombe Bissett is S635 of AD 956, in which King Eadwig granted five hides to Wulfric his thegn (*procerus*), including a detached meadow at Homington. Although Grundy (1920, 55) was unable to identify the location of this charter estate, documentary and topographical evidence show that it is for the south-east part of Coombe Bissett. By the 1590s the Manor

of Homington, held by the Priory of Maiden Bradley from the early thirteenth century until the Dissolution, was leased to Sir Thomas Gorges. A survey of the manor in 1594 (WRO 490/1023) contained details of the manor bounds, which in the west were contiguous with the parish boundary between Homington and Coombe Bissett. Several points in this survey correspond with points in this Anglo-Saxon charter, and these relevant points are as follows, running northwards:

The bounds turneth north and a Littell unto the weste a great Dicke being it still the

bounds.... The bounds goeth still on.....right north ....till it come to a great sorser hill called Birds Barrowe and so cometh on north about halfe a miell to the great streame in Homington Bottom still partinge the Este field of Combe and Homington towne fields: from that water the bounds goeth right over the water by a willow hedge standing right north devidinge the west mead of Homington and Combe meads till it come to the Cawden and a Litell Brooke ther, and then goeth on right west ..... and so after some severall Litell

bendings ... it goeth right north again.

The Anglo-Saxon charter bounds start north of the River Ebbel going clockwise, so that the points run in the opposite direction to those in the 1594 survey. The translation by Grundy from Birch has been used (Grundy, 1920, 55; Birch, 1885-93, no. 962). The numbers refer to points on Figures 1 and 2.

*1 and 2: First from the Ground Spring (Grund Wylle) to Bron's Ford. Then along the brook.*  
The spring is shown on the 1901 Ordnance Survey map (Fig.2), and, until recently, it fed watercress beds.

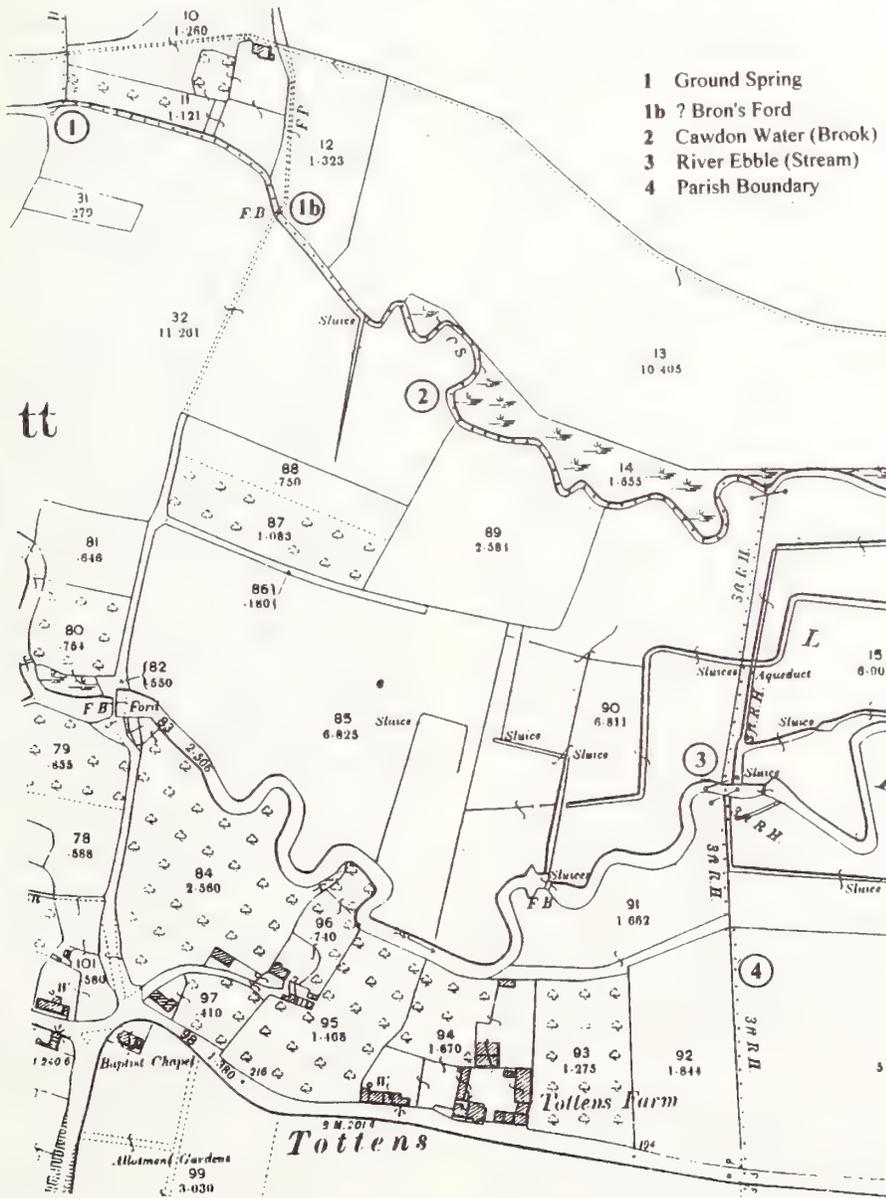


Figure 2. The 25-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1901 of part of Coombe Bissett and Homington showing landmarks mentioned in the charter of AD 956 (S635)

From this, Cawdon Water (2), the brook of the charter, runs below Cawdon Down, east along the Coombe Bissett - Homington boundary, and this may have had a ford across it. In 1594 it was referred to as 'Cawden and the little brook there'.

*3: Along the stream to the boundary (mearc).*

To the south the Ebbles, the stream (3), runs to the eastern parish boundary. This was the 'great stream in Homington Bottom' in 1594.

*4: Along the boundary (mearc) to Bird Barrow (Byrd Beorh)*

The bounds then go south along the parish boundary to a Bronze Age bowl barrow (4), referred to in the 1594 bounds as a saucer hill called Bird's Barrow, and as *Byrd Beorh* in the charter. It is now a scheduled ancient monument (SAM 389: SU 1147 2526), and is still visible on the ground.

*5: Then to Rough Barrow (Ruwan Beorch)*

Further south a furlong in the West Field of Homington is called Rowball in another part of the 1594 survey of Homington, and this could correspond to Rough Barrow (5).

*6: From the Barrow along the Boundary to the White Gap (Hwite Sceard) to the Great Dyke.*

The next identifiable point is Grim's Ditch, the Great Dyke (6), which runs south-west along the eastern parish boundary of Homington, then east-west across the detached part of Stratford Toney and Coombe Bissett. The 1594 Manor bounds met Grim's Ditch at a point further to the east than the Anglo-Saxon charter, where the east Homington parish boundary met the boundary of the detached part of Stratford Toney.

*7 to 11: Then along the boundary to the Pole (Stapol), to Bitch's Low or tumulus (Biccan Hlew), to Middle Gate (Middel Geat), to Middle Down (Middel Done) to the Barrow (Beorch)*

The bounds probably now turned north to the area of the medieval Middle Field (9,10) and to a barrow (11). The site of a Bronze Age barrow was found in 1989 from a parch mark on the west slope of the Middle Field.

*12 and 13: Then along the boundary to Middle Lynch (Middel Hlinch), then once more to Ground Spring.*

The bounds then return to the starting point north of the Ebbles.

A note added to the charter reads 'And the Mead which belongs thereto over against Homington

(Humming tun) which is 5½ acres. This is a detached meadow (*sunder med*). Grundy (*loc. cit.*) gives the size as 4½ acres, but in Birch (*loc. cit.*) it is *fifta healf aecer* (5½ acres). A detached meadow, part of Coombe Bissett parish, which presumably is this *sunder med*, is shown on the Enclosure Award maps of Homington (1787) and Coombe Bissett (1806), and on the Ordnance Survey map of 1881 (Fig.1). It lies between the River Ebbles and the Cawdon Water, on the alluvium in the valley bottom, and the fact that its size was given in the charter shows it was considered to be a valuable resource. All the evidence suggests that this charter is for the south-east part of Coombe Bissett.

Five years after the previous charter, in AD 961, King Edgar granted five hides of land to his minister Brynsgige, which Grundy (1920, 65) thought was for the whole part of Coombe Bissett south of the Ebbles. Using his translation, however, no points are found to coincide with the previous charter's bounds except for the Ebbles in the north and Grim's Ditch in the south. Grundy thought that the east boundary of S696 ran down the Coombe Bissett - Homington parish boundary, but the absence of any points of similarity rules this out. There is correlation between points on the western boundary with points on a charter for Stratford Toney (S861) which implies that this charter was for the south-west part of Coombe Bissett (Fig. 3), while S635 was for the south-east part (Grundy, 1920, 55, 96). The grant also includes a strip of meadowland running from a willow tree (1) at a point in Coombe Bissett north of the Ebbles, past an old homestead (*ealden ham sted*) (2) and west across Stratford Toney to the ford of the Roman Road (3). The part of this meadowland in Stratford Toney was by AD 986 part of a five hide estate granted in charter S861.

Having left the meadowland by the Ebbles the boundary turns south to a projecting piece of ploughland (*For Yrthe*) (6) which could correspond to a field called 'Old Lands' in the Tithe Award map of 1840 (WRO TA Coombe Bissett). This lies south of the medieval Middle Field. The bounds continue south along tracks as far as Grim's Ditch (9) where they turn 'west along the Ditch to the west side of the Deep Slade' (*Deope Sled*) (10). 'Slade' (*slaed*) may be defined as 'a low, flat valley' (Mawer, 1924). Where Grim's Ditch meets the western parish boundary there is a small valley running north-south on the Stratford Toney side of the boundary; perhaps this is the Slade. Grundy thought that the Anglo-Saxon boundaries of this charter and S861 went south of Grim's Ditch as

the later parish boundaries of Coombe Bissett and Stratford Toney do, but it is probable that they did not. Grim's Ditch remained part of the eastern parish boundary of Homington and the southern parish boundary of Bishopstone. In the Anglo-Saxon period these southern lands may have been for common grazing and may have been divided out at a later date. Land south of Grim's Ditch, now in Homington, was a detached part of Stratford Toney until the late nineteenth century.

From Grim's Ditch the bounds of charter S696 turn north along the Coombe Bissett - Stratford Toney parish boundary coming to Stone Barrow (*Stan beorh*) (12), which also occurs in the Stratford Toney charter, and then to Hedge Sparrow Ledge (*Succan Scylfe*) (13). Further north the bounds may have moved over open country (*Gyfan Feld*) (14) away from the parish boundary to the East Coombe (down which the modern A354 runs) and to the west side of the 'projecting piece of ploughland'. The bounds return to the parish boundary along 'the old boundary of the ploughlands' (*Ealden Land Sceare*) as far as the lynch of the thorn trees (15), which also occurs in the Stratford Toney charter. There is still a lynch with hawthorn and blackthorn trees where the medieval West Field adjoins the parish boundary (Fig. 4). The charter bounds then reach a second lynch, Dinn's Lynch (16), also on both charters, go over Moxes Down (17), and down a steep slope (Yard Hill) to the Ebble (18). On the 1840 Tithe Map there is small area marked as 'Down' north of this second lynch. Going along the Ebble the bounds return to the willow tree.

These two Coombe Bissett charters seem to complement each other, allotting most of the land between the Ebble and Grim's Ditch included in the later parish. A small area on the Stratford Toney boundary seems to have been excluded, where the bounds move obliquely across '*Gyfan Feld*' which was open downland until the nineteenth century. Some ploughlands could have already been fixed in the later medieval pattern, determined by the underlying soil type and topography, with meadow on the alluvium of the river valley as in later periods. The only settlement evidence in the charters is '*Ealden Ham Sted*' (S635). This was located north of the Ebble, probably on the valley gravels as later buildings have been, and it may have already been deserted. A church had been established in Coombe Bissett before 1086, and the settlement nucleus of the Anglo-Saxon period may lie under the present village.

Charter evidence relating to land north of the Ebble is available for only that part of the parish north of

the Roman Road, and this was included in the charter (believed by Finberg, 1964, to be authentic) for restitution of land to the Old Minster, Winchester in AD 997 (S891). The bounds given in this are the same as those given in a charter (spurious, according to Finberg, 1964) granting land to the Cathedral in AD 672 (Birch, 1885-93, no.27), which was published by Grundy (1919, 145), whose translation has been used. On leaving the Ebble at the ford of the Roman Road in Stratford Toney the bounds follow the Bishopstone parish boundary south and then west. Turning north they cross the Ebble to the north-west corner of the parish then go east to the Ridgeway which runs east-west along the ridge between the Ebble and Nadder valleys (Fig. 3). The bounds continue east along the north parish boundaries of Stratford Toney and Coombe Bissett to the '*BrytFordingea Landscaere*' - the boundary of the people of Britford, and from here they return 'south to *Stretford*', probably by the Roman Road. This still forms a small part of the parish boundary between Coombe Bissett and Stratford Toney.

It is possible, as suggested by Boulay-Hill (1909, 50), that the boundary of Britford then was further to the west than the present one, and may have included that part of Coombe Bissett south of the Roman Road and north of the Ebble. Britford, a royal manor in Domesday Book and in the time of King Edward, was the probable hundredal centre of the Cawdon Hundred, which included Coombe Bissett, Homington, Stratford Toney and Harnham. The north-east parish boundary of Coombe Bissett is indented, suggesting enclosure of early field systems.

The association of sixth and seventh century Anglo-Saxon burials with parish boundaries has been noted (Bonney, 1966, 25; Goodier, 1985, 1), and in Coombe Bissett the site of a primary burial with seventh-century grave goods is located on the northern parish boundary (Fig. 3); although scheduled (SAM 388: SU 10402818) this monument is no longer visible on the ground. It is possible that the terms '*beorg*' and '*hlaew*' for barrows in Anglo-Saxon charters may refer to prehistoric and pagan Anglo-Saxon burials respectively (discussed by Grinsell, 1959, 61; and Bonney, 1972, 172). Both terms were used in charter S635, and '*Biccan Hlew*' was at the south of the charter estate. The Stratford Toney charter (S861) had both terms also, with '*hlaew et Hrichwege*' the tumulus at the Ridgeway (Fig. 3), a point also in the south of the estate, on the Stratford Toney - Coombe Bissett boundary north of '*Stan beorh*' where the ridgeway, an extension of the Ox Drove, crosses the parish boundary. This suggests that these boundaries followed already existing ones.

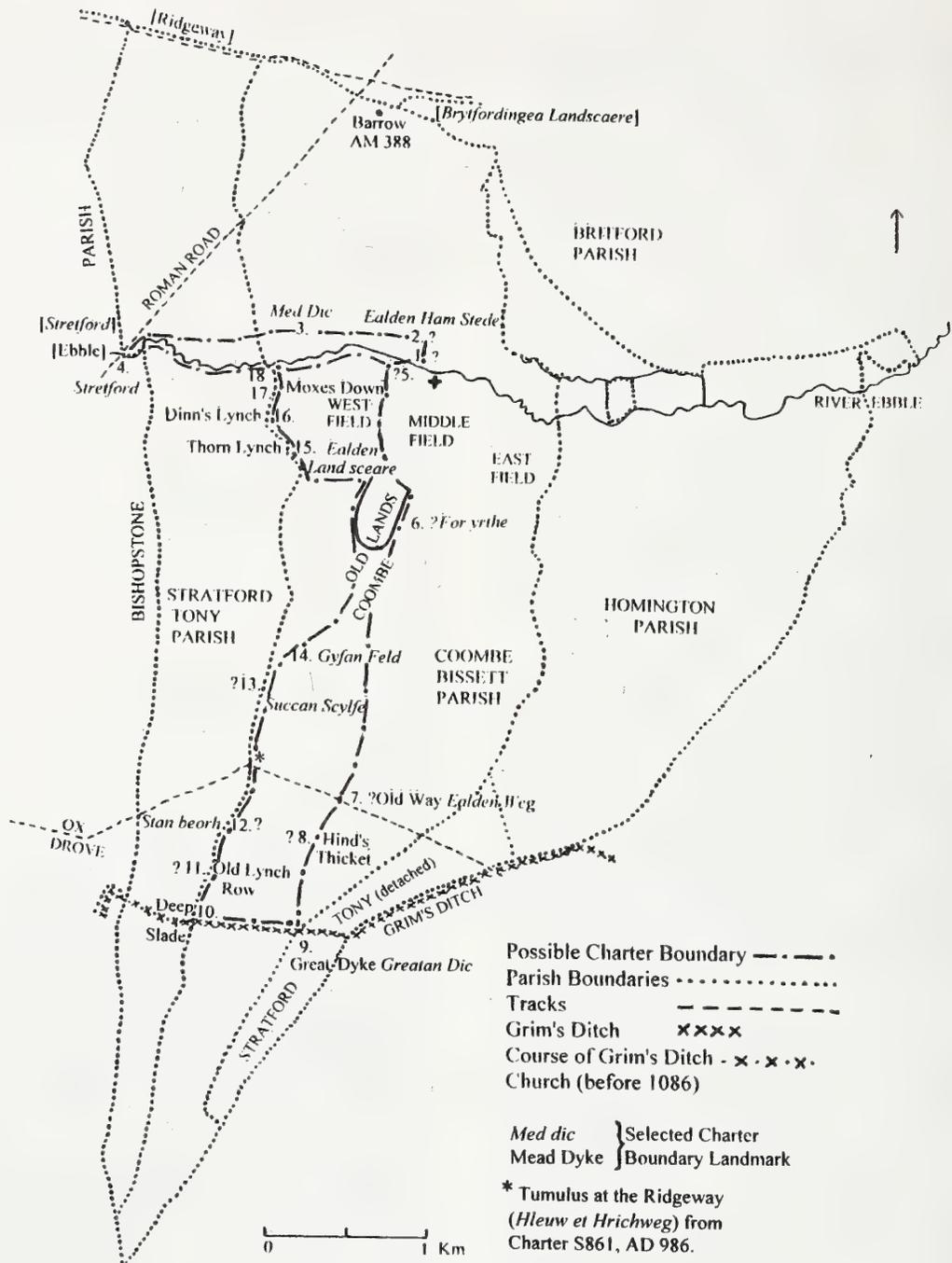


Figure 3. Charter bounds for part of Coombe Bissett, AD 961 (S696)

The group of tenth-century charters associated with Coombe Bissett and its neighbouring parishes suggests that land units in this part of the Ebbel valley were still fluid to some extent. Some earlier boundaries were used, such as Grim's Ditch in the south of charters S635 and S696, and the association of burial mounds with some of the charter boundaries suggests that these too followed earlier boundaries. The use of the Roman Road as a boundary in the charters of

AD 672 and 997 shows that this was a post-Roman division.

The eastern boundary for the south-east part of Coombe Bissett persisted as the parish boundary between Coombe Bissett and Homington, and the detached meadow at Homington remained part of Coombe Bissett parish until the late nineteenth century. The western boundary of the charter for the south-west part of Coombe Bissett remained as the

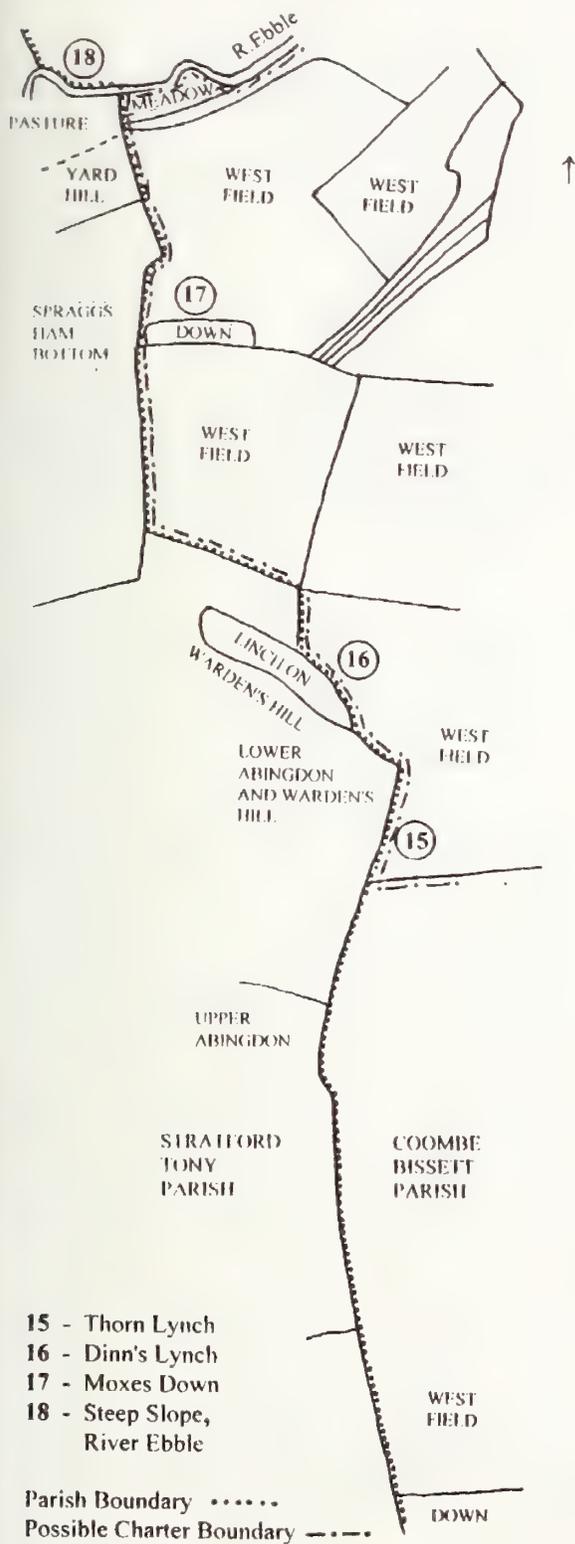


Figure 4. The boundary between the parishes of Coombe Bissett and Stratford Toney from their tithe maps (1840 and 1836) showing field names, and landmarks in the charters of AD 961 (S696) and AD 986 (S861)

parish boundary between Coombe Bissett and Stratford Toney. It is the area north of the River Ebbles which probably underwent re-organisation over the next two hundred years during the establishment of the parishes. In AD 997 the part of Coombe Bissett north of the Roman Road seems to have been part of the Downton estate, but before 1066 it may have been taken into the large twenty-three and a half hide estate of 'Cumbe' of Countess Gytha. Areas of open country south of Grim's Ditch were also subsequently taken into the parish.

There are references to meadowland, arable land, downland and open country in the charters, often identifiable as areas of similar land use in later periods. These charters therefore show the basis for the agricultural organisation of the later parish, as well as some of the framework of the administrative unit.

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# The Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Alexander Keiller's Excavations at Avebury

by E. M. JOPE †

*The paper describes and illustrates the medieval pottery recovered during Alexander Keiller's excavations at Avebury during the 1930s. The date and socio-economic background of the material and the manor of Avebury are considered in the light of current research at the time of writing (1965). The history of the manor and the surviving Saxon elements of the Church of St James, Avebury are also discussed and it is suggested that the church was originally an Early Saxon minster.*

## INTRODUCTION

by R. J. IVENS

In 1941 Alexander Keiller showed E.M. and H.M. Jope the medieval finds from his excavations undertaken at Avebury during the 1930s, and asked EMJ to write an account of them, which was completed late in 1945. At the same time he asked HMJ to do the same for the animal bones. Due to the difficulties of the post-war years and Keiller's increasing ill-health (and death in 1955) little further progress was made until Mrs Keiller commissioned Isobel Smith to prepare a report on her husband's work at Avebury and Windmill Hill, which was duly published in 1965 (Smith 1965).

H.M. Jope's account of the animal bone from Keiller's other excavations at Windmill Hill is printed in the volume on *Windmill Hill and Avebury* (Jope, H. M. 1965). However, the account of the medieval Royal Manor of Avebury and its pottery required major revisions due to the great strides made in the study of medieval pottery since 1945, and for various reasons this could not be completed in time for inclusion in Isobel Smith's report. The medieval report was, in fact, completed by c. 1965, but has remained unpublished and largely inaccessible.

For several years before his death on 14 November 1996 E. M. Jope had been considering revising his report on the Avebury pottery, but regrettably other commitments prevented him from undertaking this task. He did, however, decide that at least the descriptive part of the version written in the 1960s could still prove of value, even if some interpretations might need revision in the light of more recent work. His intention was to present the evidence and

information he had compiled as a step towards a more fully researched study of medieval Avebury, incorporating the evidence of the many modern excavations and studies. Accordingly he began to annotate the original typescript.

The text presented below is essentially as prepared in the mid 1960s, but incorporating EMJ's subsequent minor corrections and revisions. Some additional references have also been added (by RJI). Two elements of the original text have been omitted: J. D. A. Thompson's report on the barber-surgeon's coins which was fully published by Smith (1965); and a brief account of a little unstratified medieval metalwork.

The circumstances and results of Keiller's excavations at Avebury have been extensively described by Smith (1965; and more recently by Ucko *et al.* 1991) to which reference should be made for the location of the site, excavation areas, features, etc. mentioned in this work.

This report should therefore be considered as a supplement to Isobel Smith's account of Alexander Keiller's excavations at Avebury and read as though published in 1965.

The pottery described here and all of E. M. Jope's notes and records have been lodged with the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury.

## HISTORICAL

Avebury does not appear in any documentary source before the Domesday Survey of 1086. The Domesday entry, however, though scanty and giving no economic account, nor indeed any record of a separate manor, nevertheless reveals several points of

the greatest interest for the earlier history of Avebury, which carry it back for several centuries into the Old Saxon period.

In Domesday Avebury appears only among a list of churches (most of them adjuncts of royal manors) entered at the end of the king's lands (fo. 656; Darlington 1955b, 119): 'Rainbald the priest holds the church of AVREBERIE to which belongs 2 hides. It is worth 40s.'

There was however a manor under the name of Avebury in 1114, worth £22, when it was given to the Abbey of St. Georges-de-Boscherville near Rouen by William de Tancarville, Henry I's chamberlain (Round 1899, 66-7), who received it from the king and with his assent handed it on to that abbey (Round 1899, 69). Richard I's confirmation of this grant, in 1189, expressly states that it was 'of his great-grandfather King Henry's demesne' (Round 1899, 70), and it is clear that Avebury was in fact part of a royal estate, though, like other royal estates in Wiltshire, not so hidated in Domesday (nor concealed under Kennet, *contra* Darlington 1955a, 34.) or the Geld Rolls. The jurors for the Hundred Roll Survey of 1279 said that 'Avebury was once of the king's demesne' (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, II: Rec. Comm., 1814, 269). The value in 1114, £22, suggests that Avebury itself was a considerable estate, in the 20 hide class.

Such a church on royal demesne, endowed with 2 hides or more, we might expect to represent an ancient Saxon 'minster', a small community of clerics (2, 3 or 4, rarely more) giving pastoral care to a whole district such as a hundred (Lennard 1955, 301-2; Hunt 1962, ix ff; xv; Böhmer 1921). The ordinary church of a village community, the church with a graveyard of the Late Saxon laws, needed no more glebe than to support one priest, usually 2 yardlands (virgates, i.e. ½ hide).

The evidence of a late Saxon church of some pretensions, 12.5 x 6.7 m and over 7.9 m high, with round upper windows (Figs 1-6), most probably of the 10th century, gives some substance to the identification of Avebury as a potential ancient minster, further supported by its emergence in the Middle Ages as a rural deanery. We must remember, however, that the main part of the church as it stands today is the nave for the use of the community; of the chancel for the priests we know little, though a small square-ended chancel was reputedly revealed during building works in 1878. The foundation of such minsters on royal or episcopal estates (sometimes hundredal centres) goes back in many cases in England south-west of the Danelaw to the early days

of Saxon Christianity. This may well be so at Avebury, for though the remains of an early cross built into the tower wall does not necessarily imply more than a preaching centre, it does at least suggest that.

Avebury church shows much evidence of Saxon work. The building-sequence is shown in C. E. Ponting's careful structural analysis and admirable elevation drawings of the north wall of the nave (Figs 1-2; Ponting 1884). At the west end of this wall a surviving single-splayed window (with inclined jambs and shutter rebate on the outside) is cut by the remains of an inserted Norman arcade arch; the arcade itself was rebuilt in 1828. On the outer face is a plain chamfered string-course, and above it evidence of three (possibly four) circular windows (just double-splayed) with withies as centring for plastered splays; that to the west directly above the lower single-splay window (Fig. 6). These circular windows (Figs 1, 2, 4-5) were thus presumably upper windows (not clerestory), and those to the west may have lighted an upper floor over the western part of the nave; Baldwin Brown (1925, 337) compares it with Godalming in Surrey (cp. also Taylor 1959). The single stone forming the circular opening of each upper window has an inner rebate with holes for a fan of withies c. 25 mm thick which keyed the plaster lining of the internal splay (Fig. 5); part of a closely similar stone has also been found in a tenth century context from the royal chapel at Cheddar (Rahtz 1979, 229-34). Double-splayed circular upper windows, with the splays of ashlar throughout, can be found in Norman contexts, as in the chancel clerestory of Ledbury church (Roy. Comm. Hist. Mons. *Herefordshire*, II (1932), 100; Pls. 136-7). Double-splaying was used in all types of Norman buildings if lighting so demanded (Jope 1963). These circular windows at Avebury were preserved as clerestory lights when the Norman north aisle was inserted. The single-splay window should be earlier than the double-splay upper windows, hence the Saxon nave was presumably heightened, probably in the 10th century; the long-and-short quoins are moreover above the string-course. We thus seem to have here evidence of a Saxon stone church going back at least into the 9th century, heightened in the 10th century, perhaps to take an upper chamber or gallery over the western part of the nave, in which priest may have lived (cf. Radford 1973). The fragment of ornamented stone built into the tower wall is part of a cross, probably of the 8th century, possibly a preaching cross but not necessarily implying a church building.

Some degree of uniformity of masonry techniques over wide areas of the country in later Saxon times

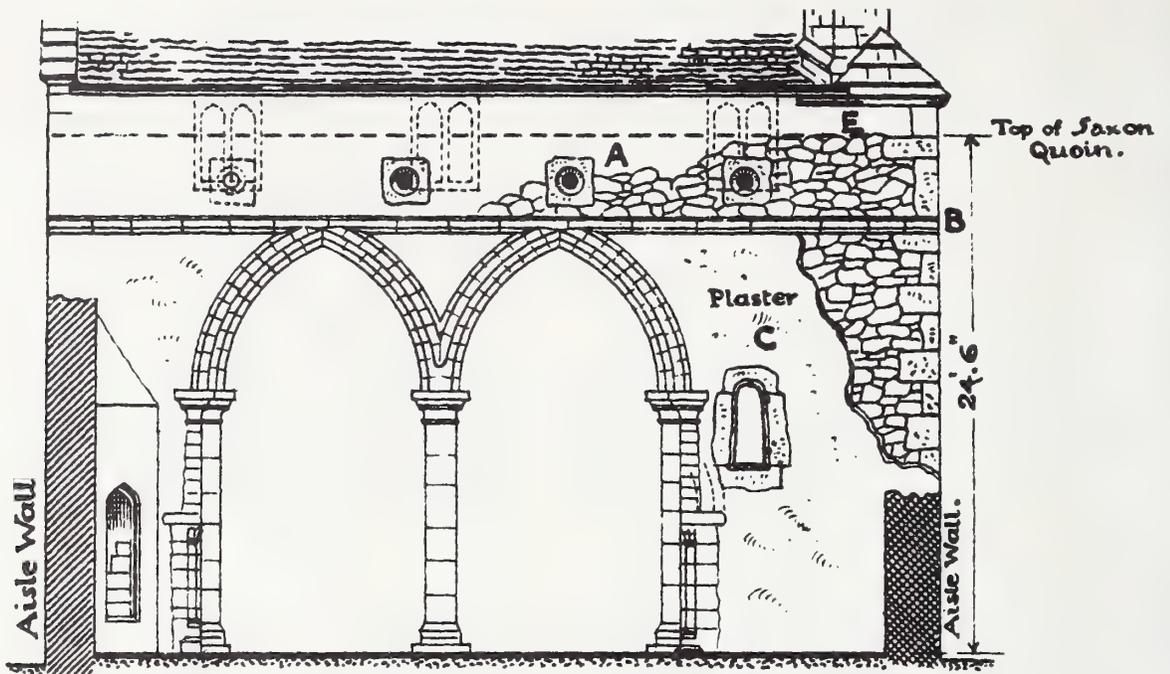


Fig 1. ELEVATION OF NORTH SIDE OF NAVE  
(ORIGINALLY THE OUTSIDE) AS AT PRESENT BUT WITH AISLE REMOVED

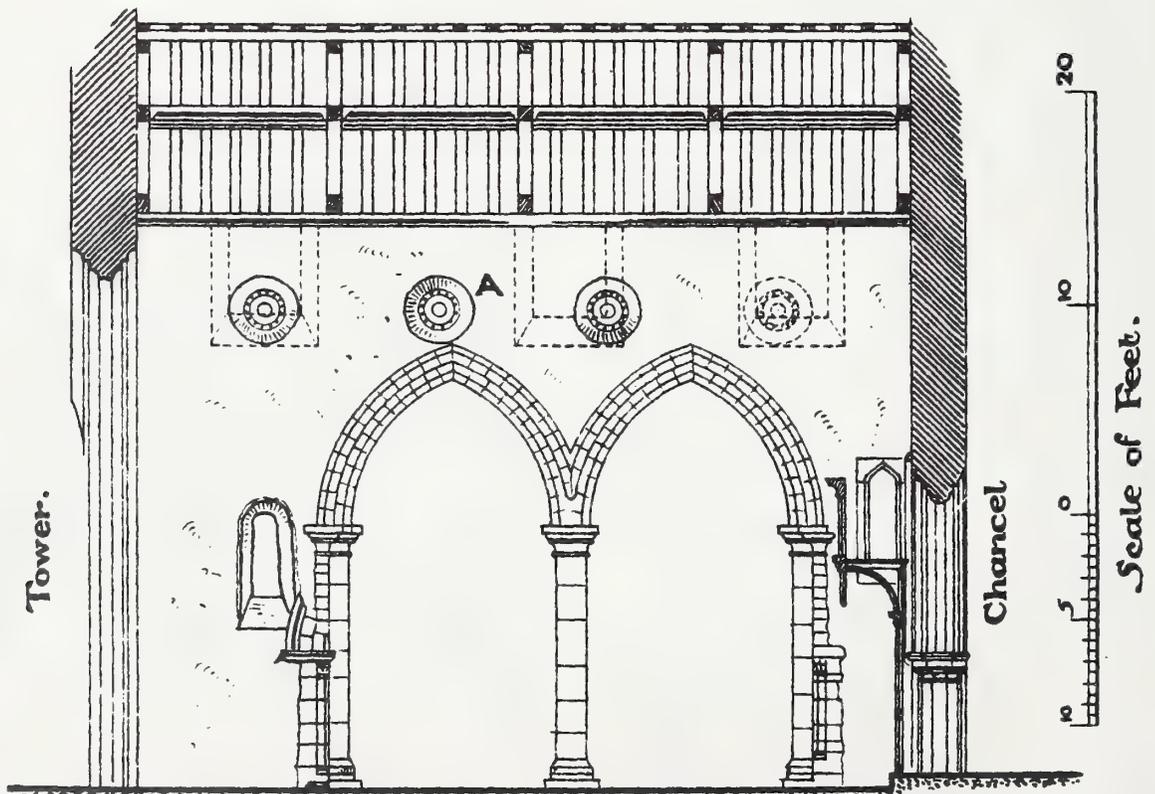
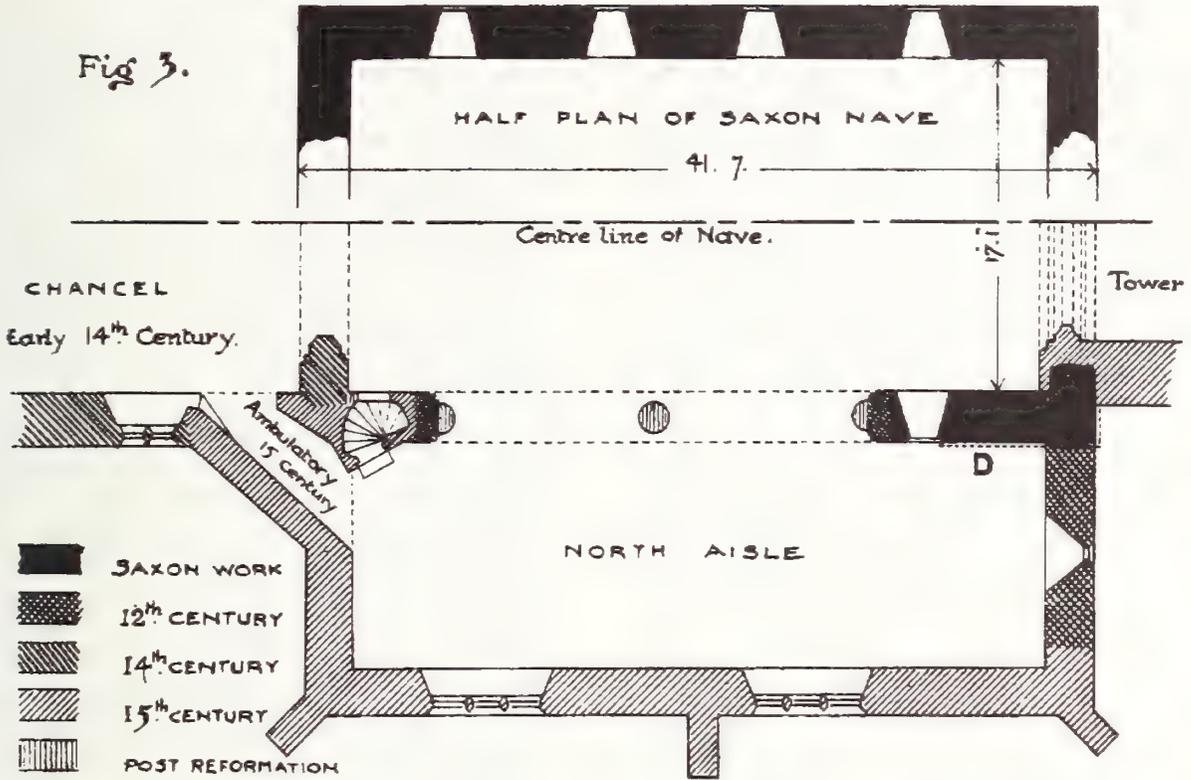


Fig 2. INSIDE OF NORTH WALL OF NAVE  
AS AT PRESENT.

: Church of S. James : Abury :



Fig 3.



PLAN OF HALF OF EXISTING NAVE AND NORTH AISLE



Fig 4.

SECTION THRO' SAXON NAVE WINDOWS OF UPPER TIER AND STRING COURSE

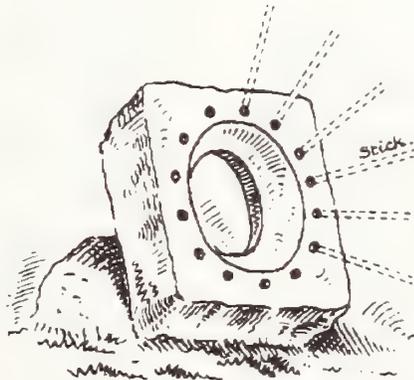


Fig 5. SKETCH SHOWING SAXON WINDOWS OF UPPER TIER AS FOUND IN CHURCHYARD.

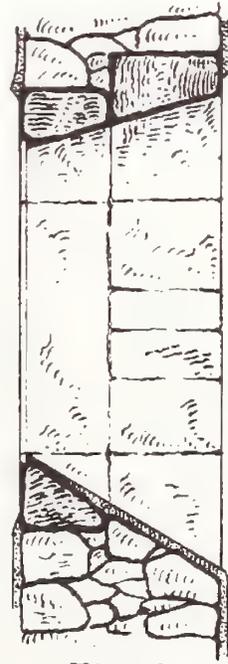


Fig 6.

SECTION THRO' SAXON NAVE WINDOWS OF LOWER TIER.



implies some degree of organisation of mason-craft in Britain during this period (see Jope 1964, 92–3). Compare, for instance, the round double-splayed windows at Avebury with the remains found in the royal chapel at Cheddar. Mason-work involves specialized techniques, and not those of everyday life as in carpentry, for even larger houses were not then made of stone. One may suspect that behind these minster churches on royal demesne estates there already lay a royal works department (though it is still surprising that no royal domestic structures of stone are known). There was also mason-work in rural churches sponsored by bishops, monastic houses, and even by nobles, for which again there must have been some degree of organisation of the craft. This subject has been little discussed or studied.

Towards the end of the later Saxon period the pattern of spiritual ministry based on the ancient minsters was being broken up (Stenton 1971, 148 ff; Blair 1994, 111–116). Some such properties were being granted away for their revenues, particularly to clerics in the royal service, as we see here to Rainbald the king's priest. New churches also ('lesser churches') were being founded, often by lay noblemen, within the territories served by the old minsters. During the 12th or by the early 13th centuries these had achieved rights, of burial, and to at least a proportion of tithe from the 'minster' or 'mother church', and so the full medieval pattern of parish churches was established. Immediately around Avebury, in this western part of Selkley Hundred alone, there are churches with 12th century Transitional-Norman stonework at Winterbourne Monkton, Broad Hinton and Fyfield.

Rainbald the king's priest, who held the church of Avebury, is a man of some interest, described by Round (1909, 421 ff; the reference to Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* should be to vol. vi, not ii.) as 'the first great pluralist', holding much property and 16 churches, some of them ancient minsters, as at Frome in Somerset. He held this office under Edward and continued in the service of William I. Though styled '*regis cancellarius*' in documents of the Confessor's reign, these were the work of French clerks using their accustomed Norman-French terms, and the existence of such an office before the Conquest is not now accepted (Harmer 1952, 58–61; Stenton 1955, 86–7). He is also once in Domesday styled 'Rainbald of Cirencester' (Galbraith 1961, 194); he held possessions there, and after his death Henry I endowed Cirencester Abbey with all his lands (Dugdale 1673, 177). Leland (c. 1535–43, I, 128) quotes his epitaph to show that he was dean of the college of prebends replaced by that abbey.

The grant of the manor of Avebury to the Abbey of St. George-de-Boscherville was as a revenue-producing property, and they never held the church itself, which with its 2 hides remained apart and passed after Rainbald's death with the rest of his possessions to Cirencester Abbey. The cell founded here by the Norman abbey was staffed by a prior and his *socius* in the mid-12th century, and the Bishop of Salisbury between 1162 and 1184 granted the monks a chapel at their manor centre (*curia*) on condition that there was no prejudice to the church and its tithes (Kirby 1956).

This 'priory' had initially no parochial duties (indeed when Joselin of Salisbury (1162–84) granted a chapel within the *curia* such were specifically barred). It was in reality little more than an administrative centre for the four Boscherville estates in England (Matthew 1962, 64–5): Bishop Swinfield of Hereford has in the 1290s a revealing description of the 'priors' in the alien priories of his diocese ... '*habent ... unum ballivum monachum cum uno socio monacho qui prior vulgariter nuncupatur*'. The Norman abbey of Boscherville did not perhaps receive much profit at times from its four English estates; in 1264 they said they had received nothing for a long time, though in the later 14th century the four English estates were valued at £161 10s. What they did receive may have passed to Normandy either in kind or in money; customary services on such estates of Norman houses (e.g. Ogbourne) sometimes provide for the carriage of cheese and other produce to Southampton (Morgan 1946, 82): payments in money became more complicated, and sometimes had to be conducted through merchants, probably as a banking transaction (Matthew 1962, 66–7).

After the expulsion of the alien monks in 1378, the succession of royal servants who enjoyed the revenues had to find a chaplain. In 1411 the reversion of the estate was granted to the college of chantry priests then founded at Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, who received the revenues until the dissolution in 1538, when Avebury was valued at £98 5s 2d annually (Kirby 1956; Cox 1904, 241; Thompson 1918 243; Evans 1949, 186–7).

Avebury may thus have been an abortive Minster, but this substantial stone church of the 10th century onwards was nevertheless appropriate to this substantial community.

## ECONOMY

The economy of the Avebury manor in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries cannot be described in detail,

though its general character can be inferred from the details of some nearby manors. On these chalklands, as elsewhere, arable farming formed the mainstay of peasant food-production; corn and sheep yielded jointly the main profits of the demesne farm. Loss of the Exon Domesday for Wiltshire means that the later 11th century sheep population can only be compared with arable indirectly through the assessment of pasture. At Beckhampton there were 40 acres of pasture and 4 ploughs on land for 3; at Yatesbury 3 ploughs on land for 4 and 20 acres of pasture. It is difficult to interpret these acreages of pasture in actual numbers of sheep. The one record of a Wiltshire manor preserved in the Exon Domesday — Little Sutton in Sutton Veny, 20 miles to the south-west, with 300 sheep — had apparently pasture  $\frac{1}{2}$  league by 1 furlong, i.e. 120 acres. Nearer Avebury, at Winterbourne Monkton a mile to the north, on the Glastonbury Abbey 25 hide estate there were 11 ploughs on land for 15 (4 in demesne and 7 with the villeins) and 100 acres of pasture; in the time of Henry I there were 400 sheep here (Lennard 1955, 264). On other manors of Glastonbury on the Wiltshire chalk uplands there were at that time flocks of 2,500 sheep at Damerham, 1,000 at Monkton Deverill, and 700 at Idmiston, on pasture recorded in Domesday at 3 x 1 leagues,  $\frac{1}{2}$  league x 2 furlongs, and 1 league x 3 furlongs (plus 20 or perhaps 60 acres) respectively (Scott 1959, 16–9). No close relation between sheep and recorded area of pasture can be derived from the data; comparisons are rendered uncertain by the constant movement of sheep between estates held in common ownership.

For Avebury itself, a tithe settlement of 1253 reckons with the possibility that the monks of St. Georges-de-Boscherville might have here as many as 750 sheep (Kirby 1956). In 1294 they actually had 450 and in 1324 they had 600 (*ibid.*). The value had risen fourfold from £53 10s 0½d in 1294 to £227 10s in 1324; this was probably due to livestock, direct comparisons again being complicated by the constant movement of sheep between estates.

The 1294 extent of the estate also reveals that Avebury had outlying members, on the lower lands 7 miles to the north-west below the chalk at Catcombe in Hilmarton, and high up on the chalk over Hackpen Hill at Barbury (for which the prior paid 20s tithe in Ogbourne).

Through the later Middle Ages and sixteenth century there was no decline in agrarian population on the northern chalklands of Wiltshire (Beresford 1959, 301), and the balance of arable and sheep farming was maintained better than in other parts of

the country (Hoskins 1959, 3 *ff.*), though grain production declined later and not until recent years have the chalk uplands once again been brought under the plough.

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Avebury would have been an ordinary medieval village community of the order of about 30 families, say about 100 people, the most frequent size in the county, with villeins, bordars and serfs; as we lack both full Domesday entry and Hundred-Roll survey we cannot set out the details. Being a royal demesne manor, it would have had not a resident manorial lord, but a resident bailiff, replaced after 1114 by the prior from St. Georges-de-Boscherville with his *socius*, whose function would have been to administer the estate for the benefit of the Norman house. Earlier, in Saxon times, as a royal estate it may even have been visited occasionally by the king and his retinue on their circuit, living for so many nights on the produce of the estate (the 'farm'). By the 11th or 12th century the produce would probably have been sold for profit and the proceeds contributed to the royal household expenses: under this system of estate management there was no longer reason to circulate among the royal estates. Some years after the suppression of the alien houses in 1378 the profits of the manor were granted by the crown for the benefit of the collegiate church of Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, and again there would have been a bailiff.

Avebury has produced a wide range of medieval objects; mainly pottery, from the coarsest to some of the finest available. Here all is discarded rubbish, but at Seacourt, Berkshire, it was possible to see what quality of pottery was being used in the varying grades of house (Biddle 1961–2). The pottery from Avebury is almost without exception — even the 13th century glazed jugs — entirely appropriate to a peasant rural community, as the evidence from excavated houses in other medieval village sites shows. Some was brought from considerable distances, but the patterns of peasant contacts underlying this are in some degree understandable and discussed below. We must thus see vessels with lively features such as the face-masks of Fig. 13.12, 14 type, or waisted profiles, or the large plain but elegant pitchers (Fig. 14.4) as part of the life of peasant households in the 13th century, as much as of town life. Sophisticated pitchers in the 12th century were rarer, but the types of Fig. 12.1–4, 8–13, in not very refined ware, were in fairly general use.

The real exceptions are a few jugs of very fine

white or pinkish fabric, with applied modelled ornament in chocolate-brown clay (Fig. 13.23–4), equivalent to the finest south-west French polychrome wares imported in the later 13th century. These vessels were most probably from the prior's table, and Fig. 13.24 may be compared with some from Clarendon Palace (Borenius and Charlton 1936).

### THE MEDIEVAL BARBER-SURGEON TRAPPED WHILE BURYING STONE 9

A complete skeleton of a man was found in the narrow space between Stone 9 and the only unfinished part of the side of the burial-pit (Smith 1965, 177, fig. 68, pl. XXVb). The pelvis was fractured and the neck had probably been broken. The man had evidently been killed while working on the final stages of the burial-pit, the stone having slipped and trapped the right heel, which was wedged beneath it, making removal of the corpse impossible.

Near the man's left hip lay three coins (Thompson 1965; Smith 1965, pl. XXVIa) on a discoloured patch of soil, probably the remains of a leather pouch. There were two silver pennies of Edward I minted in Canterbury, and one sterling of the city of Toul from an Edward II prototype (shown by the broken jewel in the crown). Thompson (1965) suggested that these coins were lost c. 1320–5 but more recent numismatic thinking places the loss date of this group between c. 1320 – c. 1350, with the earlier date being likelier (Ucko *et al.* 1991, 178).

Beside the skeleton lay also a pair of hinged iron scissors and a small iron implement with the decayed remains of a wooden handle (Smith 1965, pl. XXVIb; see Ucko *et al.* 1991, pl. 56 for photographs after conservation). The man was perhaps an itinerant barber-surgeon, the iron implement being a lancet or probe, though he seems to have had no razor. He might have been a tailor, for tailors, though they seem mainly to have used spring shears, sometimes used hinged scissors, and the long blades certainly suggest cloth-cutting. There is good evidence from the 14th and 15th centuries that barber-surgeons used scissors. Chaucer, in the *House of Fame* (c. 1384: 1.689–91) writes:

'And mo berdes in two houses  
Without rasour or sisoures  
Y-mad, then greynes be of sondes'

and in *Beryn* (c. 1400: 1.2916):

'Getith a peir of sesours  
Sherith my berd a-noon.'

In 1487 the Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London refer to 'My plaster box ... and the cyzers

therein.' Surgery was becoming well recognized as a part of the barber's craft by the 14th century, as shown by the long and informative 1346 ordinance of the Oxford Barbers' Corporation (Salter 1920, 109–17), and that granted to the London Barbers in 1376 to restrain those itinerant barbers who resorted to the city 'who are barbers from *uppeland* (i.e., the country) ... who are not instructed in their craft, and who do take houses and intermeddle with barbering, surgery, and the cure of other maladies, while they know not how to do such things, or were ever instructed in their craft, to the great damage and deceit of the people, and the great scandal of all the good barbers of the said city' (Riley 1868, 393–4).

The three coins as the only coins in his pouch seem also appropriate to an itinerant barber-surgeon who, like the itinerant quacks or herbalists setting up on the village green, sent forth by Madame Trote of Salerno, were told to 'make pennyworths of herbs, for a man may have a penny in his purse who has not five pounds ... She commanded that I might take pence of the current coin in the country wherever I should come' (Jusserand 1891, 178 *ff.*, quoting Rutebeuf of the 13th century).

Actual examples of hinged scissors are not common in rural medieval contexts. It has been suggested (Cowgill *et al.* 1987, 60) that shears, being more readily available and easier to manufacture, were used for domestic purposes, while the more durable and expensive scissors were preferred by tradesmen such as hatters, tailors and barbers, whose livelihood depended on precise cutting. The medieval village site at Woodperry near Oxford produced two (Ashmolean Museum collections), and there is one among the medieval material from Knaresborough Castle, Yorkshire (Waterman *pers. comm.*); more recently three examples (one, No. 689, from a certain medieval context) were found at the deserted medieval settlement of Westbury, Buckinghamshire (Mills 1995, 365 Nos 689–691, fig. 168.48) and several more at Great Linford, Buckinghamshire (Mynard 1992, 153–55, figs 62.98–100, 63.102–104). Hinged scissors were first used in post-Roman times and occur sporadically in Frankish and even Saxon graves (Ward-Perkins 1940, 150–2), and an example comparable with the Avebury scissors from the 9th century deposit in the stream bed at Hedeby in Schleswig (Jankuhn 1943, 127–8; fig. 61) may also be compared with the scissors, found with Islamic coins of c. 800–850, in a woman's grave at Tuna in Sweden (Ward-Perkins 1940, 150–2). Ward-Perkins further suggests that examples in Western Europe before the 13th century may have been imports from the Byzantine or Islamic world.

## DATE AND PURPOSE OF STONE-BURIALS

The skeleton of the barber-surgeon, with coins current c. 1320–30 in his pouch, trapped by the premature fall of Stone 9, shows clearly that deliberate stone-burying was going on in the early 14th century. Almost all the excavated stone-burial pits in the South-west Sector contained among earlier sherds at least a few fragments of later 13th — early 14th century pottery: even pits containing none but earlier sherds were not necessarily earlier burials (see below). Though the overall work of burying these stones must have been spread over some years, it need not have been more than about a decade.

Possible motives for stone-burying must be discussed. The incentive to undertake such a task must have been strong, and the gain in cultivable land so doubtful that it can hardly have been mere land-clearance. In medieval England some standing stones were, to judge from their names, considered to be the works of giants, magicians or the devil, (see for example, Aubrey's use in the 17th century of the name 'Devill's Coytes' for stones, perhaps those of the Longstone 'cove' near Avebury (Long 1862, 24)) and it would be surprising if so remarkable a monument as Avebury passed unheeded. There is no surviving medieval reference to the Avebury stones, but they may have given rise to superstitious practices (Bennett 1938, 36–7), incurring ecclesiastical disapproval and perhaps provoking the issue of an injunction that they should cease and the offending stones be buried out of sight, as for instance, the injunction issued in 1315 by Roger Mortival, bishop of Salisbury, that the parish priest of Sandhurst should cease taking money for detecting thieves by sorcery (Coulton 1926, 267 *ff.*). No such injunction survives in the Salisbury episcopal registers, though one could have been issued by the Archdeacon of Wiltshire. Such injunctions were not always very effective and had to be repeated; here it would have devolved on the parish priest, who would have had either to excite the fervour of his flock to work out of piety or to pay for the work (see Sisam 1921, 4–12, and Pantin 1955, 209, on the relationship of the parish priest to his flock).

At least 40 stones were buried at Avebury during the Middle Ages and probably many more (Smith 1965, 176–178), and work on this scale needed organizing. The prior of the cell of St. Georges-de-Boscherville was in effective command of the manorial tenants, but in fact the early 14th century was a period of some difficulty for these cells of alien priories, and it is unlikely that the customary labour would have

been depleted for such a purpose. These English cells of alien monastic houses were in any case investments and rarely showed missionary enthusiasm. The stone-burying may even have had only the flimsiest religious impulse; it might have been part of village festivities such as wakes, occasions when visitors from elsewhere were entertained by a village community (Homans 1942, 337, 372–9), and in which an itinerant barber-surgeon might have taken part. Had he been a native of the village his body would surely have been removed to consecrated ground. In the deliberate burying of these stones there was probably a mingling of faith and superstitious apprehension at this fearful silent array.

## MEDIEVAL POTTERY

### (a) *General Introduction*

Keiller's excavations at Avebury produced much medieval pottery, only a selection of which was preserved. It was found strewn over much of the site, almost all in small fragments, and very few complete vessel shapes can be reconstituted. Most pieces are however recognizable as parts of vessel types well known in Wessex or the West Country, and they thus show the ceramic range being used by a village community, in which there was also a small alien priory, in the heart of the Wiltshire chalk uplands. A few pieces reveal also some of its more distant contacts, and it is remarkable how in the Middle Ages Avebury's location on the fringes of distribution patterns emphasises its position as a meeting place for cultural contacts and interchange of ideas.

Almost all the pottery is of types current in the 11th - early 14th centuries. Only a little is of recognizably Late Saxon types, though much pottery of the 12th century types betrays its ancestry in the Late Saxon tradition. There seems also to be hardly any pottery of the later Middle Ages, a situation observed so frequently on excavated settlement sites. The township was neither depopulated nor noticeably impoverished (above) and some other explanation must be sought, such as greater durability, persistence of basically 13th century types with little change in shape or fabric, dwindling use of earthenware vessels, or disposal elsewhere.

The arguing of dates for this Avebury pottery must be largely by comparison with pottery datable in varying degrees on other sites (whenever possible not too far distant). There is however a suggestion of internal dating-limit evidence for the early -14th

century from the stone-burial pits, especially that of stone 9 with the trapped barber-surgeon and his purse containing coins of the early 14th century.

Most of the medieval pottery is made of fabrics from local clays of the chalk and its valleys, and of shapes and styles in general use over an area some 20 miles or more around Avebury. It was not apparently being made at Avebury itself, however, for there is no hint of wasters among the abundant material.

In some places even by the later 11th century the potter's craft had approached the status of a village industry, as is shown by the Domesday entry for the royal manor of Westbury, south-west of Devizes, where in 1086 the potters paid 20s. annually (D.B. fo. 65; Darlington 1955b, 118). Revenue on this scale suggests production for more than immediately local needs. The pottery being used at Avebury during the Middle Ages was probably being bought largely in the local markets of Marlborough or Calne, or occasionally further afield, for some 13th century pieces betray their origin at more distant production centres, such as Brill in Buckinghamshire (Jope 1952a, 71–5; Jope 1953–4), Fig. 14.1, 5, or round Bristol, Gloucester or Salisbury (the kilns at Laverstock supplying jugs such as Fig. 13.6–12, 18–23; Musty *et al.* 1969) From the 13th century onwards pottery making became increasingly industrialized, and finer wares from some kiln centres were being carried over considerable distances (e.g., Dunning 1948, 232–48; Webster and Dunning 1960, 119–25; Jope 1963).

Some explanation must be sought for the geographically wide range of sources drawn upon for the Avebury pottery. Several aspects of medieval life contributed to this transport of pottery over the country. First, it is clear from some household account rolls that large itinerant households whether royal, or of bishops or lay lords, forever moving from estate to estate accompanying the lord on his business, carried much utilitarian household goods, including earthenware (Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield, 1289/90: Camden Soc., 1853–4, cxx, cxxxii, 24, 33, 48; Jope and Hodges 1956, 25–9); only thus could the steward ensure the necessary supplies for such an influx of people.

Secondly, some large monastic or collegiate institutions regularly sent officials with carters to the great annual fairs, often at some distance, and notably those of eastern England, and earthenware was no doubt among the products traded (Jope 1956, 254–6).

The manorial bulk or surplus produce, such as wool, cheese or grain, carried for export or for sale at annual fairs or weekly markets, whether by villeins

performing customary services, or by bailiffs and their carters, gave numerous return journeys with unladen horses or empty carts, and show another process whereby pottery could have been dispersed among surrounding villages (Morgan 1946, 77, 82). Items even of more peasant character might have been added to the load along the return journey. Nor were these carrying services always confined to local markets; some were technically prescribed as 'anywhere within the country' (Scott 1959, 16–7), and others involved even greater distances. It might be relevant to the dispersal of wares from the Brill kilns, for instance, that villeins on the Bishop of Rochester's estate in the nearby villages of Haddenham and Cuddington in Buckinghamshire had to perform customary carrying services to Oxford, Wallingford and Wycombe, and to Rochester itself and Gloucester to fetch back fish (Homans 1942, 257–8). The latter is just the sort of unladen outward journey on which pots from the Brill kilns might have been carried west towards Gloucester.

Whatever the explanations, this representative variety of regional styles of pottery seen at Avebury is one of the more insistent impressions created by studying the Avebury pottery in relation to that of Wessex and further afield; it is one which needs to be understood historically, economically, and in terms of human contacts (which in the medieval period is in some degree possible from documentary sources) in any regional study of medieval pottery.

#### (b) *Contexts of the Medieval Pottery*

Most of the sherds were found littered through the topsoil all over the site. No evidence of medieval buildings was found, such as post-holes or foundation trenches, and there were very few medieval pits apart from those dug to bury the great stones. It must be concluded that the areas so far explored (the South-east, South-west, and North-west sectors; Smith 1965, fig. 68 and (for Stukeley's 1724 plan) pl. XXIII) were used in the Middle Ages mainly for tofts and gardens (as suggested also by the boundary banks and ditches with 12th — 13th century pottery in them, particularly in the South-east sector), and that the houses lay elsewhere, clustered perhaps near the church to the west, and under existing buildings.

The random dispersed nature of this scatter is shown by the fitting pairs of sherds from at least eight vessels found some distance apart over the site, summarized in Table 1. There are sufficient fairly large unabraded pieces (of the order 75–150 mm) to suggest that the interior had not been repeatedly

	Vessel type	Locations
12th century	Cooking-pot	Stone-burial pit 6; III S.W.
12th century	Cooking-pot	12.S.E; 42.S.E.
12th century	Cooking-pot	33.S.E; 42.S.E.
12th century	Cooking-pot	60.S.E.; 62.S.E.
12th century	Oxford-type tripod-pitcher with rope-handle	63.S.E.; VII S.W.
Late 12th – early 13th century	Unglazed jug	60.S.E.; 53.S.E. (early boundary ditch)
13th century	Bridge spout of jug	54.S.E.; 62.S.E.
13th century	White-painted jug	43.S.E.; 53.S.E.; 63.S.E. (pit 1)
13th century	Cooking-pot	33.S.E.; 42.S.E.

TABLE 1. Scatter of contiguous sherds across the site. Roman numerals refer to the contiguous strips 20 x 50 ft., excavated along the arc of the Outer Circle in the S.W. sector, starting at the south-east end. Arabic numerals refer to the 50 ft. square cuttings laid out as a grid in the S.E. Sector (all not excavated); Square 1 was in the South-west corner.

ploughed over from the 12th or 13th century onwards.

Sherds found in the stone-burial pits were presumably derived from the scatter in the topsoil over the site at the time when the stones were being buried. These small groups of sherds must however be viewed with caution as dating evidence for the progress of stone-burial at Avebury. Sherds of the 12th – earlier 13th century types are more abundant in the scatter than those of the later 13th century onwards and the latter would therefore have had a lesser chance of inclusion in these small random groups. For instance, the burial-pit of Stone 9, datable to c. 1320–50 (above), contained sixteen small sherds of 12th century types and only one 13th century piece, and in the West Kennet Avenue the hole in which stone 26a had stood contained a worn halved coin of Henry III (lost not before the second quarter of the 13th century; identified by the British Museum as a Short Cross penny of London Mint, Class VII, 1222–1237), but sherds of 12th century type only. Even when stone-burial pits containing none but 12th century sherds occur, they still need not be interpreted as early burials for the surrounding topsoil may have lain fallow, undisturbed and grass-grown, for some time before burial.

By the 18th century the area of the great circle was laid out in gardens and pastures (Piggott 1950, pl. III), whose boundary banks are still traceable (except where levelled during the excavations of 1937–9) and perpetuate a medieval layout. The road system is also probably medieval, its staggered crossing giving every appearance of picking its way through a field system. The very existence of 12th to early 14th

century sherds in such profusion in the soil over the area suggests that the turf was not in those centuries left undisturbed for pasture. Much of the area must have been cultivated, some perhaps at an early time even ploughed (this road layout makes possible some strips 100 x 22 yards). The numerous sherds probably came from household refuse (of all social levels) put on the fields during muck-spreading. The sherd series would cease when land was turned over to pasture, and the virtual absence of later medieval sherds suggests that this change came about in the later 14th century.

(c) Pottery Fabrics, Types and Changing Techniques

(i) Fabrics. Most of the coarse pottery has been made from clay materials available on the chalk and contains varying amounts of small calcium carbonate fragments (sometimes leached out to leave holes) and of quartz (sand), chert, and sometimes shattered flint (probably fire-shattered). This could be called *Standard A* fabric in the descriptions, with little qualification; it usually has a dark or pale grey core white-flecked with the inclusions, the grey being due to carbon, either from smudging (Shepard 1956, 88–90) or from vegetable detritus in the clay itself (e.g., if taken from stream banks). The vessels frequently have a brown or reddened surface layer about 1 mm thick, probably due to penetration by air while the pot was still hot. Some of the clays have given a fairly cohesive matrix on baking, which may have been carried sometimes up to or above 1050°C, giving incipient vitrification and hence a fairly serviceable

pottery, reasonably impervious to water. It was used in this area almost universally during the 12th century for cooking-pots, bowls, storage-pots, and jugs.

Some coarse pottery is more friable. Sandy wares are not common in the coarse pottery, occurring mostly in the earlier group (e.g., Fig. 8.4) and may perhaps not be local. There is also the class of fine evenly chalk-gritted ware with little flint (never large enough to give a roughened surface). This appears first in the probably Late Saxon pottery (Figs 7.2-5), and is the foundation of the excellent potting tradition of the later 12th - 13th centuries in this Wessex-Cotswold area (like that named elsewhere 'Selsley Common' ware (Dunning 1949, 30-44; Jope 1952a, 71-5) and here could be called *Standard B* fabric); this later series often carries a characteristic thin pale glaze, sometimes poorly fired. It is uncertain whether there is a real continuity through the 12th century in the use of this style of fabric in this area; it is difficult to believe there was not, but this continuity has not been demonstrated in sequences datable through the

12th century.

There is among the Avebury pottery very little which can be considered late medieval fabrics, but in some areas these calcareous 'standard' fabrics continued in general use at least through the 14th century (Jope 1951a, 49-50; 1952b, 88).

In the 12th century jugs were being made of both *Standard A and B* fabrics; many were unglazed, though some may carry an even scatter of patchy thin glaze which can have served little purpose. There is a greater variety of fabrics among the 13th century glazed jugs, which were probably drawn from a wider variety of sources. As well as the continuing tradition of calcareous wares (such as *Standard B*) bearing indifferent glaze, there are more sandy harsh fabrics, both grey and light red, again with only patchy glaze, and also a few examples of excellent white fabrics comparable to some of the Salisbury area. Colours may be either grey or buff to light red, depending on oxidization or reduction in the later stages of firing. The glazes for the most part reflect these conditions,

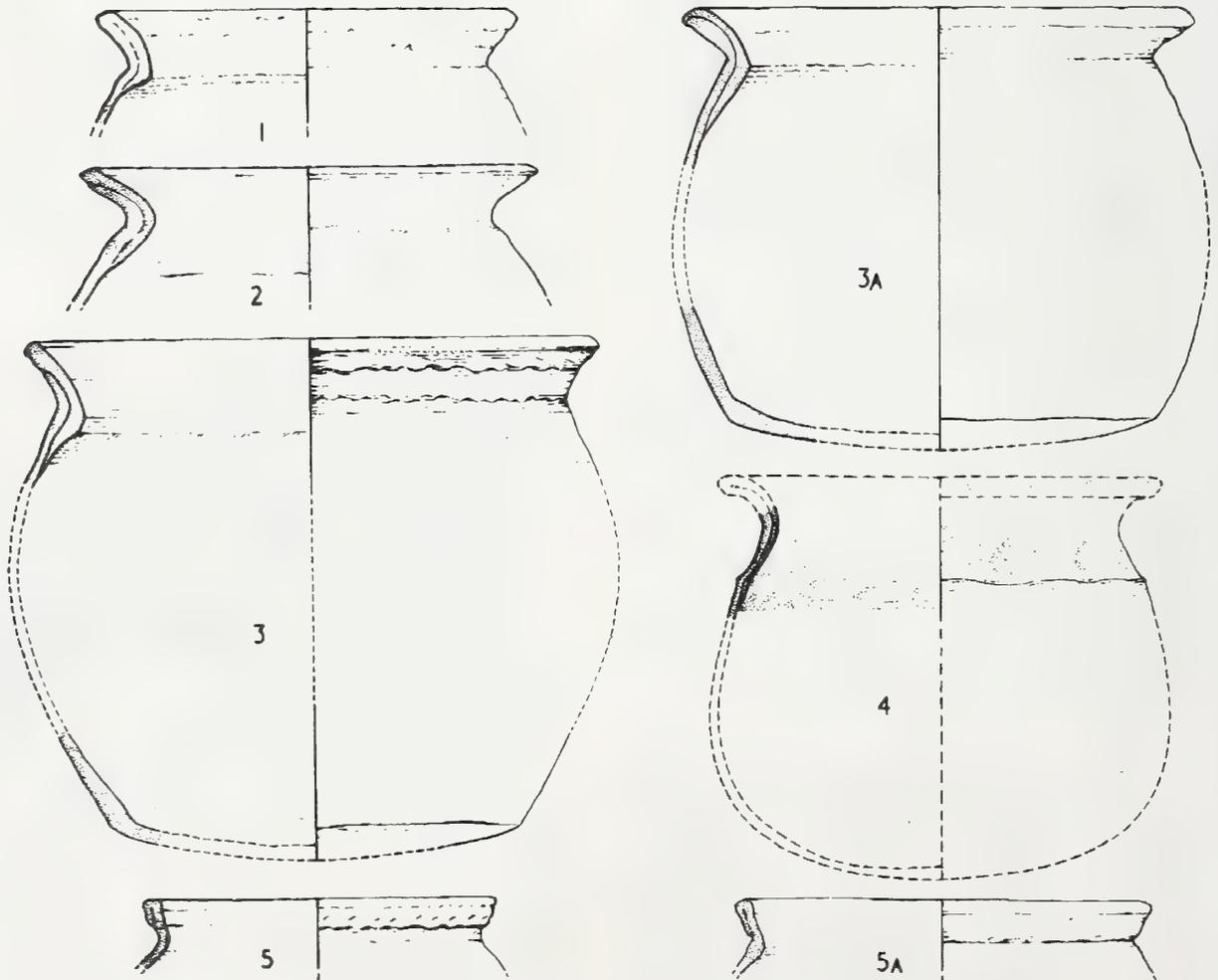


Figure 7. Avebury: Late Saxon pottery from Avebury (nos. 1-3 and 4-5) and Oxford (nos. 3a and 5a) (x 1/4)

orange or brown over the buff or light red fabrics and a dirty olive green over the grey, both these due to iron. At Avebury there are few examples of the bright green copper-containing glazes (either uniform or speckled) covering the oxidized buff-red fabrics. There are a few jugs with white pipeclay pads or strips or painting, and applied pads of dark rich brown were also used; both these probably came from the Salisbury Plain area.

(ii) *Late Saxon Pottery (Fig. 7)*. Some understanding of pottery of this age in Wessex is just beginning to emerge. At Avebury it may be sought mainly among the cooking-pots with plain rim flanges. Those with characteristic thickening under the shoulder and at the neck (Fig. 7.1–3) have been found in Late Saxon contexts (compare for instance, Dunning *et al.* 1959, 32, fig. 8.3, 5, 8; Jope 1958, 40–1), but not in general in contexts continuing much into the 12th century. This feature has resulted from strengthening the rim flange by folding over inwards and luting down under the shoulder. Sometimes the rim flange itself has been built up by adding a flat strip of clay to a small stumpy tapering flange left at the top of the hand-built body, and luting it down under the shoulder, as shown in the profiles, Fig. 7.3–5. In some cases (e.g. Fig. 7.2) the top of the body has been thinned by tool-trimming down the outside from the shoulder, and the static fingermarks applying the counter-pressure may be detected on the inside under the shoulder. The hollow of the neck has been finished on the outside by finger-moulding (Fig. 7.2) or swiping round with the finger; the latter combined with tool-trimming of the shoulder was a technique of Saxon potters which persisted in 12th century potting (cp. Jope and Threlfall 1959, fig. 9.1; Jope 1958, 39, 46–7, 50), though not much in evidence among the 12th century types at Avebury (cp. Fig. 7.4). These vessels were not wheel-thrown; they were hand-modelled, but many were finished by hand-swiping round the top, between the fingers of the two hands, which itself has accentuated the characteristic profile. Most of these cooking-pots by analogy with those from sites further south, were probably of baggy shape with rounded bases and base-angle (without more complete profiles this cannot be clearly shown), or at most a gentle base-angle (Fig. 7.3).

Some of the thinner simple rim flanges could be Late Saxon (cp. Fig. 7.5a, from under Oxford castle-mound, pre-1070; Jope 1952–3, 84), but might equally well be somewhat later, as the types remained in current use into the 12th century.

No scratch-marked body sherds are preserved at

Avebury, though one piece of sandy fabric (Fig. 7.4) would, by analogy with Old Sarum pottery (Stone and Charlton 1935, 187, fig 42, from pit with coin of William I; Morgan 1958) have had a baggy body scratch-marked on the outside, a style well known further south from later 11th century contexts (Dunning 1950, 33–41; Dunning *et al.* 1959, 33, fig. 9.8; Stone and Charlton 1935, 187). Avebury would be on the northern fringes of the real area of this type (Dunning 1950, 41; 1959, 70). The rather coarse friable sandy fabric usual on the earlier scratch-marked ware is rare at Avebury, its sand or sandy clay being perhaps not easily available on the chalk.

(iii) *Cooking-pots of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries (Fig. 8)*. No St. Neot's ware was found; it is not so far known west of Hinton Waldrist, near Faringdon, Berkshire (Jope and Gardiner 1940, 49–60; Jope 1947, 55; Jope 1956, 254–5). It is now doubtful whether its influence is to be seen in the westward distribution of the inturned-rim bowl type (see below), for these bowls seem about a century later and are not found in 12th century contexts. A similar problem is presented by the smooth slightly shelly fabrics which became the basis of a whole class of West Country pottery in the 13th century, and which might be thought a continuation from sub-St. Neot's wares; this was probably not so west of Oxford, though it may have been in, say, Bedfordshire. Fig. 8.6 is of a smooth fabric which might almost be termed 'sub-St. Neot's' ware; it does raise the question whether this kind of fabric may be ancestral to the harder-fired ware of this class characteristic of Wessex and the South Cotswolds in the 13th century (see below), but it is one isolated example with no context; there is no demonstrable sequence to trace through the 12th century.

The cooking-pot type with almost vertical sides and clubbed rim (Fig. 8.1–2) is in origin a Late Saxon type, flourishing most in the 11th century and declining during the earlier 12th; commonest in the Cotswold area to the west of Oxford (Jope 1952–3, 93–4; 1958, 48; somewhat revised in Jope and Threlfall 1959, 240–1; map, 251). These two Avebury examples are southerly outliers on the fringe of the distribution; such simple coarse pottery can hardly have been traded over any distance, and the fabric of one at least suggests it was made within the chalk area, on which the type is otherwise hardly known (another outlier is from Monk Sherborne, Hampshire).

Finger-tipping of the type seen on the outer edge of Fig. 8.3 is found on a pot sealed under the rampart at Bramber Castle, Sussex (therefore, probably later

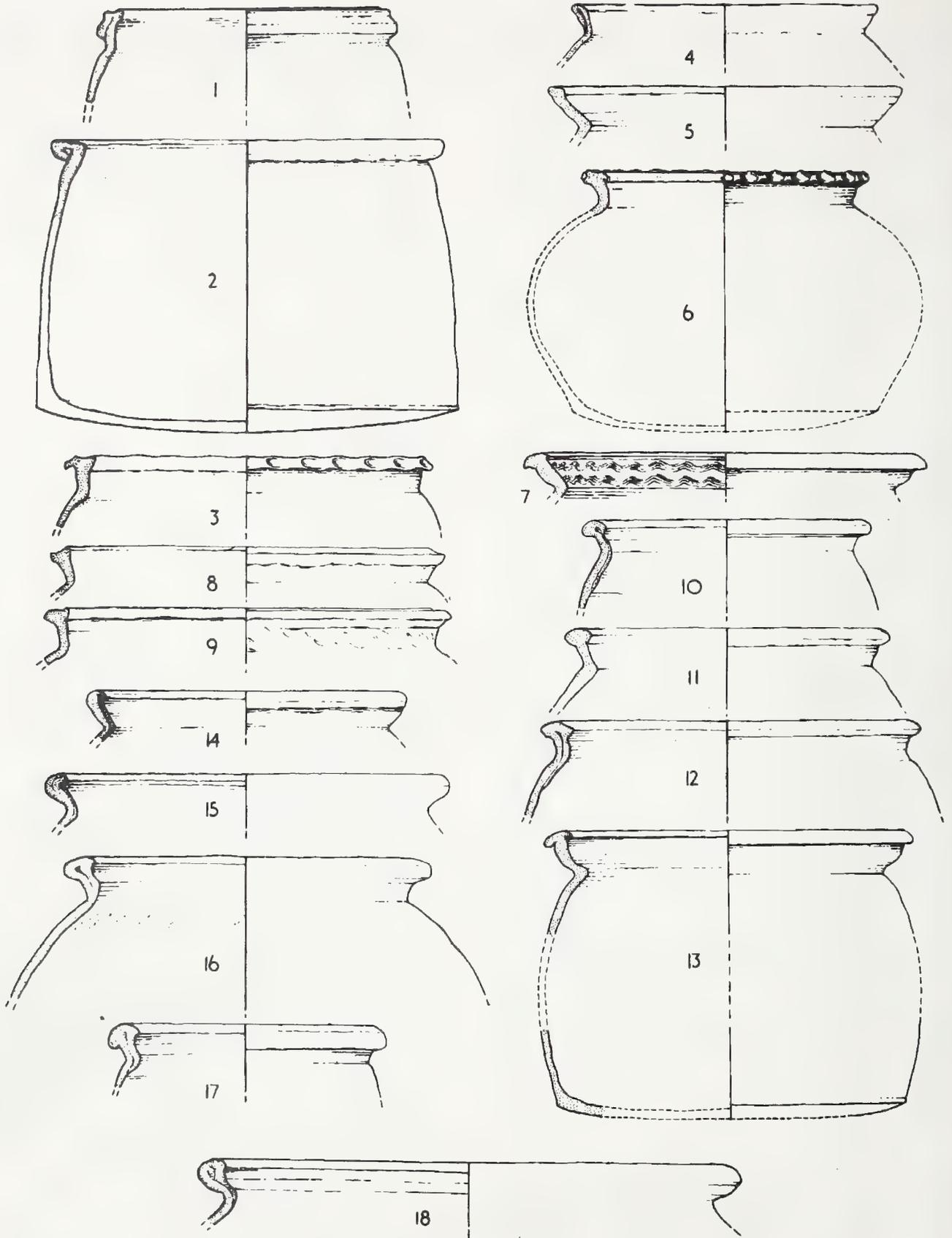


Figure 8 Avebury: Cooking pots of the 12th and 13th centuries from Avebury (x 1/4)

11th century; Duke and Curwen 1927, 243; and also Barton and Holden 1977, 16-17). More restrained finger-tipping may be seen on some rims from pits under the Oxford castle-mound (pre-c. 1070; Jope 1952-3, 84), and this last group serves to remind us that some simple coarse cooking-pottery hitherto considered '12th century' may in fact be earlier.

Cooking-pots and bowls of late 11th — 12th century types are largely a continuation of the Late Saxon tradition, their post-Saxon date being indicated by certain features of fabric, glaze, or nuances of shape. The rims are more thickly moulded at the edge by folding (inwards or outwards) and occasionally more developed finger-pressing (for reasonably datable twelfth century groups, see Jope

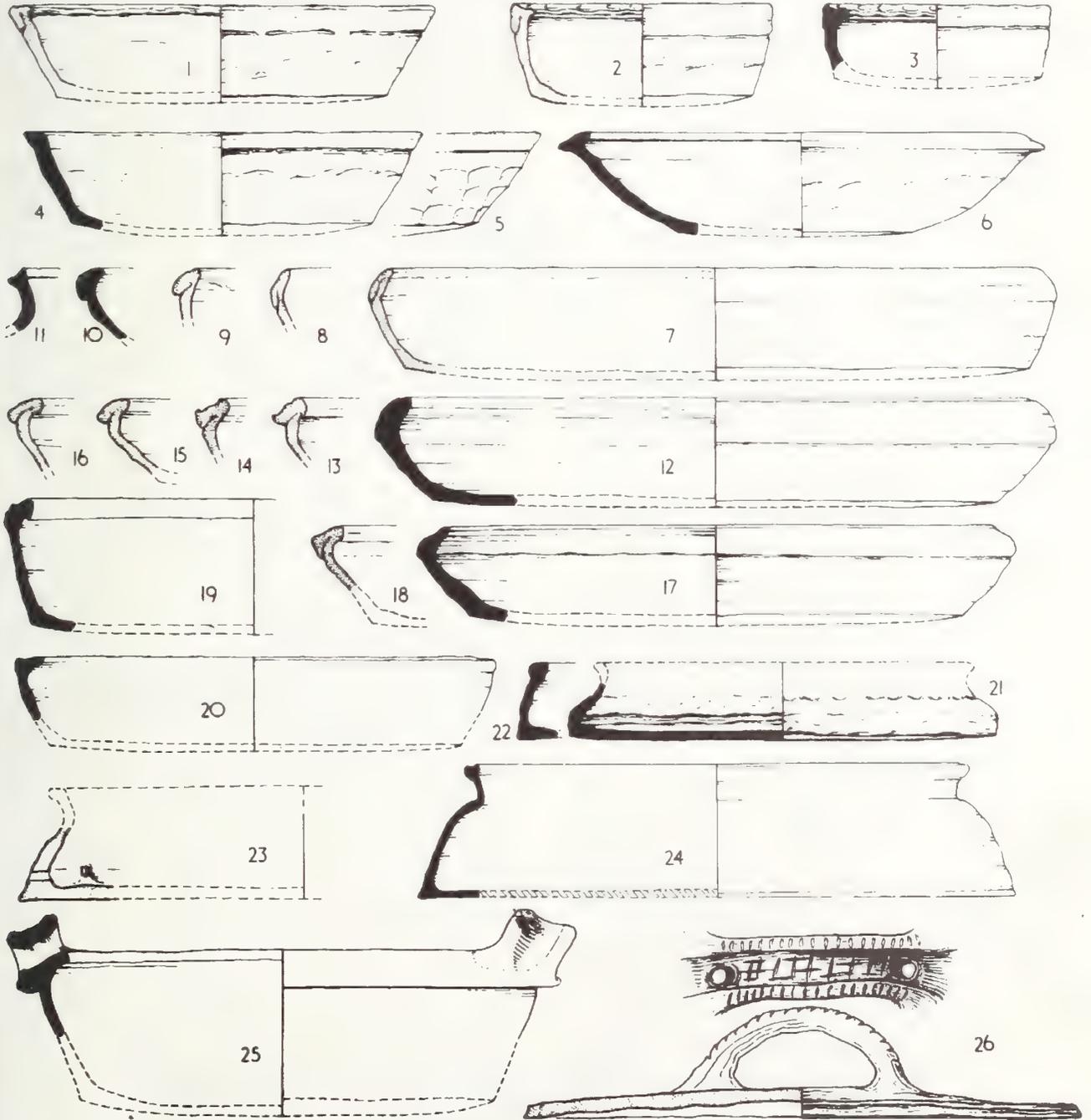


Figure 9 Avebury: Bowls, dishes, pan and fire cover of the 12th and 13th centuries from Avebury (nos. 1-2, 4-9 and 12-23), Notley Abbey, Bucks. (no. 3), Nether Wallop, Hants. (nos. 10-11), Durrington, Wilts (no. 24), West Woodhay, Berks. (no. 25) and the Kennet valley (no. 26) (x 1/4)

and Threlfall 1959; Jope *et al.* 1950; Jope 1958.). Even simple rims, however, such as Fig. 8.5, may have been still in use into the 13th century, as this type persisted further to the south-west, in Somerset and beyond (Jope and Threlfall 1958).

(iv) *Bowls and dishes of the 12th and 13th centuries* (Fig. 9). Bowls or wide pans with inturned rims are fairly numerous among the Avebury pottery. This style can hardly have been developed in this area out of the 11th century St. Neot's ware inturned-rim bowls, for examples found in context are usually of the 13th century, and there is no continuing tradition of the shape traceable through the 12th century to the west of Oxford; 12th century levels there yield only bowls with straighter rim flanges (e.g. Fig. 9. 2–3). At Deddington Castle (north Oxfordshire) however a deposit of the mid-12th century has yielded a bowl 230 mm across with simple inturned rim as Fig. 9.7–8, and a similar bowl was found at Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire) with a tripod-pitcher probably of the later 12th century, so it is possible that the continuous development of the inturned bowls or pans is to be traced to the east or north-east. The distribution of these inturned-rim pans in harder rougher fabric may thus represent a later south-westward spreading influence of this style. Considering how near the westward fringe of the distribution Avebury lies, the abundance of the type here is remarkable.

Some pans of this rim form, when sufficiently preserved, prove to have had two strap handles rising from the rim top (Fig. 9.25); this style seems to have a Kennet Valley distribution (Reading, Hampstead Marshall, West Woodhay, Newbury, Avebury), that from Reading being found in a pit with the tube-spouted pitcher (Fig. 12.3): handled pans of this style are also found in Kent.

These rims are almost all formed by turning inwards a long thin flange and then folding it back outwards over itself, consolidating the thus thickened rim by varying degrees of finger-pressure and smoothing. The variant range of profiles illustrated all result from nuances of this one basic procedure, already much used on the St. Neot's ware prototypes. The base-angle has been finished off by hand-swiping, the burr at the angle revealing the direction of the last movements of the potter's hands. The characteristic concavity of profile just above the base angle (e.g. Fig. 9.17) suggests that the convex base was the result of bending outwards from a flat base, and in some cases the downward burr at the angle suggests that the formation of this convex base was the last

operation, done after hand smoothing, the result of internal pressure and not the result of lifting by the rim to ease the large base area off a flat bat.

There are a few bowls or pans with plain upstanding rims, some being knife-trimmed down to the base-angle, the dragged-grit grooves showing it was done after the clay had lost its plasticity, and had dried to leather-hard state. Some rims, including the latter, may have been parts of high-domed lids, or fire-covers, such as were used to cover embers, especially those with blackening inside (Fig. 9.4–5), or with an ornamented base angle. The large handles with holes at each end, on a flattish surface, found on a number of Wiltshire sites (Jope and Threlfall 1946–7, 169–170), were in fact parts of just such fire-covers, an item in use widely over Britain and on the Continent in the 13th century (Hurst 1959). Fig. 9.26 shows a reconstruction based on more complete Wiltshire examples; sherds of ornamented base-angles or with applied finger-pressed bands may in fact often indicate such fire-covers, and more reconstructions are needed. Such fire-covers for covering the embers at night were a much needed part of peasant life, for keeping the embers aglow through the night and, even more, for protecting from sparks the combustible timber-built thatched peasant house.

By contrast, the flat-based wide shallow vessels, looking like the truncated parts of a cooking-pot (Fig. 9.21–24), are a westerly type extending northwards up the Cotswolds into the west midlands, and found even in Yorkshire (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 242, 254; Jope 1963; for Yorkshire: Brewster 1952; Hurst 1959). It is in the main a 12th century type, perhaps originating in the 11th, and continuing into the 13th at any rate in south Wiltshire (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 254), and in Yorkshire. No clear purpose for this type has so far been demonstrated; many have small holes in the wall, made before firing (Fig. 9.23), and I have suggested that they may have been used to hold glowing charcoal, with a pot set on the rim, the equivalent of the later chafing-dish (Jope 1952a, 71–5). Alternatively they may have been for preserving the continuity of available flame by keeping glowing embers for many hours.

(v) *'Selsley Common' ware* (Fig. 10). Another distinctive class of utility pottery is made of a fairly hard uniform fabric, in which the homogeneous plasticity of the clay seems to have been a main aim of the potters and is reflected in rather elegant shapes and precise moulding of the rims. The fabric has a grey to black core, with uniform white flecking, and light reddish surface layers about 1 mm thick, carrying

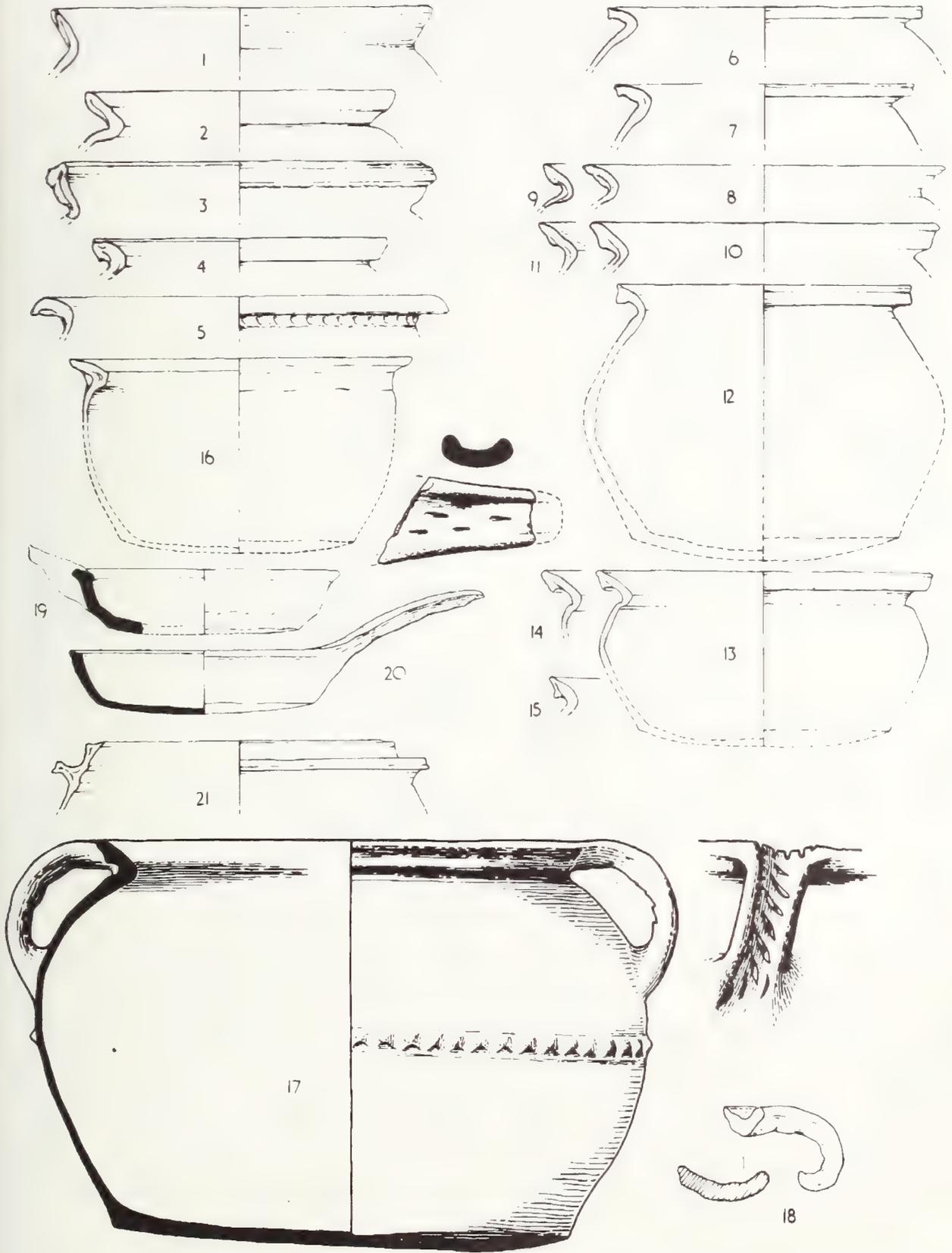


Figure 10 Avebury: Vessels of 'Selsley Common' ware from Avebury (nos. 1-16 and 18-21) and Wood Street, Swindon, Wilts. (no. 17) (x 1/4)

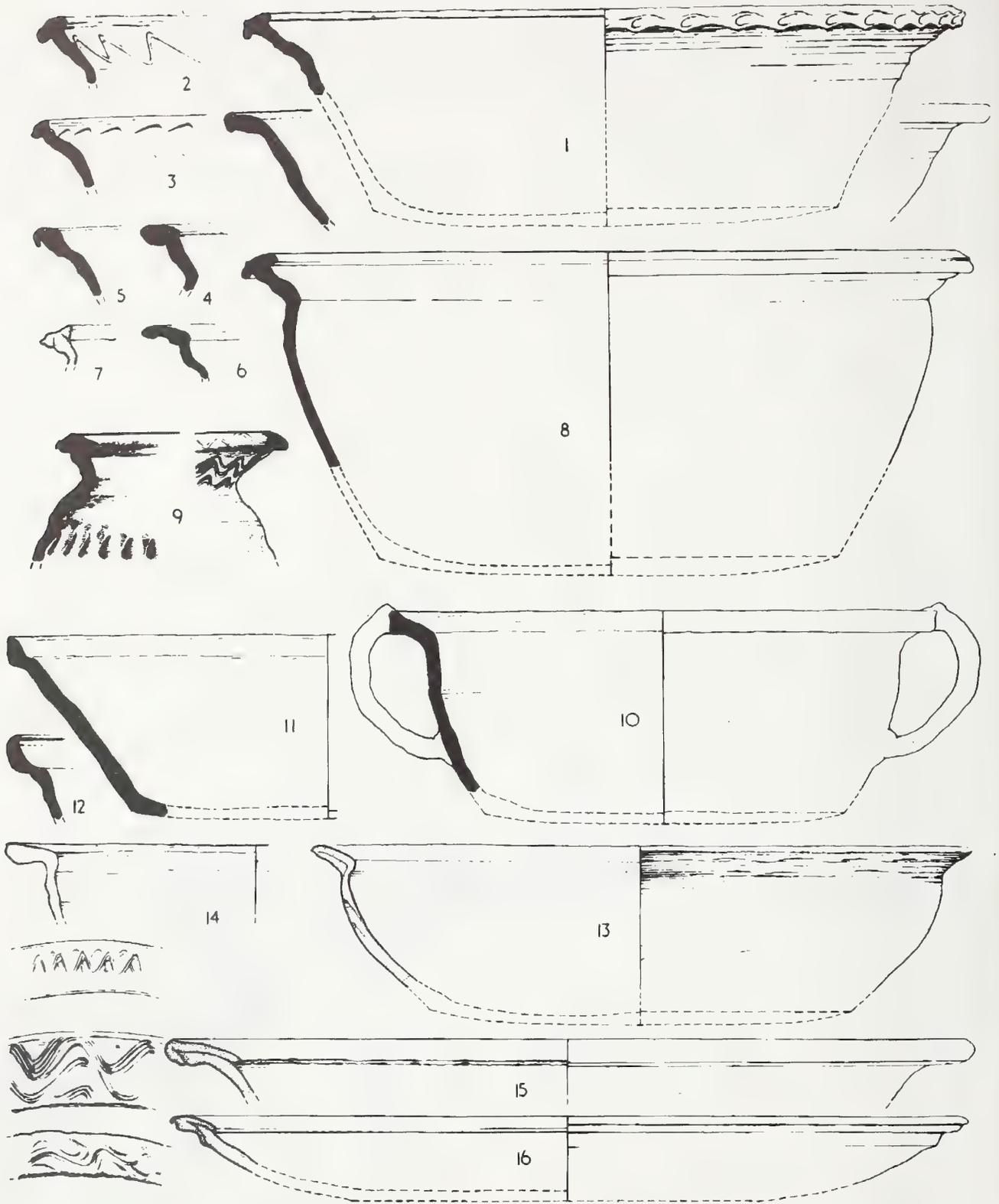


Figure 11 Avebury: Large pans of the 13th century (nos. 1-14) and plates of the late Middle Ages (nos. 15-16) from Avebury (nos. 1-9, 11 and 13-16), Gloucester (no. 10) and Ascot Doilly, Oxon (no. 12) (x 1/4)

a perfunctory wash of thin greenish glaze, sometimes rather opaque and poorly fired, and though with a lead-silicate basis, often containing a high proportion of tin. It has been called 'Selsley Common' ware (Dunning 1949; Barton 1960; Biddle 1961–2; Jope 1952b), and the distinctive ware, shapes and features have a Cotswold-West Country distribution.

All the available evidence points to its currency through the 13th century. It may have continued into the 14th century, and though its fabric, techniques and shapes often suggest roots in the Late Saxon (St. Neot's) tradition, no continuity can be demonstrated in the area west of Oxford, and indeed no site has so far produced examples datable to the mid-12th century (though there are occasional possible transition forms). In this the picture is analogous with the inturned-rim bowls discussed above.

Avebury, in the heart of the distribution area (Jope 1952b) has produced abundant examples well illustrating the range of shapes. Rim shapes are characteristically moulded, the outcome of finger-manipulation of a sympathetic and responsive clay-preparation; most of them have been thickened by folding the flange under at the edge and consolidating by moulding the under surface. A few have the neck strengthened by a clay band smoothed or marvered into the hollow (Fig. 10.16). Some show techniques of construction reminiscent of the Late Saxon tradition, making the lack of a 12th century continuity the more surprising.

In addition to the range of rim shapes, a few examples of this type from other sites in the area are included to illustrate complete vessel shapes: the restoration of Fig. 10.12 is based on a complete pot of the same type from Oxford, with knife-trimming round the base-angle (Jope 1948, 69, fig. 14.17); Fig. 10.17 comes from Wood Street, Swindon and was found with another lacking handles (cp. Seacourt, Berkshire; Jope 1947, 59, fig. 5.6); the reconstruction of Fig. 10.20 is based on a complete vessel from Ascot Doilly (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 264, K4).

Some of these vessels of cooking-pot type have skillet-type handles (Fig. 10.18), and there are also large two-handled vessels of this type (Fig. 10.17; see Borenius and Charlton 1936, 79, for an early 14th century example from Clarendon Palace near Salisbury), as well as the pans noted above (Figs 10.25 and 10.10). Fig. 14.16 survived as a single leg, longer than those of the tripod-pitchers and probably of a pottery cauldron in imitation of the cast bronze two-handled three-legged cauldrons in general use from the 13th century; for 13th century evidence see Marshall 1950, 68 (bronze), and Thompson 1956

(pottery); for pottery imitations see Ward-Perkins 1940, 224–5; Dunning 1948, 235, fig. 67. Large storage vessels with finger-pressed applied strips are uncommon among the Avebury pottery; in any case such sherds with applied strips may sometimes be parts of fire-covers.

Fig. 10.21 is the top of a jar with an external flange for lid-seating, a vigorously-modelled 13th century example of a type in use from then onwards into the 16th century; they were perhaps being made at or near Ascot Doilly in the 13th century (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 264–5) and certainly at Potterspury in Northamptonshire in the early 14th century, and examples from round Oxford are by their fabrics 15th and 16th centuries (Jope 1949; 1950; Jope and Ivens 1995). For this type the lid must be like an inverted straight-sided bowl. There are also a number of bung-holes, usually set near the base of large tall vessels (Sturdy 1959).

(vi) *Large pans of the 13th century and plates of the later Middle Ages (Fig. 11).* Among these 'Selsley' wares a few large pans and flat plates may represent this fabric tradition continuing into the 14th century. They are more heavily built than the earlier vessels with the top of the rim-flange being added on as a flat band with little or no attempt to smooth out the junction (Fig. 11.15–16); such junctions were carefully obscured in the earlier work. These vessels have combed wavy lines on top of the rim flanges, otherwise even simple combed ornament is hardly found on this whole class at Avebury, whereas decoration on this class of pottery from some other places (Jope 1952b) may suggest more than one centre of manufacture.

The large wide pans with out-turned rim-flanges were probably commonest during the first half of the 13th century although the type was being developed during the later part of the 12th century (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 243, 255). Vessels of this type are numerous among the Avebury pottery, and were fairly common throughout the West Country (Jope 1944), though occasional examples of similarly shaped vessels are found widely in England. These pans sometimes have a little wavy combed or finger-nail ornament or finger-pressure on the rim edge. With no reconstructable complete profile among the Avebury pottery, it is only possible to illustrate the range of shapes in terms of vessels from other sites in the area.

(vii) *Pitchers of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries (Figs 12–14).* Figs 12–14 have been designed to give some idea of the range of jugs and pitchers, glazed or

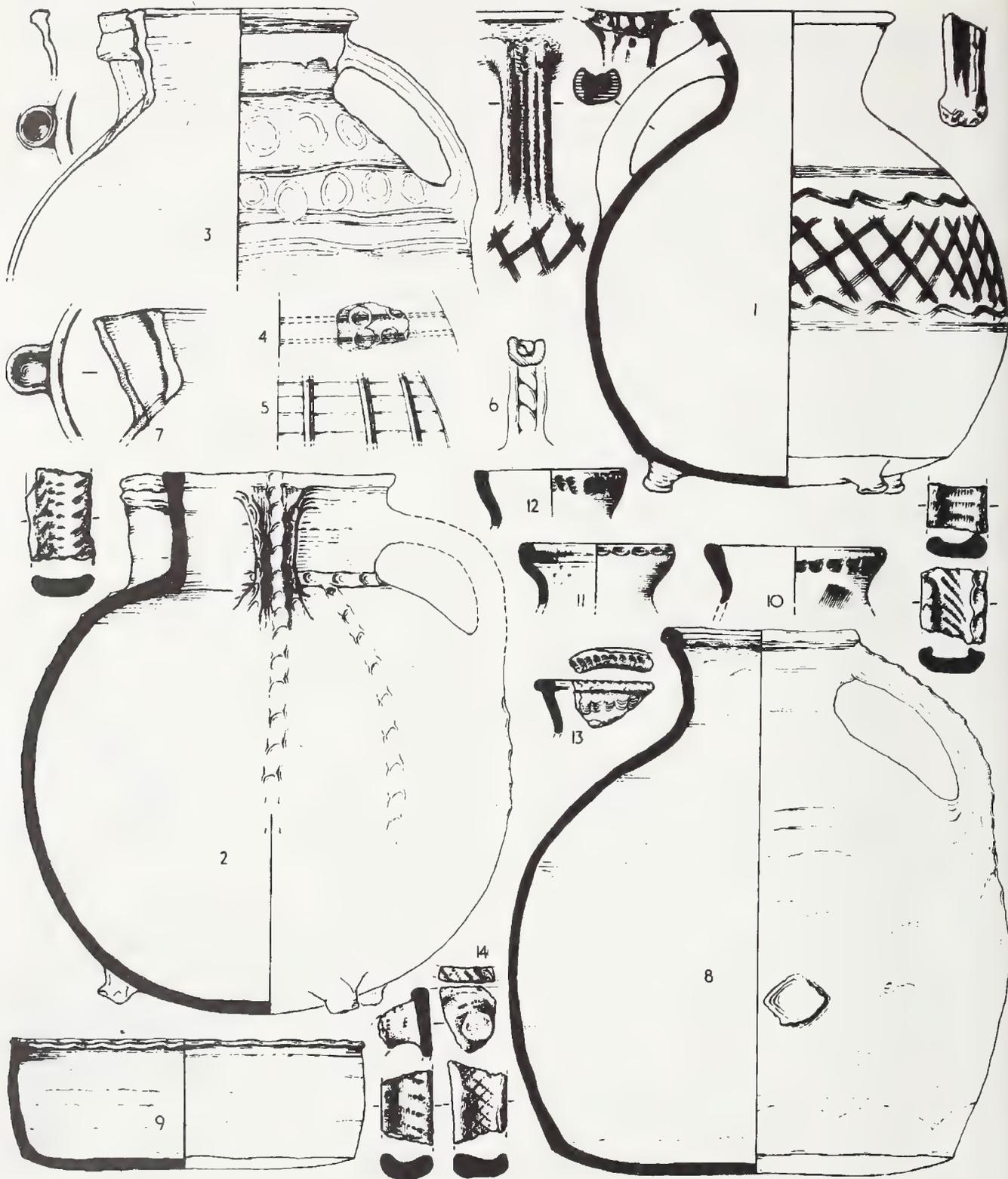


Figure 12 Avebury: Pitchers of the 12th and 13th centuries from Avebury (nos. 1, 4, 5-7 and 10-14), Marlborough, Wilts. (no. 2), Reading, Berks. (no. 3) and Tidcombe, Wilts. (nos. 8-9) (x 1/4)

unglazed, plain or decorated, in use at Avebury from the 12th to the 14th century, as inferable from the mass of small sherds preserved. Reconstructions have been shown where possible, based on comparable more complete vessels, from places not too far distant.

The earliest of these, baggy pitchers, are of c. 1100 or the early 12th century. They are related to the spouted tripod-pitcher series, already it seems in use in the Salisbury–Winchester area by the end of the 11th century (Stone and Charlton 1935, 189–90), and being made in the Oxford region in the early 12th century, by c. 1120 (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 256–62; Jope 1958, 54); hence this type may perhaps have been an idea disseminated northwards (Bruce-Mitford 1940). Several sub-styles in tripod-pitchers can be distinguished, which need mapping in detail.

These earliest Avebury pitchers are in a calcareous fabric, very like that of the contemporary cooking-pots, mostly unglazed, and the fragments may represent a variety of shapes. A few have a thin wash of dirty greenish glaze, fired rather poorly and under reducing conditions, the green being due to reduced iron. Among the whole Avebury collection there is one fragment of a rim of a jug in a coarse friable sandy fabric like that of the early jugs at Old Sarum (Stone and Charlton 1935, 189–190), and two pieces of the harsher sandy ware with good glaze of the usual Oxford tripod spouted-pitcher type (Fig. 12.4–5) of the early to mid-12th century. At Ascot Doilly (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 256–265) for instance, there were two Oxford-type tripod-pitchers to about eight examples made of calcareous fabrics closely comparable to the Avebury series. The latter type are usual in the West Country, through Wiltshire and south Gloucestershire to Bristol and Gloucester, whereas only a very few are found among the Oxford groups of tripod-pitchers at Oxford itself.

The series of tripod-pitchers are in general structurally similar. They seem often to have had necks added (Jope 1958, 52–3, pl. IIA) to the baggy body (itself perhaps sometimes hand-built; cp. Fig. 12.2). The handles have been formed by wrapping a strip of clay round two or three pencils of clay, which may be twisted together, Fig. 12.1, 6 (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 262; Jope 1958, 53), dowelled into a hole in the neck at the top and luted on at the bottom. The strip was then pressed firmly in place and luted well to the neck and to the body (sometimes by smearing down and even continuing as a decorative applied strip). The junctions were then sometimes wrapped finally with a further strip. The twisted-rope handle is a distinctive Oxford type, Fig. 12.6 being the only Avebury

example. There are others from Hullesey near Cirencester, Cirencester, Gloucester, and outliers occur even as far west as the Glamorgan plain.

Unglazed pitchers, not necessarily all baggy, in a hard calcareous fabric with some crushed flint, grey all through or with very light red surfaces, were also being used during the 12th century, and are represented by strap-handles with a variety of combed or jabbed ornament (Fig. 12.8, 10–14), and some handles of cylinder section. The rims have restrained finger-tip ornament or combing, and pinched lips.

Pitchers with frilled bands applied round the top of the neck (Fig. 13.1–4) were developed in Wiltshire and the Bristol hinterland during the earlier 13th century, to judge from the fabrics (and perhaps developed from the band clasping 12th century tripod-pitcher spouts; Jope 1958, 53). This is a style made by potters working at a number of different centres, as again shown by the fabrics. They were being made in a hard sandier fabric in the kilns of the second half of the 13th century, at Ham Green near Bristol for instance (Barton 1963). The type is also to be found along the south Welsh coastlands and in Ireland up the Irish Sea coastlands into Ulster, where they occur in contexts of the later 13th — early 14th century (Waterman 1959, 160). This perhaps illustrates the influence of Bristol over the trade of this area, though in Ireland, especially in the north, they were not all traded pots; they were also being made locally. The absence of this type from pottery groups of this period in south-west Scotland may be noted. Avebury thus lies on the easterly fringe of the Bristol hinterland in this respect. The available evidence suggests that this style may have been developed first in the north Wiltshire — south Gloucestershire area, that from it the Bristol area potters were influenced, and in turn their traded products (and perhaps sometimes migrating potters themselves) influenced the potting styles of the Irish Pale and Ulster into the later 13th century. The style is also to be seen in North-east England, in probably yet later contexts (Jarrett and Edwards 1961, 243–4, 246, 270), perhaps an independent development.

(viii) *13th century glazed jugs (Figs 13–14)*. Some details of jug construction may be illustrated from among the Avebury sherds, though the actual jug shapes may only be inferred (and that only occasionally) by analogy with more complete vessels elsewhere. It is not possible, for instance, to show conclusively the presence of a tall baluster jug, though fragments seem to indicate a tall jug of this type (Fig. 14.12).

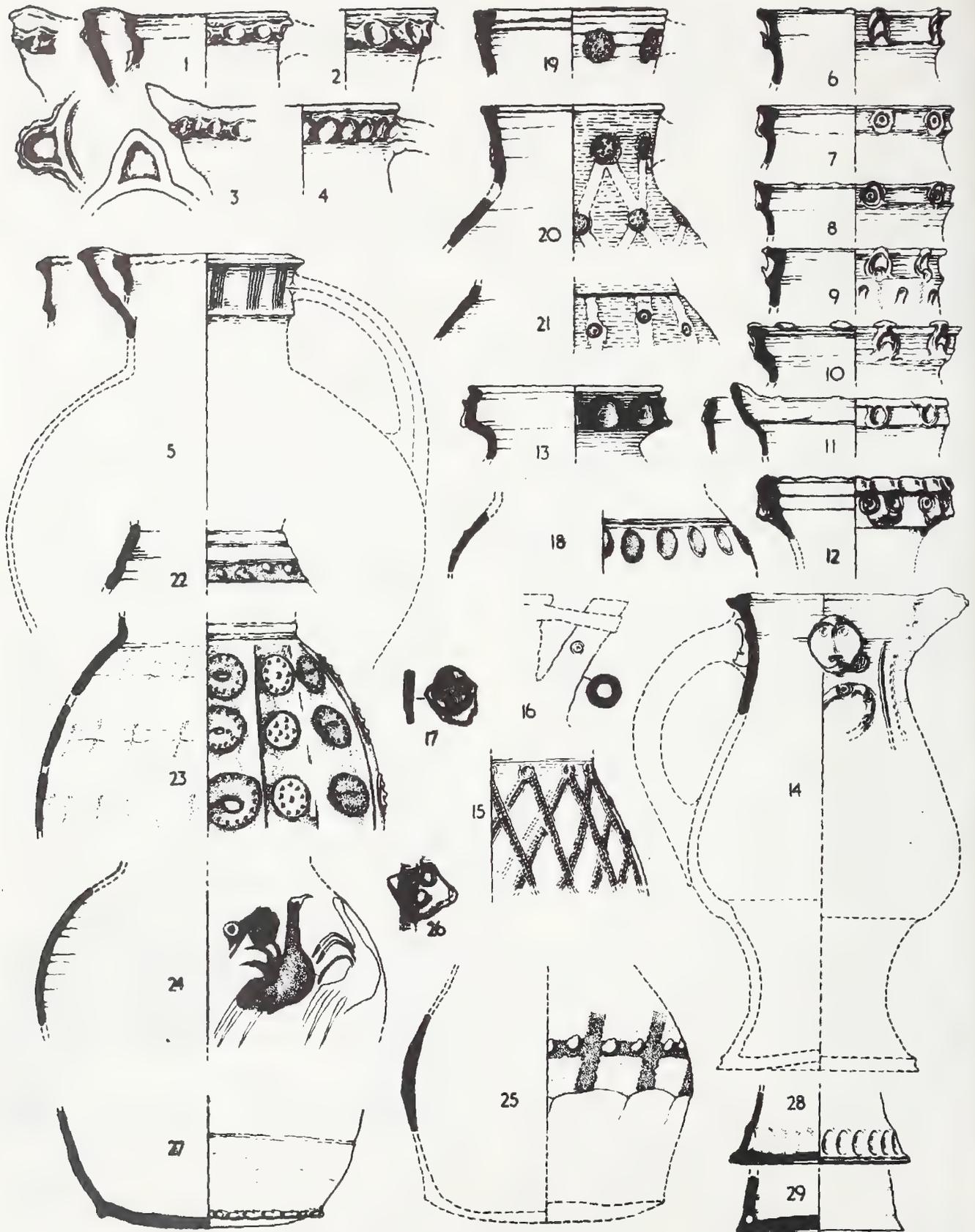


Figure 13 Avebury: Glazed pitchers of the 13th century from Avebury (nos. 1-2, 4-13, 15-22 and 24-29), Hullasey, Glos. (no. 3), Gloucester (no. 14) and Clarendon Palace, Wilts. (no. 23) ( $\times \frac{1}{4}$ )

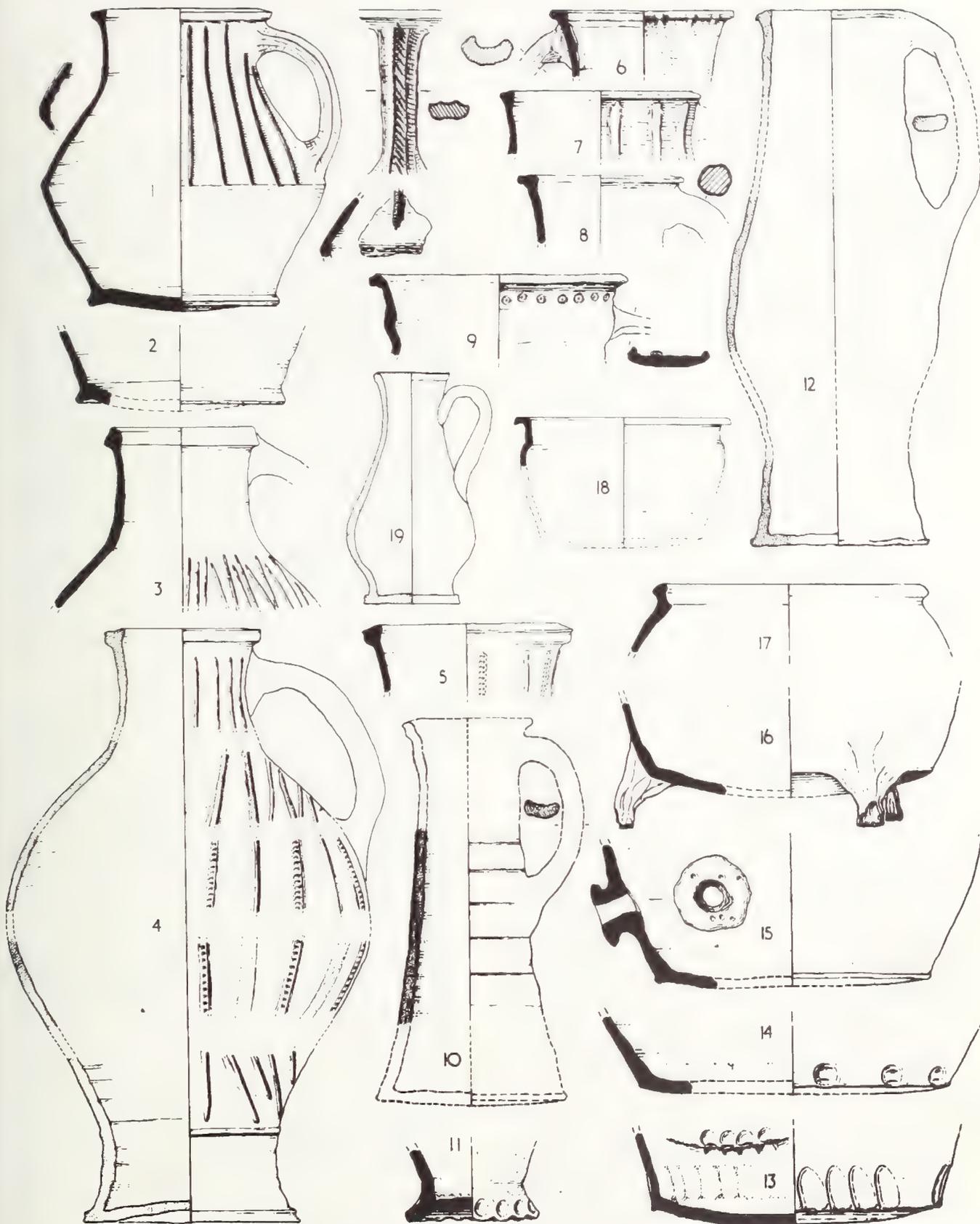


Figure 14 Avebury: Later 13th and 14th-century and later medieval pottery from Avebury (nos. 2-18), Northampton (no. 1) and Eastleach Turville, Glos. (no. 19) (x 1/4)

Bridge-spouted jugs are a widespread type of the 13th century (made usually by applying a beak, Fig. 13.1, 3, 5, related to the D-spout rather than by inserting a bridge across a pinched spout). There is one fragment of a tubular spout (Fig. 13.16), again a widespread type.

Handles are mostly straps, sometimes with slashing, jabbing or finger-pressing, with some rod- or bar-handles; finger-and-thumb marks flanking the top of the handle or at its base are hardly seen among the Avebury pottery.

The plastic detail of the 13th century may be seen, though fragmentarily, among the sherds. There are no very naturalistic face-masks, though a good stylized version is seen under the rims of Fig. 13.12, 14. The latter is related to a type current in the middle part of the 13th century and frequent in Oxford (20 examples; Bruce-Mitford 1939; Jope 1942b), with isolated exactly similar examples at Gloucester and Pevensey. The stylized form grades imperceptibly into the simpler frill under the rim, as seen from Clyffe Pypard (Fig. 13.13). Another simple but distinctive variant is the applied oval pad under the rim (Fig. 13.6–11), which has a restricted distribution over Wiltshire and north Somerset, with Avebury on its north-easterly fringe (Jope 1951b). Examples of these types were found at White Castle, Glamorgan (O'Neil 1935). The effective occupation of White Castle has now been shown to have continued into the later 13th century (Hurst 1962–3a), but that does not imply all the pottery was of that date. With this style goes also the use of impressed dot-and-circle stamps (much used by the Laverstock potters; Musty *et al.* 1969, 114, fig. 13.68) on applied strips or small pads of clay, or merely on the naked body; though a little more widespread, it is particularly seen in the Salisbury area, in Wiltshire generally, and west into Somerset. Once again Avebury is on the north-east fringe of distribution, and it is not found northwards into the Oxford region. There are also applied medallions of rich dark brown clay ornamented with stamps, and animals modelled in low relief in the same rich brown clay (Fig. 13.24), of a fabric and style closely paralleled from Clarendon Palace (Borenus and Charlton 1936) and presumably made in the Salisbury area.

Applied strips in contrasting colours are used, including white pipeclay strips and pads (Fig. 13.20, 22, 26), again known from the Salisbury area (cp. the Laverstock kilns; Musty *et al.* 1969), but hardly found in the Oxford region. There are a few examples of white pipeclay slip over buff or red fabrics, under a transparent yellowish or greenish glaze (Fig. 13.11, 19). The fabric and glaze-colours, reds, orange,

browns, yellows, and shades of olive green, are almost entirely due to iron in oxidized or reduced form; in comparatively few instances has copper been added to give a more brilliant green, maintained even over the red of fabrics fired under oxidizing conditions.

A few jug fragments have white or red painted stripes (Figs 13.25; 14.6), in a style commoner in eastern England than in Wessex. A small piece with neat white painted circles (Fig. 12.4) has a close parallel for painted circles, glaze and fabric, in a large globular spouted pitcher (probably a tripod) from Friar Street, Reading (Fig. 12.3).

A few fragments are recognizable as products of the kilns at Brill, Buckinghamshire, 12 miles east of Oxford, of the later 13th — earlier 14th centuries (Fig. 14.1). The utility pottery with distinctive rims from these kilns is not found beyond a radius of about 20 miles, but the finer glazed jugs were carried 60 miles north-east as far as Cambridge, 50 miles west to Gloucester, and 45 miles south-west, where again Avebury lies on the fringe of the dispersal (Jope 1952a; 1953–4); to north and south the range is only 30 miles. The applied vertical strip with roulette pattern square to the strip (rather than the more usual slantwise) is an Oxford type, also being made at the Brill kilns. So also were the biconical jugs with applied vertical strips on the upper half (Fig. 14.1).

(ix) *Pottery of the 14th and 15th centuries* (Fig. 14.4, 8, 11, 15, 17–19). There is virtually no pottery from Avebury ascribable on present evidence to the late 14th or 15th centuries; a few pieces from plain jugs in hard-fired ware may be late 14th century (Fig. 14.8, 11), but are not necessarily so late. A type of pale buff pottery with a variety of shapes has been distinguished in Oxford as of the late 14th — 15th centuries (Jope 1942a), and this is found to some extent in settlements in the countryside west of Oxford (e.g. Longworth, Berkshire, Cirencester, and Eastleach, Gloucestershire, Fig. 14.19). At Avebury it is represented by the rim of a small pot (Fig. 14.18) of a type shown to have been in use already by the later 14th century (Jope 1942a, 77, fig. 20.13–4; 1942b; 1948, 69; cp. Biddle 1961–2), and by a rim fragment of a pot (Fig. 14.17) perhaps of the 15th century. This latter type occurs also in a hard white-flecked fabric, suggesting that this was still being used into the 15th century (cp. the bung-hole, Fig. 14.15). Some of these larger vessels, such as the elegant swelling baluster holding nearly half a gallon (e.g. Fig. 14.4) may have been used for ale at communal drinking.

MEDIEVAL POTTERY – DESCRIPTIONS

*Fig. 7. Later Saxon Pottery*

1 Simple thick out-flared rim flange, with sharp angle at neck; of grey lumpy fabric coarsely gritted with broken shell (probably fossil), 2– 4 mm. The rim is built in two layers (perhaps by folding) luted together under the shoulder. The shape, though well formed, could have been modelled by swiping, and need not have been wheel-thrown or even finished by continuously rotational work. From XI S.W. ext.

2 Upper part of pot with simple rim-flange, thinner towards outer edge (which has been flattened with the fingers). The rim-flange has apparently been formed by adding a separate strip of clay on the inside and lapping down under the shoulder, giving the characteristic thickening. The fabric is dark grey, rather friable and easily abraded, with a 1 mm thick brown surface layer; it has a poor non-cohesive matrix, and grits mostly of water-rounded quartz particles about 0.2 – 1 mm with some more angular and slightly larger cherty particles. From the upper level of burning-pit for Avenue stone-hole 72a.

3 Parts of base and simple rim-flange of cooking-pot of fine clayey fabric white-flecked with shattered flint and calcareous particles measuring 0.2 – 2 mm; grey core with light red-brown 1 mm thick surface layers, due to air penetration while still hot.

The rim-flange seems to have been formed by adding a strip of clay round the inside of a stumpy flange from the pot body, and luting down inside under the shoulder, again giving the characteristic thickening. The neck and rim have then been consolidated by progressive finger-pressure, leaving faint nail-marks in the neck and under the flange. The pot was probably not shaped by wheel-throwing as a primary process, though finished by sweeping rotatory movements of the potter's hands. The inside of the rim-flange has faint slanting ripples in the surface slurry, again due to the finishing operations. The outside of the base has been smoothed by swiping, presumably with a wet hand, the inside showing the complementary irregular finger-marks of the hand used to steady the pot, superimposed on some earlier scraping rotational marks. The pot is narrow at the base compared with the top, more characteristic of the late Saxon tradition (cp. Dunning *et al.* 1959, fig 9.3), though the equivalent vessels from Oxford are equally wide at base and rim (Jope 1958, 44–5, 66, fig. 11 A3C1). From the boundary bank, N.W. sector, cutting V.

3A Rim flange of comparable construction; from a late Saxon pit on the Clarendon Hotel site, Oxford (Jope 1958, fig 11 C1B3); fabric similar to Fig. 7.1 above, though less lumpy. The surface striations suggest that the vessel was finished off by jerky rotatory movements.

4 Upper part of cooking-pot, of fairly tough brownish sandy fabric (particles mostly 0.3 – 0.5 mm.), with black smudged surfaces. The neck and shoulder- angle have been modelled

by thumb- and finger-pressing outside and inside. The rim is missing but its general shape may be inferred from the space left up to the web between thumb and forefinger when the sherd is gripped by the imprints: it compares with the general rim-shape of such vessels (e.g., Stone and Charlton 1935, 187, fig 42, from pit with coin of William I; Morgan 1958).

This is the only hand-made cooking-pot fragment of such hard sandy fabric preserved among the Avebury collections. This ware is frequent further south, where the outside body surfaces are more usually scratch-marked (Dunning 1959 70), though there is no sign of such finish on the Avebury piece. These hand-made vessels have rounded bases, and are of the late Saxon tradition, though scratch-marking was continued with progressive refinement into the 13th century (Musty 1969, 145). Avebury unstratified.

5 Rim of small cooking-pot of clayey brown fabric with little gritting; folded over outwards and consolidated by intermittent working of fingers, some pressure- and nail-marks being seen, as already noticeable on vessels (e.g. Fig. 7.5A) pre-dating the mound and castle layout at Oxford (pre-1070) (Jope 1952–3, 84; Jope 1958, 40–1, 47); the type seems to have continued in use into the 12th century. Avebury unstratified.

*Fig. 8. Cooking-pots of the 12th and 13th centuries*

1 Top part of cooking-pot with vertical sides, of clayey white-flecked fabric with grey core and brown surfaces (Standard Fabric A); rim strengthened by an outward fold, below which is a slight shoulder (cp. Ascot type bii; Jope and Threlfall 1959, 240–1, 257). A similar example was found among the earliest material associated with Bristol Castle (shown to me by Mr Kenneth Marshall). Avebury unstratified

2 Cooking-pot with clubbed rim and almost vertical sides, splaying outwards slightly to a base wider than the rim (Ascot type bi; Jope and Threlfall 1959, 240–1, 257); fairly hard Standard A fabric. This general shape, with rims variously strengthened, is a pot-type of late Saxon ancestry in the country further north (no examples from the chalklands are yet datable quite as early): it was current (though waning) through the 12th century. Some vessels of this general type have a slight shoulder (Ascot type bii). Avebury unstratified.

3 Top part of fairly steep-sided pot with slight shoulder, of harsh flinty fabric with grey surface and core (Standard Fabric B); light finger-pressing on outer flange. Avebury unstratified.

4 Top part of small pot with slightly swelling rim flange, thickened by folding over outwards; of clayey dark grey-brown fabric with black inside and light red outside surfaces, white-flecked with flint and chalk particles, 0.2 – 2 mm, (Standard Fabric A), some leached out. From S.W. CVIII.

5 Rim of slightly bell-mouthed cooking-pot, of fairly hard

rather sandy fabric with sandpapery surfaces (particles 0.2–0.5 mm), with pale grey core and orange-buff 1 mm thick surface layers (Standard Fabric B). The shape and fabric are both exceptional among the Avebury pottery, the shape being more usual to the south-west, from which direction this vessel had probably been brought (Jope and Threlfall 1958, 129 ff). Avebury unstratified.

6 Top part of rounded cooking-pot, with rim strengthened by folding over inwards the out-flaring rim-flange, and consolidated by thumb-pressing at intervals along the outer edge. Standard Fabric B, with patches of buff on the outer surface (where air has reached while still hot). Vessels with such rims were usual through the 12th century, but already being made through the 11th, being found in the pits under Oxford castle-mound (pre-1070; Jope 1952–3, 84–9), and a good comparison came from under the bailey rampart at Bramber, Sussex (Duke and Curwen 1927, 243). Avebury unstratified.

7 Rim-flange of cooking-pot, of Standard Fabric B with buff surfaces; two rows of lightly-combed wavy lines on inside of flange. From stone-burial pit 12.

8 Rim of grey sandy fabric with buff to light red surfaces. From stone-burial pit 16.

9 Rim-flange strengthened by an abrupt inward fold; of hard-fired almost metallic dark grey fabric with some shattered flint (c. 1–4 mm) and buff surfaces blackened in places by smudging. From S.W. CX boundary bank.

10 Top part of cooking-pot with rim folded over inwards and luted down under the shoulder; Standard Fabric B with buff patches on outer surface. Avebury unstratified.

11 Top of cooking-pot, of hard slightly more clayey fabric than Fig. 8.10 (with also some finer sand); dark grey fabric with 1 mm thick reddish surface layer on outer side, but feathering to a greyish buff from the inner side of the flange and grading into grey down the interior. From S.W. CX boundary bank.

12 Top of cooking-pot with rim folded over inwards and luted down well under shoulder; of harsh fabric with fragments, some of flint, some of chalk (some leached out); grey core with light brown surfaces. From S.W. CXIII.

13 Parts of top and base of cooking-pot, of black hard fabric but with little flint. The T-headed rim was formed by pressing onto the edge of the flange. Found 3 ft. 5 ins. deep in digging a hole for the direction sign by churchyard wall near Lychgate (Aug. 28 1939). With it was also part of a bowl.

14–18 Cooking-pots with a channel-modelled hollow on the inside after folding the rim inwards.

14 Of grey rather clayey fabric white-flecked with some chalk particles, with light red surfaces; groove on outside made with a stick by intermittent movements. Avebury

unstratified.

15 Of harsh slightly sandier fabric (cp. Fig. 8.11), grey core with buff slightly smudged surfaces. Pieces from S.W. CXIII and stone-burial pit 12.

16 Of grey hard harsh fairly flinty fabric with buff outer surface; finger-marks inside under shoulder where pot has been steadied during final shaping by swiping round outside. Avebury unstratified.

17 Narrow cooking-pot rim, of Standard Fabric B. From Stone-burial pit 16, N.W. sector.

18 Heavy rim of large cooking-pot, of harsh dark grey white-flecked lumpy fabric with brownish outer surfaces (similar to Standard Fabric A). From S.W. IX.

### *Fig. 9 Bowls and Dishes of the 12th and 13th centuries*

1 Bowl of friable white-flecked fabric, grey core with reddish brown surface layers (1 mm). Probably hand-built, the rim strengthened by an outward fold, the outer surface smoothed off but not entirely obscuring the groove of the fold junction. This is a type current in the 12th century. From S.W. sector.

2 Small bowl of slightly clayey white-flecked fabric with grey core and light red to brown surface layers (c. 1 mm). Probably hand-built; rim strengthened by outward fold and then consolidated by finger-pressing, the marks remaining to give a wavy rim: slightly tool-trimmed round lower half of body. From S.W. sector.

3 A bowl similar to Fig. 9.2 was taken from the filling behind the column ashlar stones within the structure of the S.W. nave pier (dating to c. 1200) of Notley Abbey (Buckinghamshire) near Thame, founded 1151.

4–6 Small bowls, of fine white-flecked dark-grey fabric with some brown or light red surface areas, black-smudged over in places; unglazed. They have been tool-trimmed over the lower part of the body; the heavy tool-trimming on Fig. 9.5 was done in the leather-hard state, the grit-drags having never re-filled with flowing clay. (Fig. 9.4 and 5 from S.E. sector 63; Fig. 9.6 from burial burning pit for stone 26.)

7–20 Show the variety of wide bowls with inturned rims, all strengthened by an outward fold, the rotational finger-modelling of which gives the variety of final shape (often very neat). All are of harsh gritty fabric with some crushed flint, with grey core and grey, light-red or brown, or blackened, surfaces. Fig. 9.16 is of smoother finer white-flecked fabric, and Fig. 9.18 and 19 are less gritty. Such bowls of harsh fabric with these inturned rims have rarely been found in datable contexts; when they have, west of Oxford, they are of the 13th century, and seem absent from 12th century deposits. Their continuity from apparent prototypes cannot therefore be demonstrated. Fig. 9.7–8 from S.W. IV; Fig. 9.9, 12–13 and 15 from S.W. V; Fig.

9.14 from S.W. VIII; Fig. 9.16 and 18–20 from V trial; and Fig. 9.17 from S.W. IX.

A bowl (Fig. 9.10) and a cooking pot rim (Fig. 9.11) come from a pit at Nether Wallop, Hampshire (found by Mr. W.E.V. Young; in Avebury Museum).

21–24 Show examples of a flat pan, like the truncated top part of a cooking-pot. This type was in use in the 12th century, and continued current in the 13th: it has an extensive but well defined distribution (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 254, fig. 13). Its purpose has not yet been clearly shown, but as there are often holes in the side (Fig. 9.23) access for air seems important, and they may be predecessors of chafing-dishes, containing hot embers, perhaps for heating milk pans. Fig. 9.21 is of rather soft white-flecked brown fabric with light red outer surfaces, with a spot of yellowish glaze on the underneath: hand-modelled, the rucking due to bringing the body in remaining on the inside, and the thumb- or finger-nail marks due to jerky modelling of the rim remaining on the outside. Fig. 9.22 is of even softer fabric, a simple form found towards the S.W. (e.g. Somerset; Chew Valley Lake). Fig. 9.23 is of harsher fabric, grey with light red surfaces and no glaze; it has a squarish hole through the side, pushed from the outside through the soft clay. Fig. 9.24 shows a complete profile of such a vessel from Knighton Farm, Durrington (Devizes Museum). Fig. 9.21–22 from S.W. IX; Fig. 9.23 from S.W. VIII.

25 Handled pan from West Woodhay, Berkshire (see introduction to Fig. 11).

26 Fire cover of Kennet valley type (see introduction to Fig. 11).

*Fig. 10*

This figure shows the range of shapes (and especially the various ways of folding by which the joins have been formed) made in a fine white-flecked hard fired fabric (Selsley Common Ware = SC fabric); unless otherwise stated, the pottery has a white-flecked grey core and light-reddish to light brown surface layers about 1 mm thick (due to oxidation before cooling) and smooth surfaces. A number of these vessels carry a few patches of thin dirty olive-green glaze (coloured due to ferrous iron), often on the upper surface of the rim-flange, which can hardly have served any purpose, though this may sometimes be the incidental result of evenly glazing the lower part of the interior (as may be seen on many base fragments of this fabric from Avebury and elsewhere: cp. Fig. 10.10–20). This characteristic ware has been termed 'Selsley Common Ware'; it was current during the 13th century, but its absence from authentic 12th century deposits (e.g., Jope and Threlfall 1959) shows that it was hardly developed until the late 12th century at the earliest. Its apparent typological connection in fabric and constructional procedures must therefore be seen as independent developments of natural potters' habits, due to continuity in another area (e.g. east of Oxford).

*Fig. 10. Descriptions*

1 White-flecked black hard fabric brownish on inner flange surface, unglazed; flange formed by folding outwards, the top part perhaps a separate addition of clay: worked by a tool on outside. From post-hole on boundary bank opposite stone 6.

2 Simple rim formed by one outward fold; SC fabric, no glaze. From S.E. sector.

3 Heavily thickened rim of large cooking-pot; SC fabric, unglazed. From S.E. sector.

4 Heavy cooking-pot rim thickened by one outward fold: SC fabric, unglazed. From S.E. sector.

5 Rim-flange strengthened apparently by adding a strip of clay underneath, and another in the neck constriction on which has been left a row of fingertip impressions. SC fabric, with a few small patches of glaze on upper surface of rim. From S.W. sector.

6 Simple rim-flange; the slight thickening under the shoulder suggests possibly strengthened by folding inwards but traces almost obliterated. SC fabric, a few patches of glaze on rim tip. From S.W. sector.

7 Rim strengthened by inward fold, luted down under the shoulder to give characteristic thickening, more obvious than Fig. 10.6. SC fabric, faint traces of glaze; blackened inner surface. Avebury unstratified.

8–11 Show a variety of rim shapes by outward folding; all SC fabric, Fig. 10.11 with no glaze. Avebury unstratified.

12 Top part of cooking pot, of fabric with pale grey core and powdery pinkish surface, grey under the patches of olive glaze due to protection from air; not white-flecked but with some brown rounded sand grains (0.2–0.5 mm); this fabric is most unusual among the Avebury pottery. The restoration is based on a complete pot of this type from Oxford, with knife-trimming round the base angle (Jope 1948, 68, fig 14.17). Avebury unstratified.

13–15 Small shallow cooking-pots, with rim strengthened by outward fold to give a sharp profile: Fig. 10.13–14, pale grey core and light red surface layers with fortuitous spots of glaze; Fig. 10.15 of harsher more sandy fabric (unusual at Avebury), grey core with buff surface layer and patches of glaze on rim top. Fig. 10.13–14 from S.W. sector; Fig. 10.15 from bank near stone 3, cutting II.

16 Rim, probably of deeper pot, strengthened by pressing bands of clay into the outside of the neck and smoothing the surface: SC fabric, no glaze. From S.W. sector.

17 Large two-handed deep pan, complete, from Wood St., Swindon (with another without handles); SC fabric with patchy glaze on rim, the inside of the base well glazed (cp. Seacourt, Jope 1947, 59, fig. 5.6).

18 Skillet-type handle, of hard slightly harsh white flecked fabric. Avebury unstratified.

19–20 Shallow handled bowls (skillets), of white-flecked dark grey fabric with grey to light red surfaces and patches of thin pale greenish glaze. The fragments represented by Fig. 10.20 are harder and harsher than true SC ware: the reconstruction is based on a complete bowl from Ascot Doilly (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 264, K4).

21 Top of vessel with attached external flange as lid seating: in hard white-flecked SC ware (with patches of thin glaze). The type is probably later 13th – 14th century; but also, in harder fabrics, current in the later middle ages being made at the kiln at Potterspury, which had a coin of Edward II in the stokehole filling (Jope 1950; Jope and Ivens 1995) – both types of fabric occur at Avebury. Avebury unstratified.

*Fig. 11 Large pans of the 13th century, and plates of the later middle ages.*

Unless otherwise stated, these vessels are of hard rather rough fabric, with grey core white-flecked due to angular flint, limestone, or chalk fragments (sometimes leached out); the surfaces vary through light reds and browns to greys, depending on the capricious play of sooty or oxidising flame in the firing.

The Ascot Doilly evidence (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 243, 254–6) suggests that in this part of England these large pans (Fig. 11.1, 8, etc.) were developed in the later 12th century; they became fairly common in the 13th century. Fig. 11 shows the variety of shapes, some almost like large cooking-pots, others shallow with wide-splayed flanges. Ornament is confined to wavy lines and ordered thumb- or finger-pressing. Rims have been strengthened by a fold, usually outwards; and some may have had an added strip of clay, certainly so with the large plates (Fig. 11.15–16) which are probably the latest in the group. There are handle fragments among the Avebury pottery which seem not to be from pitchers or skillets, and some represent handled pans illustrated here by two more complete examples from Gloucester (Fig. 11.10) and West Woodhay, Berkshire (Fig. 9.25); note also the two-handled vessel (Fig 10.17). Other forms include the large flat fire-cover, Fig. 9.26.

*Fig. 11. Descriptions*

1–3 Pans, showing variety of rim ornament; the reconstruction (Fig. 11.1) is based on a find from Hampstead Marshall (Jope 1947, fig 6.3, opp. p. 60): Fig. 11.3 shows waved marks probably made by the fingernail while shaping the rim. Avebury unstratified.

4–9 Deeper pans, with shoulder, more approaching cooking-pot form; the reconstruction (Fig. 11.8), is based on a find from Shilton, Oxfordshire (Jope 1948, 68, fig 14.16). Fig. 11.9 has faint dimples pressed by the fingers from inside the shoulder. Avebury unstratified.

10 Handled pan from Gloucester.

11 Rim of pan, only slightly moulded; in finer evenly white-flecked fabric, with thin wash of poor pale yellow-green glaze round top (cp. 'Selsley Common Ware', Fig. 10). Reconstruction based on one from Seacourt, Berks. (Jope 1947, fig. 6.1, opp. p. 60). Avebury unstratified.

12 Rim of pan similar to Fig. 11.11 with thin wash of pale green glaze on inside from Ascot Doilly castle, trodden into tower floor; probably in the middle decades of the 12th century (Jope and Threlfall 1959, 255, fig 14 S.1).

13–14 Deep pans, probably 14th century: of white-flecked grey fabric with light red surfaces and thin wash of pale greenish glaze.

13 The top part of the vessel, and the rim flange seem to have been built up by successive addition of bands of clay. Avebury unstratified.

14 Has wavy line on top of the rim flange. Avebury unstratified.

15–16 Plates, of hard fairly fine white-flecked fabric with light red surfaces and sporadic patches of very thin pale greenish glaze: both have wavy lines on flange. The flange has been built up by adding a separate band of clay folded over to clasp the rim of the vessel itself. These plates are probably 14th century or later medieval. Pottery plates are rare on medieval sites; many of those frequently listed in inventories were probably of wood (but see Jope and Hodges 1956, 26). Avebury unstratified.

*Fig. 12. Pitchers of the 12th and 13th centuries*

1 Fragments of baggy tripod pitchers, of dark grey white-flecked fabric with thin pale green glaze (reduced Fe). They represent a type illustrated by more complete examples from Ascot Doilly, Oxfordshire (mid-12th century; Jope and Threlfall 1959, 261–2) and Gloucester (cp. Bruce-Mitford 1940, 108–9). The handles have been made by plugging two rods of clay (sometimes twisted together, Fig. 12.6) through a hole in the neck, wrapping round them a strip of clay, and luting to the body at the lower junction. Body ornament is incised comb-markings, straight or wavy. Some had no more than a restrained pinched lip, but tube- and D-spouts may be found in this fabric. Avebury unstratified.

2 Complete tripod pitcher from Marlborough (from the Waterworks 1903; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 267). It has two strap side-handles and a larger one (broken) opposite the tubular spout, which is clasped by a gently frilled band of clay. The body is globular, with no base angle, and will not stand on the three feet. The neck has probably been separately added (cp. Jope 1958, pl. IIA). The body has applied vertical frilled strips. Of rough sandy slightly friable brownish fabric with dirty olive to pale greenish-brown glaze. There are comparable fragments from Avebury.

Probably second half of 12th century.

3 Top half of a large tube-spouted pitcher, probably a tripod, from Friar Street, Reading (Reading Museum); of sandy grey fabric with light red inner surface and blotchy olive glaze outside over white-painted lines and circles. The vessel was found in a pit with a thumb-pressed base pitcher and a handled pan of the type shown as Fig 9.25 suggesting a date well into the 13th century for this spouted pitcher.

4 Fragment of pitcher similar to Fig. 12.3. Avebury unstratified.

5 Small fragment of body of a tripod pitcher, of creamy hard fine sandy fabric with fairly thick even transparent glaze; of Oxford type, as shown by the ware and the style of vertical applied strips of triangular section crossing incised girth-grooves (cp. Jope 1958, 58, Z21). Avebury unstratified.

6 Parts of twisted-rope handles made of twisted clay rods, of both fine hard fabric (cp. Fig. 12.5) and of white-flecked grey (cp. Fig. 12.1) or more clayey white fabric. There are also a number of tripod feet in these fabrics. Avebury unstratified.

7 D-spout of white-flecked grey fabric with pale buff surfaces and thin wash of pale greenish-yellow glaze. Avebury unstratified.

8 Complete large pitcher, unglazed, from the churchyard at Tidcombe, 8 miles S.E. of Avebury; this illustrates the complete form of numerous rim- handle- and body-fragments (Fig. 12.10–14) of such unglazed jugs from Avebury. These unglazed jugs were in current use from the later 12th into the 13th century (Jope, Jope and Rigold 1950, 51). Some Avebury fragments may be from less baggy jugs (cp. Jope 1942b, 177, fig. 1.1; Jope 1947, 53, fig. 2.10; Bruce-Mitford 1940, 125, fig. 25.4), though there are no examples which make this certain.

9 Bowl with finger-pressed rim of hard fine light red fabric with greenish mottled glaze on outside: said to have been found covering the pitcher of late 12th – earlier 13th century date, Fig. 12.8. Though the form of the bowl may be found in the 12th century (e.g., Jope and Threlfall 1946–7, 170, fig 24.17; Jope, Jope and Rigold 1950, 54, fig. 18.10), its fabric and glaze suggest the later 13th century.

10–14 See under Fig. 12.8. Avebury unstratified.

*Fig. 13. Glazed pitchers of the 13th century.*

1–4 Bridge-spouted pitchers, of white-flecked grey fabric with thin patchy pale greenish-yellow glaze (like Selsley Common ware), with applied frilled band under rim. This type is found in west Wessex, the hinterland of Bristol and the south Welsh coastal plain, and extending to Ireland (Waterman 1959, 160, fig. 59). The north Irish evidence (Waterman 1959, 159) suggests the late 13th – early 14th

century for the use of this type, but the Wessex examples may be earlier, earlier to mid-13th century, the frilled band perhaps related to the bands on tubular- and D-spouts of tripod pitchers. Avebury unstratified; Fig. 13.3 is from Hullasey, Tarlton, near Cirencester.

5 Top part of pitcher with vertical neck and bridge-spout, with groups of faint comb-markings down outside of rim; spherical body-shape reconstruction based on pitcher with similar rim from Old Sarum. (Stevens 1933, pl V.1). Of hard fine slightly harsh buff fabric with smudged grey surfaces and patchy mottled green glaze (copper used). There are other bridge-spout fragments of similar ware, and one of softer pinkish fabric with rich greenish-brown glaze and grouped vertical combings. Avebury unstratified.

6–11, 18 Jug rims, having applied almond-shaped pellets, fish-mouth-like with upward projection under lip. This emphatic motif is found over an area of west Wiltshire and north Somerset, from round Salisbury to Bristol, a regional style (see map in Jope 1951b, 141, fig. 5). The examples are chosen to show the variety of this motif and its combination with others, such as the dot-and-circle, again particularly found in this area. Fig. 13.9 evidently had vertical lines of applied petals. The complete jugs had either pinched or built-up lips (Fig. 13.11), bridge-spouts, or occasionally a tube-spout rising close to the rim; they were quality jugs, some of elegant waisted form (Fig. 13.14). They are mostly of fine hard grey fabric, sometimes with reddish surface layers, and olive greenish glaze (Fe). Fig. 13.11 is of coarser grey to brown fabric with a white pipeclay wash under a brown glaze (cp. White Castle, Glamorgan, O'Neil 1935, 323, fig. 1.1). There are also examples of oval pellets of delicate concave shape applied to the body, sometimes in contrasting colours (Fig. 13.18), again a regional style in the same area (e.g., Clarendon, Borenus and Charlton 1936, 80, fig 7.10); these may be of fine hard fabric or of the coarser more friable. Avebury unstratified.

12–15 Stylised face-masks or derivative motifs modelled near the rim. Fig. 13.13 (of coarser sandy grey fabric with reddish surfaces and olive glaze) perhaps related in form to Fig. 13.1–4. Fig. 13.12 and 13 are both of fairly hard greyish fabric with reddish-brown surface layers and olive-brown glaze (example similar to Fig. 13.13 also from Clyffe Pypard). The moon-face of Fig. 13.14 is of a type most common in Oxford (over twenty examples), and found sporadically over the western part of southern England. Fig. 13.14, from Gloucester, extends the small Avebury fragment of not very fine hard dark grey fabric with reddened surfaces and orange-brown glaze. One at Pevensey was in a mid-13th century context (Bruce-Mitford 1939, 121–2). Fig. 13.15, of hard grey-brown fabric with pale olive glaze, with its layout of criss-cross applied rouletted strips, was perhaps part of a similar jug (cp. Bruce-Mitford 1939, well 9, fig 24 K). Avebury examples unstratified.

16 Part of a free-standing tube-spout with dot-and-circle on stem, of hard fine grey fabric with deep green glaze. Avebury unstratified.

17 Medallion applied to a jug body, with four dot-and-circle motifs; of rather soft fine grey fabric with reddish surfaces and orange-brown glaze (cp. one from White Castle, Glamorgan, O'Neil 1935, pl. xlix.2). Avebury unstratified.

19–20 Relief-medallions impressed with dot ornament; Fig. 13.19 is of hard fine sandy white fabric with deep green glaze (copper), a ware unusual at Avebury; Fig. 13.20 has the small stamped medallions linked by a criss-cross of white-painted stripes, of grey sandy fabric with light red surfaces under a brownish glaze slightly mottled green. Avebury unstratified.

21 Shows the dot-and-circle motifs arranged along vertical painted white bands (part of a jug of the type shown in Fig. 13.6–10), of hard fine grey fabric with dark olive-green glaze. Avebury unstratified.

22 Neck and shoulder of fine hard creamy fabric with deeply iron-stained sandstone fragments (probably from the Greensand); white pellets on band of dark paint under brown-yellow glaze, a style particularly seen among London pitchers (Rackham 1948, pls 78–79, 90). Avebury unstratified.

23 Parts of a pitcher of fine pinkish fabric with deeply iron-stained fragments (again probably from the Greensand); thick transparent brown-yellow glaze with brown runs due to the iron-containing particles in the fabric; apparently covered with rosette stamps in vertical bands, body-coloured stamped relief alternating with deep brown applied as a curling strip with its border marked by jabbing. From Clarendon Palace (Borenus and Charlton 1936).

24 Small fragment of a pitcher in thin very fine white fabric with applied relief ornament in rich brown clay under transparent fine pale yellow glaze: it was part of a pitcher (as illustrated) with a frieze of birds and medallions (cp. Fig. 13.23 from Clarendon Palace). Avebury unstratified.

25 Part of body of jug, in creamy fine fabric; with sparse very thin patches of transparent glaze, broad red painted lines with rows of white pipeclay pellets irregularly applied. The lower part of the body was tool-trimmed, cutting through the already applied painted bands (for painting on similar fabric, cp. Bruce-Mitford 1939, 102, fig 24c, well 9, mid-13th century). Avebury unstratified.

26 Brown clay pellets beside applied strip rouletted in ladder pattern; fairly fine sandy buff fabric with thin brownish glaze. Avebury unstratified.

27 Pitcher-base of white flecked grey fabric with light red surface layers and sporadic patches of very thin greenish glaze on inside (cp. Selsley Common Ware); base angle neatly frilled. Avebury unstratified.

28 Base of waisted jug, of hard grey fabric and green glaze; deeply modelled finger-pressing up wall. Avebury unstratified.

29 Narrow jug-base, the walls slightly inward-leaning; hard slightly clayey grey to pink fabric; spots and patches of poor pale yellowish glaze. Avebury unstratified.

*Fig. 14. Later 13th, 14th century and later medieval pottery*

1–2 Several pieces of biconical jugs with sharp carination and applied rich brown vertical strips of keeled section. The type is illustrated by a complete example from Oxford (Fig. 14.1), where they are frequent (there is an almost identical one from Northampton Castle (Jope 1952a, 73, fig. 10.48)). These jugs were being made at Brill, Buckinghamshire, in the late 13th century, and were distributed over a range of some 50 miles to the N.E. and S.W. along the Clay Vale (Jope 1953–4). They are usually of reddish-buff hard fine sandy fabric, with brownish yellow glaze, as from the kiln site. One Avebury carinated piece, however, is of a pale cream fabric, a little less sandy, with paler greenish yellow glaze (both possibly resulting from reducing conditions in firing). Base angles are either plain or have a ring. Avebury examples unstratified.

3 Top of tall jug of fairly hard sandy red-buff fabric with patchy greenish glaze, and irregular applied brownish narrow strips. The rim moulding is typical of the later 13th century. Avebury unstratified.

4 A number of pieces from a large wide baluster-shaped jug type, with applied vertical strips, some variously ornamented with rouletting. Selected fragments are set in place on a complete jug profile from Oxford: they are plain brown, brown alternating with body-coloured, both for plain and rouletted. Thick strap handles. From S.E. 33; S.W. VIII, IX; Boundary bank.

5 Top part of jug with vertical applied strips rouletted square to the length of the strip, typical of Oxford, and being made at Brill, though some creamier fabrics suggest possibly elsewhere as well. Fabrics buff or creamy; glazed deep olive (reduced iron) or speckled-green (copper) on orange-yellow. From S.W. IX.

6 Top of jug, of brick-red fine sandy fabric, with white painted vertical stripes, and strap handle; unglazed except for a patch of deep orange (transparent over body colour) on the handle. From S.E. 43, 53, and Pit 1 in S.E. 63.

7 Top of jug, of very hard harsh brittle grey-cored fabric with brownish surfaces. It has applied white pipeclay vertical strips with a rather patchy transparent glaze (clear yellow over the pipeclay). From S.E. 63.

8 Jug top of very hard grey fabric with brown surfaces and olive glaze speckled with brighter green; round-sectioned handle. Simple jugs of this style could be 14th century. From S.W. XIV.

9 Parts of the top of a clumsily made vessel with strap handle, probably a wide-mouthed pitcher: of hard fine sandy

grey fabric with bright light red surfaces and small patches of pale yellow to greenish glaze. Ornamented with dot-and-circle motifs, and in places finished rather clumsily with a tool. From S.E. 32, and S.E. 50.

10 Middle part of jug, of hard red fabric with patches of yellow glaze. Probably of tall slightly splaying type as restored; the type is well known (Bruce-Mitford 1939, 110, fig 26d; Sturdy 1959, 26, fig. 10.2) but is usually rather larger. Another comparable portion is known from Cirencester (Black Jack St., 1878). Avebury unstratified.

11 Narrow waisted base, thick and broadly flrilled; of fairly hard sandy grey-cored fabric with reddish surface. probably 14th century; one comparable from Hullasey near Tarlton, Gloucestershire (Cirencester Museum). Avebury unstratified.

12 Fragments of reddish-brown fabric with yellow to dirty brown glaze fitted to a profile of a tall narrow baluster jug of slack shape found on Wiltshire sites (Old Sarum; Stevens 1933, 264 and pl. IV, fig. 1.2). Avebury unstratified.

13-14 Examples of pitcher bases with finger-pinching at the angle. Fig. 14.13 shows finger impressions under the base-angle as well as up the side. This means no more than pinching between finger and thumb, but this feature is rare in the south, though common in north Britain and southern Scotland, where the impressions are sometimes on the underside only, which seems more deliberate and may perhaps be considered a North Sea style, found also in Scandinavia and Holland. (Dunning, Hodges and Jope 1958, 127; Hurst 1962-3a, 154 and b 295-298). Avebury unstratified.

15 Base of large vessel with bung-hole, a later medieval type (as made in hard sandy wares in the kilns of Brill, Buckinghamshire (Jope 1953-4; Ivens 1982, fig. 8.8-9) and at Potterspury, Northants (Jope 1950; Jope and Ivens 1995) from the late 13th - early 14th centuries onwards); at Avebury also are several examples in varying sizes in hard fine white-flecked fabric (related to Selsley Common Ware). Avebury unstratified.

16 Base of three-legged vessel, probably cauldron-shaped (Ward-Perkins 1940, 225; Dunning 1948, 235, fig. 74). Hard buff white-flecked fabric, unglazed. Avebury unstratified.

17-19. Later medieval vessels.

17 Rim of large pot, a shape found in both hard white-flecked buff fabric (also known from Cirencester) and in a hard fine buff ware shown to be of the later 14th and 15th centuries in Oxford (Jope 1942a, 77, fig. 20.6). Avebury unstratified.

18 Rim of a small vessel in very fine hard buff fabric, a type shown to have been in use by the later 14th century (Jope 1942a, 77, fig 20.13; Biddle 1961-2, 137, 164, fig. 27.9 ). Avebury unstratified.

19 A small jug in hard buff fabric similar to that of Fig. 14.17, from Eastleach Turville, Gloucestershire (Sturdy 1959, 30, fig. 13.15) included to show the westward distribution of this fabric in the 15th century; it is not yet clear where it was being made - possibly Brill, though not in the kilns so far excavated.

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## The Career of John Whittokesmede, a Fifteenth-Century Wiltshire Lawyer and Parliamentary 'Carpet-Bagger'

by J.T. DRIVER

*The career of John Whittokesmede, a south-west lawyer, spanned some fifty years of the fifteenth century, from about 1427 until nearly 1483. His legal work occupied him not only in his locality, but also took him to the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas in London. He enjoyed wide personal connections, the most important of which were with the Hungerford family and the bishops of Salisbury, whose bailiff he was for many years. Perhaps most striking of all was his election to the Commons on no fewer than twelve occasions between 1427 and 1472 — four times for Bath and eight for Wiltshire constituencies, including the shire itself.<sup>1</sup>*

Born c.1405, John Whittokesmede came of a family which had held land in Whiteoxmead, near Wellow, in Somerset since the reign of Edward I; and he himself had property in Beanacre by Melksham and in Salisbury, Wiltshire.<sup>2</sup> His father and grandfather, both also called John, had been returned as parliamentary representatives for Bath on several occasions between 1360 and 1410.<sup>3</sup>

John Whittokesmede III was already a practising lawyer when he was chosen for Bath, in second place to John Haynes, on 1 September 1427.<sup>4</sup> His name was to crop up frequently as an attorney in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas from 1427, in cases concerning litigants from Gloucestershire, Bristol, Somerset and Wiltshire.<sup>5</sup> On 29 August 1429 and 7 April 1432 Whittokesmede was again elected for Bath; on the former occasion his name was written second in the return, but on the latter he took precedence over William Hoggekyns.<sup>6</sup> At the next parliamentary election, in 1433, he was chosen for Devizes, but occupied the second seat to William Coventry.<sup>7</sup> This has more than passing interest because Whittokesmede seems to have enjoyed associations with the Coventry family of Devizes. For example, in October 1449, he and John Coventry jointly acquired the manor of Lydiard Tregoze; and on 15 October 1450, when he was elected as parliamentary knight for Wiltshire, John Coventry was named as one of his manucaptors (i.e. a surety for Whittokesmede's attendance in parliament).<sup>8</sup>

Well before that, however, Whittokesmede had established himself in a legal career which, in the capacity of a feoffee (i.e. trustee), witness to deeds, legal administrator and holder of public office, was to bring him into contact with a wide circle of people. As early as 1431 he was among feoffees for lands in Bristol.<sup>9</sup> In the Octave of Michaelmas 1435 he was party to a fine in the Court of Common Pleas in which John Colbewe and his wife quitclaimed (i.e. surrendered) their rights to the manor of Whiteoxmead, Somerset, together with four messuages and lands there and in Credlingcote, and lands and a mill in Steeple Langford and Tokynglandford, Wiltshire, to Whittokesmede, William Hoggekyns (recently his fellow M.P. for Bath) and others, in return for which Whittokesmede paid 200 marks of silver.<sup>10</sup>

Socially, and quite likely politically, his most important and long-lasting associations were with the Hungerford family, who were pillars of the Lancastrian government under Henry V and Henry VI. His links with the Hungerfords were certainly established by 1438, when he was named as a feoffee; and he was again acting in a similar capacity in 1440, 1444 and 1449.<sup>11</sup> Indeed Whittokesmede's connections with the family could well have begun much earlier, since Sir Walter (Lord) Hungerford held Wellow, which was adjacent to Whiteoxmead. Furthermore, it is not improbable that Sir Walter, himself a cultivated man and a patron of education

(he provided for a school at Heytesbury towards the end of his life), encouraged and supported the young Whittokesmede to follow the law.<sup>12</sup> It is not known where Whittokesmede received his schooling, nor whether he attended one of the Inns of Court. Quite likely (though there is no firm evidence to prove the point) he could have been 'taken on' as a promising youngster by a lawyer as an assistant, whereby he would have acquired practical training through attendance at court. He could also have received elementary legal training and a knowledge of procedure from one of the inns of Chancery — but, again, evidence is lacking.<sup>13</sup>

Be that as it may, from the late fourteen-thirties his name was regularly linked with other gentry and lawyers of the south-west, especially with John Fortescue and Richard Choke, who were both to become judges and knights, as well as with Thomas Tropenell, another lawyer, and Henry Long who were building up their positions among the Wiltshire gentry. In 1437 and 1439 Whittokesmede, Fortescue and Choke were named as co-feoffees in fines concerning land in Somerset, and in the Quindene of Easter 1438 Whittokesmede and Fortescue were co-feoffees of Sir Walter Hungerford, as plaintiffs in a fine, where Choke, Tropenell and Long were defendants.<sup>14</sup> Whittokesmede also had connections with the De la Warr family, and was (in 1455) to be an executor of the will of Reginald, Lord De la Warr.<sup>15</sup>

In the meantime, in May 1436, Whittokesmede had been granted an Exchequer lease of the manor of West Chelworth, Somerset.<sup>16</sup> To obtain such a lease, which would have provided extra income, possibly suggests that, as a lawyer with connections, he was in a position to know what was 'on offer'. Another indication of his rising status was his attendance at the elections for Bath in January 1437 and for Wiltshire held at Wilton on 19 December 1441.<sup>17</sup> More important still, as an indication that he had by now become an established figure in Wiltshire, was his own election, in first place, for Downton to the parliament of 1442.<sup>18</sup>

In a career which though never as professionally distinguished as John Fortescue and Richard Choke, yet one which bore a remarkable parallel to theirs, John Whittokesmede combined interests in London while never relinquishing ties with his native south-west.<sup>19</sup> It was for his professional expertise that he was employed by Wilton in 1441-42, and likewise that he was appointed, about 1448, as bailiff of the bishop of Salisbury. Although detailed evidence is rather thin, as bailiff he was in a position to exert influence within the city over quite a long period, since he held the

post at least until 1465.<sup>20</sup> During his term of office he did, in fact, serve only two bishops, William Ayscough and Richard Beauchamp. Acting in a more private capacity, he was named as a co-feoffee with William Hoggekyns, mayor of Bath, for Walter Rich of Bath on 13 January 1444; and three years later, on 14 February 1447, he was a feoffee for Rich's widow. In addition, Whittokesmede and Hoggekyns were co-trustees in 1447 for properties in Bath on behalf of Robert and Elizabeth Drewe.<sup>21</sup> More important, as indicative of his social standing, was that he acted as a feoffee of Sir Walter (Lord) Hungerford for property and land in Chippenham in January 1447.<sup>22</sup> Meantime, in Michaelmas term 1446, Whittokesmede had been named as a feoffee of Nicholas Cricklade for lands in Wiltshire.<sup>23</sup>

In July 1448 Whittokesmede was included in a panel to investigate a case of piracy committed against certain Portuguese merchants; and early in 1449 he was nominated to a commission to raise a government loan in Wiltshire.<sup>24</sup> The earlier appointment provides further interesting evidence about his contacts, since the man accused of piracy was John Fleming, Recorder of Southampton, whereas Whittokesmede's fellow investigators included William Soper esquire, a well-known merchant of Southampton, and John Trenchard esquire. Through common service in parliament all four must have been well acquainted with each other: Whittokesmede and Soper had been elected to the first parliament of 1449, the former for Salisbury, the latter for Southampton; whereas Whittokesmede, Fleming and Trenchard had been returned to the second parliament of that year (which lasted, with prorogations, until June 1450), for Bath, Southampton and Hampshire respectively.<sup>25</sup> Given such mutual acquaintance, if not friendship, one can legitimately question the neutrality of any investigation which took place. Here, then, there is possibly a minor example of the corruption of the government under William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, in the late 1440s. Only rarely at this period is there proof of attendance in parliament of elected members. However, from the record of payment of £5 13s. in the year 1451-52 in the Ledger Book of Salisbury Corporation to John Whittokesmede and Philip Morgan, it is clear that they were both present in the first parliament of 1449.<sup>26</sup> Morgan, a fellow lawyer, had previously sat for Marlborough in 1442 and was to sit for Westbury in the parliament of 1472-75: he and Whittokesmede must have been well acquainted.<sup>27</sup>

On 20 May 1450 John Whittokesmede was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace in Wiltshire. However, from payments made for three sittings in

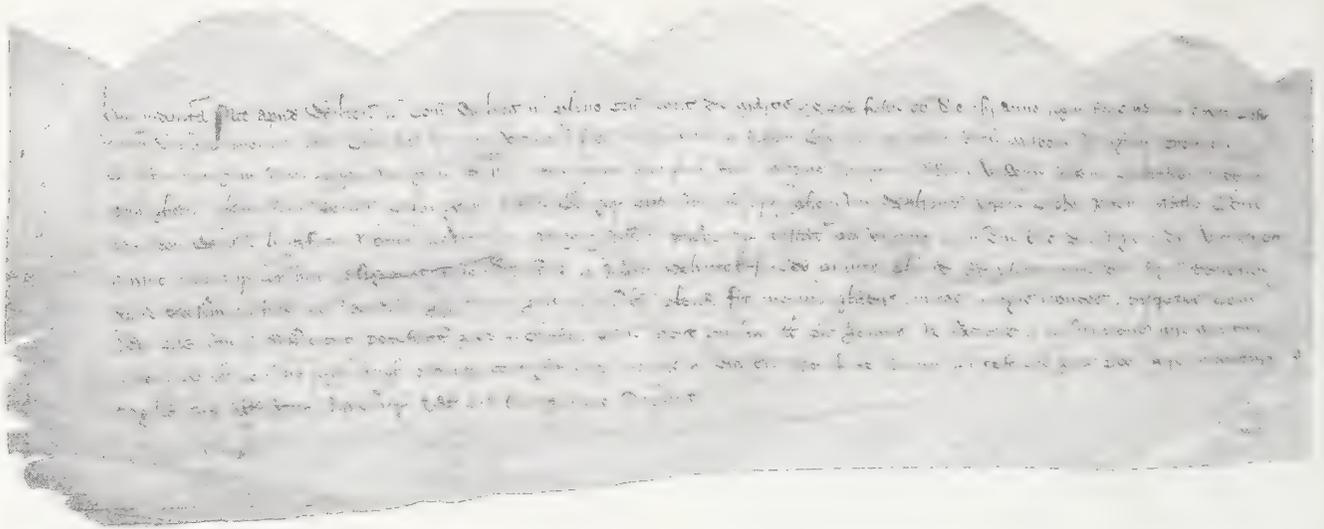


Figure 1. The Election Return of the Knights of the Shire for Wiltshire to the Parliament of November 1450. A statute of 1406 laid down that, in future, the results of county elections should be in the form of an indenture between the sheriff (as returning officer), on the one hand, and the electors on the other. Later, in 1429, another statute established the county franchise at the 40s. freehold, which it was, in the event, to remain until the Great Reform Act of 1832.

The illustration gives a good example of the indenture system in operation. Here the sheriff of Wiltshire, Philip Baynard esquire, has drawn up the document stating that the county election was held at Wilton on the Feast of St. Dionysius (or Denis) on 13 October 1450 between himself, on the one part, and 21 named electors, headed by John Baynard knight, on the other part, and that they elected John Russell and John Whittokesmede (line 6) as knights to attend parliament at Westminster on 6 November; and that they (the parliamentary knights) were to be girt with swords (a convention of knighthood) and were to be suitable and discreet men and to attend, with power to agree on behalf of the community to matters properly touching the realm. To complete the document each of the parties applied their seals by pendant tags. The text of the document is given in translation in the appendix to this paper.

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1447-48 it would appear that he had already been acting as a justice in the shire.<sup>28</sup> With this appointment he can be said to have obtained essentially gentry status. Furthermore, except for two short breaks, the first between 3 February 1457 and 28 January 1458, and the second between 20 June 1471 and 4 April 1472, Whittokesmede served continuously until his death as a Justice of the Peace and a regular member of the quorum, and hence a practising lawyer.<sup>29</sup> From surviving records of payment of expenses, he is known to have attended four other sittings of the justices between 13 September 1457 and 30 May 1458.<sup>30</sup> That his legal services were much in demand is further underlined by his nomination as a justice of oyer and terminer in Wiltshire on 20 September and 10 October 1450.<sup>31</sup> Consistent with his rising status was his election, in second place to John Russell, as a parliamentary knight for Wiltshire on 13 October 1450.<sup>32</sup>

Whittokesmede had now been returned to three

consecutive parliaments. These bodies had met against the background of a seriously deteriorating situation for the English in France. By 1449 the French were on the verge of driving the English garrisons out of their last possessions in the north, which they had gained under Henry V and during the early years of Henry VI. Charles VII took over Rouen, capital of Normandy, on 10 November 1449, and on 12 August 1450, with the fall of Cherbourg, the English lost their last foothold, save Calais, in northern France. The final ejection of English forces from the south-west was to take place in 1453, after the battle of Castillon. Political recriminations quickly followed in England, with government ministers and military leaders accused of incompetence and corruption, and with outbreaks of violence reflecting the general feeling of resentment. On 9 January 1450 there had taken place the murder of Adam Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, and Keeper of the Privy Seal; his close associate and leading minister, the hated William De la Pole, Duke

of Suffolk, was beheaded off Dover on 1 May; and on 29 June William Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, who was unpopular with its citizens, was killed at Edington. The violence, however, did not stop with the murders of unpopular ministers: on the very day Ayscough was done to death, the rising known as Jack Cade's Rebellion began in Kent.<sup>33</sup> As a justice, local man of affairs, and a member of the Commons, John Whittokesmede must have known of these events, perhaps at close quarters. Indeed, when James Gresham wrote to the Norfolk squire, John Paston, on 19 August 1450, principally to report on the fall of Cherbourg, he also referred to rumours of trouble in Wiltshire: 'I wrot to myn em that there were ix or x men up in Wiltshire, and I hadde it of the report of Whittokesmede; but I trowe is not so, for here is now I [ittle] speche thereof...' <sup>34</sup>

Although Cade's rebellion and disturbances elsewhere were soon over, they, combined with military failure and political corruption, seriously undermined the Lancastrian government. During the next few years rival groupings formed around the Court party led, on the one hand, by the Queen, Margaret of Anjou (the king was virtually ineffective) and the Beaufort family, whose head was Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; and on the other, by Richard, Duke of York. The contestants used both political and military means to achieve control of power: politically by way of parliament to remove rivals, effect reform, and appoint officials; but by military means when others failed. By 1460 a compromise had been reached whereby Henry VI should remain king for the rest of his life, but thereafter York should succeed to the throne. However, fighting broke out again, and in December 1460 Richard of York was killed at Wakefield. A few months later, on 29 March 1461, the situation changed yet again, when York's son Edward, crushed the Lancastrians at Towton and established his authority as Edward IV.

Throughout these years Whittokesmede continued to be employed in a variety of legal and administrative undertakings, some of which implied that his sympathies were with the Lancastrian Court party, whereas others did not necessarily carry any political attachment. Possibly his appointment on 26 June 1451 as joint farmer of the subsidy and ulnage of cloth for sale in Salisbury and Wiltshire carried little political implication. He could just have been regarded as a capable official, though he was probably well-placed himself to know that such a post was available. When appointed, the annual farm of the subsidy was £80 13s.4d., but it was increased to £87 6s.8d. when he was re-appointed in June 1453 and

May 1454 (the increase was back-dated to the summer of 1453).<sup>35</sup> Such a high sum could suggest that the farmers expected to make a good profit out of the post. Earlier, in 1451 and 1452, he had been nominated as one of the commissioners of gaol delivery of Old Sarum prison — a body whose titular head was Sir Robert Hungerford — and from November 1451 to November 1452 he had served as escheator in Hampshire and Wiltshire.<sup>36</sup> During his term as escheator he paid £8 into the Exchequer on 5 April 1452 and a further £10 on 27 October of that year.<sup>37</sup>

On 22 May 1455 the battle of St Albans was won by the Duke of York and his Neville allies; the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Northumberland were killed; and the king was taken prisoner, though treated with respect. Parliament was summoned on 26 May to meet at Leicester on 9 July. While the details of the proceedings are beyond this paper's remit, it does seem that efforts were made to reconcile rival magnates and there is also evidence that York and his leading supporters tried, in areas where they were influential, to encourage the return of members to the Commons who were favourably disposed to them.<sup>38</sup> Significantly, however, Whittokesmede, with attachment to the Hungerfords, was chosen in first place for Calne on 17 June.<sup>39</sup> Though conclusive evidence is lacking, it is possible that Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, exerted some influence on behalf of Whittokesmede. After all, the latter was still carrying out duties as the bishop's bailiff and, as such, was to witness a certificate from the rolls of the Court of Piepowder in 1456-57.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand the borough of Calne was owned by the Zouche family.<sup>41</sup>

It was most likely John Whittokesmede's legal background and administrative experience that lay behind his appointment as steward of the abbot of Hyde in his manor of Chisledon, and for whom he was acting in October 1457.<sup>42</sup> Earlier that year, in the Octave of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (9 February) 1457, Whittokesmede had been a feoffee for Richard Choke in the manor of Stanton Drew, called *Boteleris*, in Somerset.<sup>43</sup> His services were in demand for public duties at this time: in 1457, 1458 and 1459 he was appointed as a commissioner of array in Wiltshire; and in 1459 was named a justice of oyer and terminer, in which capacity he was one of those ordered to arrest the Yorkist squire, Thomas Herbert, in June.<sup>44</sup> So, as late as 1459, he was still loyal to the Lancastrian Court party, at that point established in Coventry. Earlier, in a letter of 6 March 1458 to John Brockhampton, under-sheriff of Somerset and Dorset,

asking his help to recover debts owed by William Gore of Melksham and Giles Gore of Aldrington, Richard Clavelleshay continued 'for y suppose that Wyttockesmede of Wyltshire woll speke ther of for Giles Gore hath weddid his dowghter and yf he speke of hyt y pray yow telle hym y wyll sue wt [with] effecte tyl y be payde etc.'<sup>45</sup> In the same year Whittokesmede was pardoned as 'of Beanacre, Wiltshire, late escheator of Hampshire and Wiltshire, alias Justice of the Peace in Wiltshire, alias bailiff of the Liberties of the Bishop of Sarum'.<sup>46</sup> In April he had been named as a witness with Richard Choke in a quitclaim of the manor and advowson of Elm in Somerset; in the following December he and John Coventry of Devizes created an enfeoffment or trust of the manor of Lydiard Tregoze, along with William Grey, Bishop of Ely, John Seymour esquire, and the prominent lawyer, William Allington; and on 26 June 1459 he was listed among the feoffees of Richard West, Lord De la Warr, when he granted the presentation of Shepton Mallet to Richard Choke and others.<sup>47</sup> Not only is his continuing association with Choke (by now a serjeant-at-law) worth particular notice, but also the possibility of some link with William Allington, who came from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and who was to be Speaker in the parliament of 1472-75, when Whittokesmede sat for Cricklade.<sup>48</sup>

It did not seemingly take long for John Whittokesmede to accept, or be accepted by, the new government after Edward IV had won the throne in 1461. Within two months of the battle of Towton he was nominated to a commission on 27 May to enquire into dilapidations in the royal castle and manor of Devizes, the lordship of Rowde, and the forests of Chippenham, Melksham and Pewsey; on 24 July he was appointed a commissioner in Wiltshire to raise money for defence against the French; and on 12 August he was made a commissioner of array.<sup>49</sup> A further indication of his acceptability to the new government was his appointment, in February 1462, as a justice of oyer and terminer.<sup>50</sup> However, it was in a private, professional capacity that, on 8 March 1461, he acted again for the Rich family in a property transaction, and in January 1462 — when, for the first time, he was called esquire — that he was given as one of the feoffees, in company with Henry Long, for Thomas Tropenell of Great Chalfield.<sup>51</sup> Such evidence again reinforces the continuing close contacts which Whittokesmede had with the southwest, and especially with fellow lawyers and middling-gentry such as Long and Tropenell. They must have known each other well and, indeed, they shared some parliamentary service: Whittokesmede and Tropenell

sat in the Commons in 1449; and Whittokesmede and Long were to be returned to the parliament of 1472-75.<sup>52</sup>

On 27 January 1462 Whittokesmede obtained an Exchequer lease of the manor of Upavon for seven years, back-dated from the previous Michaelmas; and a fortnight later, when described as 'of Salisbury, gentleman', was one of the mainpernors or sureties for an Exchequer lessee.<sup>53</sup> The following year saw his tenth election to the Commons, this time for Wilton, on 13 April 1463, when he occupied the first seat.<sup>54</sup> In 1465 and 1468 he was one of those appointed to report on the lands held by the attainted Lancastrian James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, in Somerset and Dorset.<sup>55</sup> He and Henry Long were again associated together when they were named as witnesses to a property transaction in March 1469; and he was a feoffee in the manors of Coombe Bissett and Uxford St James in 1469 and 1473.<sup>56</sup> Meantime Whittokesmede had again been elected for Wilton, in first place, on 5 May 1467.<sup>57</sup>

By this point he must have been in his early sixties. Nevertheless his services continued to be in demand. On 5 June 1470, for instance, he was appointed with Henry Long, Philip Morgan and others to enquire into a complaint by one, John Kevell, of Barford, of assault committed by the rector, Thomas Gate.<sup>58</sup> However, he lost his place on the Wiltshire bench of justices when commissions were re-issued on 30 June 1471, which could suggest a temporary loss of confidence in him by the restored Yorkist government. If that were so, it was only short-lived: in the following November Whittokesmede was one of a group of feoffees for William, Lord Hastings, one of Edward IV's strongest supporters, and Thomas Vaughan esquire.<sup>59</sup> In 1472 he was a feoffee in the manor of North Perrott, Somerset.<sup>60</sup> On 12 February he and Philip Morgan were on a panel to deal with trespass and riots perpetrated in Wiltshire by Edward Hungerford and John Blake against John Cricklade; on 30 June 1474 he was included in an investigation into cases of felony and concealment of illegal goods; and, on 7 December 1475, he was a member of a large panel to deal with treasons, Lollardy and other troubles in Dorset and Wiltshire.<sup>61</sup> More important still, Whittokesmede had been restored to the Wiltshire bench and 'of the quorum' on 4 April 1472.<sup>62</sup> Later in the year, in September, he was elected to the Commons for the twelfth time, when he was chosen for Cricklade in first place to Richard Vvall.<sup>63</sup> This parliament was to last, with prorogations, from 6 October 1472 until 14 March 1475 — the longest parliament before the Reformation Parliament of

1529-36.<sup>64</sup> During its first session, Whittokesmede was re-appointed as Justice of the Peace and 'of the quorum' on 1 April 1473.<sup>65</sup> Shortly after the second prorogation of parliament (8 April 1473), he was prosecuting by attorney in the King's Bench a Trowbridge weaver, William Estmond, and one William Fysshe of Broughton Gifford.<sup>66</sup>

The exact date of his death is unknown. However, in a list of borough officers for Wilton chosen at Michaelmas 1482 his name was given as one of the burgesses, but crossed out and the words *mort est* written alongside. Furthermore he was not included among the newly-commissioned Justices of the Peace on 20 July 1483. Clearly, therefore, Whittokesmede must have died between September 1482 and July 1483.<sup>67</sup> His wife was called Agnes and his daughter, Elizabeth, is believed to have married Giles Gore.<sup>68</sup>

It has been said that John Whittokesmede enjoyed a 'remarkable parliamentary career which can have had few parallels even in more modern times'.<sup>69</sup> However the interest and significance of his career is wider than simply that of a frequently-elected parliament man. He was an active professional lawyer and one whose connections were quite widespread, for he worked not only in the south-west, but also in the royal courts at Westminster. Then, again, his contacts were socially and geographically quite far-flung: at the upper end of the social spectrum were his links with the Hungerfords and two bishops of Salisbury, one of whom was the high-born Richard Beauchamp; whereas below, at respectable gentry level, he was associated with such middling-landholders, lawyers and local administrators as the judges Sir John Fortescue and Sir Richard Choke, and esquires such as Henry Long and Thomas Tropenell; and even with prominent citizens of Bath. Further afield his name was known to one of the Paston correspondents. As a local administrator he held many commissions, including that of an escheator and a Justice of the Peace, yet he never attained the ultimate local honour of being sheriff.

With such a long run of parliamentary experience to his credit, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he put in some attendance at each of the parliaments to which he was elected, taken together with his political attachments and legal standing, it does seem valid to suggest that John Whittokesmede could well have deliberately sought election, rather than having been the passive recipient of patronage. In that particular sense, he could be deemed to have been a parliamentary carpet-bagger. At all events like his fellow lawyers (and presumably friends) Fortescue and Choke, whose careers followed much the same

pattern, he was a political survivor who accommodated himself to the change from Lancastrian to Yorkist rule in late fifteenth-century England. Indeed the comment made by Professor Rosenthal on the career of Sir Richard Choke could equally apply to that of John Whittokesmede: 'he also learned to survive in the world of shifting dynasties, policies, factions and roles.'<sup>70</sup>

#### APPENDIX: THE ELECTION RETURN FOR WILTSHIRE TO THE PARLIAMENT OF 1450

This indenture made at Wilton in the county of Wiltshire in the full county [court] held Tuesday next after the feast of Saint Dionysius [Denis] in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of king Henry the Sixth after the conquest [13 October 1450] between Philip Baynard esquire, sheriff of the aforesaid county, on the one part, and John Baynard knight, Richard Milborn esquire, Thomas Benham esquire, Richard Hugon esquire, William Wroughton esquire, Richard Hayne esquire, Robert Unwyn, John Crikelade, Robert Colyngborn, John Rous, William Colyngborn, John Benger, Thomas Hasard, Thomas Walrond, John Croke, John Halle, Edmund Penston, William Lyghfote, Robert Cove, Richard Page, and John Prebendre, witnessed that by virtue of the same writ of the Lord King directed to the same sheriff and by this indenture in the usual manner elected John Russell and John Whittokesmede knights coming to the parliament of the Lord King, to be held at Westminster in the feast of Saint Leonard next coming [6 November], according to the said complete writ be named, girt with swords, suitable and discreet enough men of the [said] shire, having full and sufficient power for themselves and the said shire separately by themselves to do and consent to those matters which, then in the same place [i.e. in parliament] by the counsel of the community of the realm of England, need to be put in order concerning the business specified in the said writ. In witness of which matter the said parties in turn have put their seals. Dated the day, place, and year aforesaid. [Modern punctuation]

#### NOTES

- 1 His name is found variously as *Whitoxmede*, *Whittokesmede*, *Whuttokesmede* and *Whyttokesmede*. Unless otherwise stated, all references to original unprinted sources are to documents in the Public Record Office. I should like to thank Professor C.T. Allmand for his constructive criticisms of the draft of this article, and my wife for typing the manuscript.

- 2 J. Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, vol. 3, 1791, p. 327; *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (hereafter *C.F.R.*), 1437-45, p. 159; *ibid.*, 1461-71, p. 55.
- 3 J.S. Roskell, Linda Clarke and Carole Rawcliffe (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1386-1421* (hereafter *H.P.*), 1992, vol. 4, p. 851, sub 'Whittokesmede, John'.
- 4 *Official Return of Members of Parliament* (The Blue Book) (Parliamentary Papers, 1878), pt. I, 1213-1874, 314; C219/13/5, pt. 2, no. 88. M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages*, 1932, p. 110; and J.C. Wedgwood and Anne D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509* (hereafter Wedgwood, *Biographies*), 1936, gives John Whittokesmede II as member for Bath as late as 1432. In view of the long gap between the latter's election in 1410 and 1427, 1429 and 1432, it is suggested here that John II last sat in 1410 and that it was his son who was returned in 1427 and subsequently.
- 5 For example between 1427 and 1442: KB27/667; /677; CP40/672; /679; /691; /707; /717; /723.
- 6 *Official Return*, pt. I, 317, 322; C219/13/6, pt. 1, no. 91; C219/14/3, pt. 2, no. 80.
- 7 *Official Return*, pt. I, 325. The sheriff drew up an indenture for the election of the parliamentary knights for Wiltshire in which he referred to a separate schedule in which were set out the names of the shire-knights, citizens and burgesses (C219/14/4, pt. 2, nos 91, 92).
- 8 Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 945; C219/16/1, pt. 2, no. 111. By the fifteenth-century the system of manucaption was really a survival of an out-of-date practice, and in some cases the names of manucaptors were false (J.S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422: English Society and Parliamentary Representation under the Lancastrians*, 1954, p. 8).
- 9 *Calendar of Close Rolls* (hereafter *C.C.R.*), 1429-35, p. 162
- 10 CP25/1/292/68, no. 173 (Somerset Fines); E. Green (ed.) *Pedes Finium, commonly called Feet of Fines, for the county of Somerset, 4th series, Henry IV to Henry VI, 1399-1461* (Somerset Record Society, vol. 22, 1906), p. 193, no. 173; J.L. Kirby (ed.), *Abstracts of Feet of Fines relating to Wiltshire, 1377-1509* (Wiltshire Record Society, vol. 41, 1986), pp. 105-06.
- 11 *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *C.P.R.*), 1436-41, p. 152; *C.C.R.*, 1441-47, p. 228; *ibid.*, 1447-54, p. 147; J.S. Davies (ed.), *The Tropenell Cartulary*, vol. 2, 1908, p. 264. For the Hungerfords, see Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: the exercise of royal authority, 1422-1461*, 1981, *passim*; and for detailed treatment of the notable Sir Walter (Lord) Hungerford (ob. 1449), see J.S. Roskell, 'Three Wiltshire Speakers', *WAM*, vol. 56, 1956, pp. 301-41.
- 12 G.E. Cokayne (new ed. V. Gibbs and others), *The Complete Peerage* (13 vols, 1910-59), vol. 6, p. 613. For Hungerford's educational and cultural interests, see Nicholas Orme, *Education in the West of England* (Exeter, 1976), pp. 141ff.
- 13 There are no references to Whittokesmede in the printed records of any of the Inns of Court, though interestingly enough his slightly older contemporary, John Fortescue, was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1420 (S.B. Chrimes ed., *Sir John Fortescue: De Laudibus Legum Anglie* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. xix-xx). We do not know anything about Fortescue's early schooling. For the training of the common lawyers at this period, see E.W. Ives, 'The common lawyers', in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England: Essays dedicated to the memory of A.R. Myers*, ed. Cecil H. Clough, 1982, pp. 197-8; and *idem*, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England: Thomas Kebell: a Case Study*, 1983, p. 36.
- 14 *Somerset Fines, 1399-1461*, ed. Green, p. 93, no. 44; p. 96, no. 53; *Wiltshire Fines, 1377-1509*, ed. Kirby, p. 110. For a recent account of Choke, see Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Sir Richard Choke (d. 1483) of Long Ashton', *Proc. Somerset Arch. Soc.* vol. 127, 1982/3, pp. 105-21.
- 15 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, p. 311; *ibid.*, 1467-77, p. 118; Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 945.
- 16 *C.P.R.*, 1430-37, p. 277.
- 17 C219/15/1, pt. 3, no. 105; C219/15/2, pt. 2, no. 101. Sir Robert Hungerford headed the list of the Wiltshire electors in 1441.
- 18 C219/15/2, pt. 2, no. 102. The sheriff returned a separate schedule with the shire election indenture, giving the names of the citizens for Salisbury and the burgesses for the other Wiltshire boroughs, but without the dates of their election. This document is badly damaged.
- 19 Rosenthal refers to the 'enduring provincial ties' of Choke and Fortescue ('Sir Richard Choke', p. 109).
- 20 Accounts of the Steward of the Guild Merchant: Account of John Seward for 20-21 Henry VI (WRO G25/1/88); and *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 6, p. 28n. For Whittokesmede's appointment as bishop's bailiff, see R. Benson and H. Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum or Salisbury* (R.C. Hoare, *The History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 6, 1843), p. 698. Whittokesmede was called 'bailiff of Salisbury' (i.e. bishop's bailiff) when his name was included among the witnesses to deeds relating to property in Chipper Lane, Salisbury, on 4 Aug. and 5 Oct. 1465 (*Tropenell Cartulary*, vol. 1, pp. 251-2, 261). The bishop's bailiff was certainly a powerful figure, superior to the mayor, who had to be sworn in before the bailiff. Other city officials, too, were subordinate to him and he presided over the fortnightly leet, held at the Guildhall (*VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 6, pp. 95, 97).
- 21 C.W. Shickle (trans.) *Ancient Deeds belonging to the Corporation of Bath* (Bath Records Society, 1921), p. 14, nos. 49, 50; p. 93, no. 84.
- 22 J.L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary: A Calendar of the Earl of Radnor's Cartulary of the Hungerford Family* (Wiltshire Record Society, vol. 49, 1993), nos. 358, 359.
- 23 *Wiltshire Fines, 1377-1509*, ed. Kirby, p. 123.
- 24 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, pp. 189, 299.
- 25 For the careers of Fleming, Soper, and Trenchard, see Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 337-38, 782-83, 868-69. For the election of Whittokesmede to both parliaments of 1449, see *Official Return*, pt. I, 340, 342; and C219/15/6, pt. 2, no. 111; C219/15/7, pt. 2, no. 86.
- 26 WRO G23/1/1, f. 156 (an edition of this document, by

- D.R. Carr, is forthcoming, Wiltshire Record Society, vol. 53, 1999). It is interesting that in 1448 it had been decided to elect only residents of the city (McKisack, *Parliamentary Representation of English Boroughs*, p. 61). No doubt Whittokesmede would have had property there as bailiff of the bishop — he certainly had a tenement in Salisbury in 1455 (WAM, vol. 37, 1890, p. 85).
- 27 For Morgan, see Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 611-12.
- 28 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, p. 597; *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 1957, p. 32, citing E101/594/29.
- 29 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, p. 597; *ibid.*, 1452-61, pp. 680-81; *ibid.*, 1461-71, p. 575; *ibid.*, 1467-77, p. 635; *ibid.*, 1476-85, p. 577. He was 'of the quorum' from his first appointment (C66/470, m. 21d.). Other instances of his nomination to the quorum are 28 Nov. 1454, 22 July 1461, 24 Nov. 1466, 4 April 1472, 1 April 1473, and 10 Feb. 1483 (C66/479, m. 25d; /492, m. 23d; /515, m. 2ld; /529, m. 29d; /531, m. 22d; /545, m. 25d).
- 30 *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 1957, p. 32, citing E101/594/29.
- 31 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, pp. 433, 434.
- 32 *Official Return*, pt. I, 346; C219/16/1, pt. 2, no. 110. The parliament lasted from 6 Nov 1450 until the last week of May 1451: E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (eds.) *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed., 1986, p. 569.
- 33 For further discussion of the political background, see C.T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415-50: The History of a Medieval Occupation*, 1983; and Griffiths, *Henry VI*.
- 34 N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 2, 1976, p. 42.
- 35 *C.F.R.*, 1445-52, p. 193; *ibid.*, 1452-61, pp. 12, 63.
- 36 *C.P.R.*, 1446-52, p. 535; *ibid.*, 1452-61, p. 57; *C.F.R.*, 1445-52, p. 251.
- 37 E401/825; /829.
- 38 On this point, see Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 748-50.
- 39 *Official Return*, pt. I, 351; C219/16/3, pt. 3, no. 83.
- 40 Collinson, *History of Somerset*, vol. 3, p. 327.
- 41 J.C. Wedgwood and Anne D. Holt, *Register of the Ministers and of the Members of both Houses, 1439-1509* (1938), p. 704.
- 42 *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. 6, C/6375.
- 43 *Somerset Fines, 1399-1461*, ed. Green, p. 121, no. 64.
- 44 *C.P.R.*, 1452-61, pp. 409, 489, 516, 518, 559.
- 45 T.B. Dilks (ed.), *Bridgwater Borough Archives, vol. 4: 1445-1468* (Somerset Record Society, vol. 60, 1948), no. 858.
- 46 Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 945 and n.
- 47 *C.C.R.*, 1454-61, p. 294; *ibid.*, 1461-68, p. 240; H.C. Maxwell-Lyte (ed.), *Registers of Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1466-1491, and of Richard Fox, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1492-1494* (Somerset Record Society, vol. 52, 1937): Reg. Stillington, no. 52.
- 48 For Allington, see J.S. Roskell, 'William Allington of Bottisham, Speaker in the Parliaments of 1472-5 and 1478', *Proc. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.*, vol. 52, 1959, pp. 43-55.
- 49 *C.P.R.*, 1461-67, pp. 32, 37, 98.
- 50 *Ibid.* p. 132
- 51 *Ancient Deeds...of Bath*, ed. Shickle, p. 14, no. 51; *Tropenell Cartulary*, ed. Davies, vol. 1, p. 110. Whittokesmede was again mentioned as a feoffee for Tropenell in March 1463 (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 113).
- 52 For Long and Tropenell, see Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 550-51, 875-76.
- 53 *C.F.R.*, 1461-71, pp. 50, 55.
- 54 WRO G25/1/21. His 'junior' colleague was Robert Fenne. The original election return to chancery no longer exists.
- 55 *C.P.R.*, 1461-67, p. 452; *ibid.*, 1467-77, p. 126.
- 56 *C.C.R.*, 1468-76, no. 439; WRO 492/51, 217. I should like to thank Mr John d'Arcy, Principal Archivist WRO, for letting me have details of these deeds.
- 57 *Official Return*, pt. I, 359. The parliament was to sit at Westminster, with prorogations, from 3 June 1467 until 7 June 1468 (*Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 571).
- 58 *C.P.R.*, 1467-77, p. 220.
- 59 *C.C.R.*, 1468-76, no. 807.
- 60 *Ibid.*, no. 999.
- 61 *C.P.R.*, 1467-77, pp. 319, 463, 573.
- 62 For his restoration to the bench, see n. 29 above.
- 63 C219/17/2, pt. 2, no. 135. The sheriff making the return was Sir Maurice Berkeley, who was himself elected for Hampshire (Wedgwood, *Biographies*, pp. 67-68).
- 64 *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 571.
- 65 See n. 29 above.
- 66 KB27/847, m. 65d.
- 67 WRO G25/1/21, p. 43.
- 68 Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 945 and n.6.
- 69 McKisack, *Parliamentary Representation of English Boroughs*, p. 110.
- 70 'Sir Richard Choke', p. 105.

# The Commonwealth Marriage Register of St Mary, Marlborough

by I.L. WILLIAMS

*Many parish registers for the Commonwealth period in England, if they ever existed, have been lost. The parish of St Mary, Marlborough is fortunate in having a marriage register for this period which gives more information than is usually noted about the spouses and their parents, and which permits analysis of marriage formation.*

The town of Marlborough lies in the upper valley of the River Kennet, in the east of the county of Wiltshire. It was a corporate borough, and received its first charter in 1204. Its importance was as a staging post on the road from London to Bristol, and as a market town for the surrounding area. It was never a large town, and by the middle of the seventeenth century its population was probably about 1,800. Even at the time of the first decennial census in 1801 there were still only 2,367 inhabitants recorded. The town suffered badly during the Civil Wars of the 1640s. As a supporter of the Parliamentary cause, and within easy marching distance of the King's headquarters at Oxford, it was an obvious target for the Royalist army. The first attack, in November 1642 was driven off, but the troops commanded by Lord Digby succeeded in entering the town on 5 December. They are said to have burnt 53 houses, and carried off 120 prisoners to Oxford.<sup>1</sup> The Royalists remained in control of the town until June 1645, when it was relieved by the Parliamentarians under Lord Fairfax. A further calamity occurred on 28 April 1653, when fire broke out in a tannery on the south side of the High Street, near the churchyard of SS Peter and Paul. Fanned by a brisk south-westerly wind it soon spread to engulf much of the town, destroying 212 houses, the Guildhall, which was only twenty years old, and a large part of the church of St Mary.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly surprising that, as in so many other communities in the country, a considerable proportion of the town's records were disrupted during these years. The Borough Chamberlains' Book, which had been in continuous use since 1572,<sup>3</sup> contains accounts that are complete for 1640, but the preamble for the accounts of 1641, although started, was never finished. The accounts for that year and 1642 are missing, but

four pages have been left blank, presumably in the hope that the accounts for the missing years could be entered at a later date. Another significant gap occurs in the Town Court books. There are no records of proceedings between 14 September 1641 and 1 September 1651.<sup>4</sup> The churchwardens' accounts for the parish of St Mary have not survived before 1827, but those of SS Peter and Paul show a gap similar to that in the Borough Chamberlains' records.<sup>5</sup> The accounts have been entered for the financial year ending 20 April 1641, but those for the following two years are missing. The account for the year ending 21 April 1644 has been entered, but in the name of only one churchwarden instead of the usual two. The registers of both of the town's parish churches are defective for some years, but not in any consistent pattern, since only that of SS Peter and Paul has a hiatus in the recording of baptisms (31 December 1643 to 30 October 1646) and burials (18 May 1643 to 8 December 1647).<sup>6</sup>

The gap in the marriage register of the church of St Mary lasted for twelve years from September 1641.<sup>7</sup> The next entry in the register, written on a page which appears to have been inserted, reads:

Memorandum. That Walter Jones was made Choise of approved and sworne to have the keepinge of this booke for the Registring herein all publicacions for marriages all birthes of Children and burialls of all sorts of people in the parish of St Maryes in Marleborough according to the act lately made to that purpose. Chosen the 20th of September 1653 and sworne the 28th day of the same month.

The signatories to the document were John Lawrence,

Thomas Hunt and William Blissett. All three were prominent Marlborough citizens, Lawrence having been Mayor in 1642, 1650 and 1653, Hunt in 1646, and Blissett in 1652. Despite the date of the swearing, however, no marriages were recorded until 4 January 1654, although birth and burial entries are in Walter Jones's hand from the beginning of October 1653.<sup>8</sup>

For the next few years the marriage register was carefully kept, and many of the entries give more information than was to be found again in marriage registers until the start of civil registration in 1837. The names of the father or widowed mother of the bride or groom are given in some cases, and the occupations of the father and of the groom himself are often added. The parishes where the parents were living were also often included, as in late February 1655:

Leonerd Hamon Taylor son of the Widow Hamon and Ann Eatwell both of this parish daughter of Brock Eatwell of broadtown In the parish of broadhinton husbandman Were Married February the 26

Walter Jones recorded 95 marriages at the church during the period 1654-8, an average of 19 a year, ranging from 14 in 1656 to 27 in 1655. The origins of the marriage partners are shown in Table 1 below. In analysing the marriage horizons, allowance has to be made for the fact that there were two parishes in Marlborough, St Mary and SS Peter and Paul. The social separation between the two parishes is well

Table 1. Origins of Marriage Partners

	No.	%
Both partners St Mary	38	40.0
Groom St Mary, Bride St Peter	11	11.6
Groom St Peter, Bride St Mary	5	5.3
Groom St Mary, Bride ex town	20	21.0
Groom ex town, Bride St Mary	14	14.7
Both partners ex town	7	7.4
Total	95	100.0

illustrated by the figures in Table 1, and is confirmed by the marriage register of SS Peter and Paul.<sup>9</sup> Only 6 (8.6%) of the 70 marriages recorded in that church during the period under review were between partners from the two Marlborough parishes. St Mary was the poorer and socially inferior of the two parishes. When a collection was made for the distressed Protestants in Ireland in 1641, 439 parishioners of SS Peter and

Paul gave a total of £87.7s.3d, while in St Mary's, a more populous parish, there were only 184 donors, and the amount raised was only £27. 17s. 10d.<sup>10</sup> Of the fifteen men who were Mayor of the Borough in the years 1640-1660, only two lived in the parish of St Mary.<sup>11</sup>

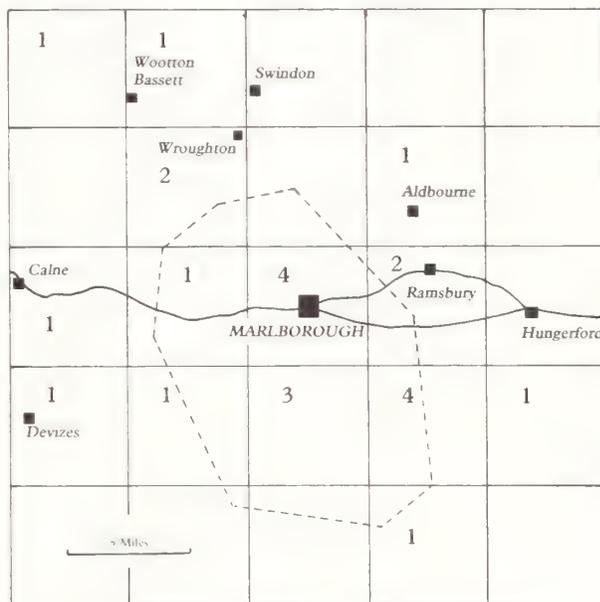


Figure 1. The Marlborough Area

More than one-third of the marriages at St Mary were between one Marlborough partner and one from outside the town. Marlborough was never an industrial town, and its main functions were as the marketing and retail centre for the surrounding area of north-east Wiltshire, and as a staging post on the main road west from London to Bath and Bristol. This road is indicated on the sketch map (Fig. 1), with the alternative route east through Ramsbury to Hungerford. The map also shows the nearest market towns to Marlborough, together with the conjectural sphere of influence of its own market (pecked line).<sup>12</sup> This is skewed significantly towards the south, due to the lack of market towns in the chalk uplands. The numbers in the grid squares indicate the numbers of spouses who came from parishes within the grid squares. Most of the marriage partners came from parishes within the market area, and the majority of the others were living within sixteen miles of Marlborough. The parishes of origin of the incoming spouses, together with the mean 'straight line' distances over which they travelled are listed in Table 2. This table, and Figure 1, indicate that the market function of Marlborough had far more effect on the origin of marriage partners than did its staging

Table 2. Places of origin of incoming spouses

Incoming brides	Distance (miles)	Incoming grooms	Distance (miles)
Preshute (2)	0.6	Preshute	0.6
Ogbourne St Andrew	2.0	Savernake	2.7
Ogbourne St George	3.3	Burbage	5.8
Wootton Rivers	3.8	Avebury	5.8
Milton Lilbourne	5.8	Great Bedwyn	6.3
Pewsey	5.9	Baydon	8.0
Great Bedwyn (2)	6.3	Heddington	12.1
Froxfield	6.8	Potterne	13.8
Woodborough	7.6	Chippenham	16.9
Wroughton (2)	7.7	Newbury (Berks.)	17.7
Buttermere	10.8	Charlton (N. Wilts)	18.8
Lydiard	11.4	Salisbury	24.7
Ludgershall	12.5	Reading (Berks.)	34.4
Brinkworth	14.7	London	72.5
Andover (Hants.)	18.2		
Portsmouth (Hants.)(2)	53.8		
Average (mean)	10.9		17.1

function on the London-Bristol road, since of the 28 places of origin listed only Chippenham, Froxfield, Newbury, Reading and London lie on the road. The importance of the market may also have influenced the distance from which the marriage partners travelled. Only four of the twenty brides came to Marlborough from further than thirteen miles, whereas half of the fourteen grooms had travelled further to marry at St Mary's church. This seems to indicate that many of the men of St Mary's parish were content to marry girls whom they met when they came into the town on market day. Young townsmen also tended to have less need than their village contemporaries to move from their parish of origin to find employment, incidentally finding a bride too during their travels.<sup>13</sup> The Marlborough brides, by contrast, seem to have married men from further afield, which suggests that there were more men than women visiting Marlborough from beyond the immediate vicinity of the town. Salisbury Plain was a definite geographical barrier; only four of the incoming brides and grooms came from south of Pewsey. Another barrier was the county boundary between Wiltshire and Berkshire. Although it lay fewer than ten miles from Marlborough in the seventeenth century, and many of the marriage partners came from much further away than this, only two are recorded as living in Berkshire. The barrier of a county boundary appears to have been a widespread phenomenon. The people of two adjacent parishes on either side of the border between Warwickshire and Leicestershire, although the villages were

separated by only two miles, looked in opposite directions within their own counties for their marriage partners, as well as their market visits and for sources for loans.<sup>14</sup>

Another difference between the two lists is the type of settlement from which the incoming brides and grooms originated. Three-quarters of the twenty brides came from the surrounding villages, only three came from local market centres (Wroughton [2] and Andover) and only two from a major town (Portsmouth). However, only nine of the fourteen grooms came from villages, while two came from the market towns of Chippenham and Newbury, two from the regional centres of Salisbury and Reading, and one from London. It is possible that occupational status played some part in this discrepancy. The occupations of sixteen of the nineteen grooms who took brides from outside Marlborough are given in the register. All of them were tradesmen or husbandmen. Most of the grooms who married brides from St Mary's parish were of a similar status, but there were also a clothier, a silk-weaver and a mercer among them. Either the brides' families were of the same kind of status as this, or the women were showing an upward mobility in marriage. One marriage was certainly between a groom and a bride of equal status, indicative of the mutual regard of one family for another which often resulted in intermarriage:

Mr. William Blissett the sone of William Blissett Esq. both of this parish and Mrs Mary Peirson the daughter of Mr Nicholas Peirson

of porsmoth in the Countie of Southampton  
Merchant Were Married Aprill the 1 (1656)<sup>15</sup>

Although the occupations of the groom and his father are not given in the register, it is known from other documents that William senior was a rich brewer, who had been mayor of the Borough on three occasions, while his son was an attorney pleading in the Town Court at Marlborough.<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Peirson was a wealthy shipowner who became Constable of the Borough of Portsmouth in 1652 and Mayor in 1672.<sup>17</sup> People of higher status tended to have broader geographical horizons, stemming partly from their wider social and economic contacts.<sup>18</sup>

In 14 of the marriage entries the abode of the grooms' parents is given, and in 36 cases the abode of the brides' parents, many of them being the same as that of the spouse. Occasions when the two parishes are different are listed in Tables 3 and 4. Although there can be no certainty that the spouses were born in the parishes in which their parents were living at the time of their marriages at Marlborough, it can

Table 3: Abodes of grooms' parents

Groom	Groom's parents	Distance (miles)
Marlborough St Mary	Marlborough St Peter	0.3
Marlborough St Mary	Preshute	0.6
Marlborough St Mary	Aldbourne	6.1
Salisbury St Edmund	Dinton	8.4
Marlborough St Mary	Devizes St Mary	12.3
Marlborough St Mary	Highworth	14.8
Everleigh	Bishopstone	19.6
	Average	8.9

reasonably be assumed that the young people had lived with their parents before starting out on their migrations.<sup>19</sup> The average distance between the home of the parent and the home of the bride or groom is an easy day's walk, suggesting that most young people did not travel far before marriage. It is perhaps more significant that, if the marriages involving the two Marlborough parishes are ignored, in every case the abode of the bride or groom is closer to Marlborough than the parental abode. Most of the marriage partners moved from a village to a town; only three had moved from one town to another, only two from a town to a village, and only one from one village to another. This attraction of towns in general and

Table 4. Abodes of brides' parents

Bride	Bride's parents	Distance (miles)
Marlborough St Peter	Marlborough St Mary	0.3
Marlborough St Mary	Marlborough St Peter	0.3
Marlborough St Mary	Ogbourne St George	3.3
Marlborough St Peter	Ogbourne St George (2)	3.4
Wroughton	Lydiard	3.6
Andover (Hants.)	St Mary Bourne (Hants.)	4.7
Marlborough St Peter	Milton Lilbourne	5.8
Marlborough St Mary	Pewsey	5.9
Marlborough St Mary	Wilcot	6.0
Marlborough St Mary	Great Bedwyn (2)	6.3
Marlborough St Mary	Broad Hinton	7.1
Marlborough St Mary	Hungerford (Berks.)	9.3
Aldbourne	Shellingford (Berks.)	11.8
Marlborough St Mary	Ludgershall	12.5
Wootton Rivers	Swindon	13.0
Preshute	Chippenham	16.9
Marlborough St Mary	Edington	19.2
	Average	7.6

Marlborough in particular agrees with the general characteristics of migration in the seventeenth century, that the towns absorbed the surplus population of the countryside, and offered wider employment, social and leisure opportunities than were available in rural parishes.<sup>20</sup>

The period during which the marriage register of St Mary was kept so fully was short, and the number of marriages limited, so that a formal model of the marriage horizons cannot be attempted.<sup>21</sup> However, enough information can be gleaned from it to substantiate the accepted theories of migration in the early modern era. The marriage register continued to be kept by Walter Jones, the Register, for several years after 1658, but fewer and fewer of the entries gave the same amount of detail as in the years 1654-8, until the great majority of them consisted of nothing more than the names of the groom and bride, and the date of their wedding. Jones continued writing the register even after the rector of St Mary, William Hughes, was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. Hughes remained in the parish of St Mary, conducting conventicles and teaching at the school he had founded, with various degrees of persecution by the authorities, until his death in 1688.<sup>22</sup> Like the vicar of SS Peter and Paul, Walter Jones survived the Restoration, and continued as Parish Clerk, his writing gradually deteriorating, until the end of 1679. He was buried at the parish church of St Mary on 21 July 1684.<sup>23</sup>

## NOTES

1. A.R. Stedman, *Marlborough and the Upper Kennet Valley* (Marlborough, 1960) p. 136.
2. Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) SP25/69: Petition from the inhabitants of Marlborough for relief.
3. Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office (hereafter WRO) G22/1/205/2: Marlborough Borough Chamberlains' book.
4. WRO G/22/1/154 and 155: Marlborough Town Court Minute Books, 1641-42 and 1651-52.
5. WRO 1197/21: Churchwardens' Account Book, SS. Peter and Paul Marlborough, 1555-1700.
6. WRO 1050/15: Parish register, SS Peter and Paul Marlborough, 1611-1662.
7. WRO 1050/2: Parish register, St. Mary Marlborough, 1623-87.
8. *Ibid.*
9. WRO 1050/15.
10. PRO SP28/195: Collection for Distressed Protestants.
11. John Lawrence served three times during this period, and four other men served twice; of these five, only William Blissett was resident in the parish of St. Mary.
12. A. Everitt, 'The marketing of agricultural produce', in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4; 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967) pp. 471-2.
13. W.J. Edwards, 'Remarriage: some preliminary findings', *Local Population Studies* no. 39 (1976), p. 38.
14. A Roberts, 'The farming inhabitants of Appleby and Austrey: two midland parishes', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Adelaide, 1984) *passim*.
15. W.J. Goode, *The Family* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964) p. 13. 'Mrs' in the seventeenth century denoted a gentlewoman, even if she was single.
16. A.R. Stedman, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
17. R. East, *Extracts from Records ... of the Borough of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1891) p.165; W.G. Gates, *An Illustrated history of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1900) p. 320.
18. R.A. Houston, 'Marriage formation and domestic industry: occupational endogamy in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, 1697-1794', *Journal of Family History*, vol. 8 (1983) p. 216.
19. A.E. Wrigley, 'A note on the life-time mobility of married women in a parish population in the later eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, no. 18 (1977) p. 23.
20. D. Souden, 'Migrants and the population structure of later seventeenth-century provincial cities and market towns', in P. Clark (ed.) *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (1984) p.133.
21. A. Boyce, C.F. Küchemann and G.A. Harrison, 'Neighbourhood knowledge and the distribution of marriage distances', *Annals of Human Genetics*, vol. 30 (1967) p. 335.
22. *Victoria History of Wiltshire*, vol. 12, p. 221.
23. WRO 1050/2.

# The By Brook Water Vole Project

by SARAH GRINSTED

*The By Brook and its tributaries were surveyed for water voles as part of a project to a) collect baseline data and b) promote practical conservation measures to riparian landowners and fishing organisations. Signs and sightings of water voles were recorded along the By, Burton and Broadmead Brooks, mainly north of Slaughterford (upstream). Signs were rarely found downstream, even where the habitat appeared suitable. These results are discussed in terms of mink predation, farming intensity and flooding. Overall, it is suggested that mink have had a marked impact on water vole distribution and numbers on the By Brook.*

## INTRODUCTION

The water vole was once widespread along waterways throughout Britain, but in recent decades has undergone a marked decline. A national survey in 1993 showed that it had disappeared from two-thirds of sites on average, compared to the beginning of this century (Strachan and Jefferies 1993). Evidence suggests that the main causal factors are habitat loss and predation by American mink — although the precise role of each has yet to be determined.

Habitat loss has occurred in past decades where rivers have been intensively managed for the purposes of flood defence and land drainage, and modern farming has encroached up to the river's edge. American mink were introduced to Britain for fur-farming in the 1920s, with feral populations gradually becoming established. Where rivers have been recently colonised by mink, studies have shown a parallel decline in water voles (Woodroffe and Lawton 1990b; Lawton and Woodroffe 1991; Strachan and Jefferies 1993).

The By Brook and its tributaries in the north-west corner of Wiltshire are one of English Nature's 'Prime Biodiversity Areas' and support a wide variety of wildlife, including water voles (Browne 1983). In recent years, water voles have declined on the river system, according to anecdotal evidence, although there has never been a systematic survey. The By Brook Water Vole Project was planned for two reasons: to assess the current status of the water vole and American mink on the By Brook and its tributaries, thus contributing to current knowledge; and to encourage greater awareness and implementation of practical conservation measures, amongst riparian landowners and managers, thus helping to fulfil the aims of the Wiltshire Cotswolds and By Brook Project.

The above countryside management project, based at the Wiltshire Wildlife Trust, aims to encourage measures to conserve and enhance biodiversity and landscape in the Wiltshire Cotswolds by providing a source of information and advice to landowners, managers, community groups and individuals.

## METHOD

The main part of the By Brook Water Vole Project was a survey, involving mapping habitat and recording field signs of water voles and mink along the entire river system (apart from some upstream reaches outside Wiltshire). This was done between the middle of August and end of September 1996, with initial work involving contacting landowners and fishing organisations to seek permission for access to the river, obtain anecdotal information and promote the Wiltshire Cotswolds and By Brook Project.

The By Brook and its tributaries (the Burton, Broadmead, Doncombe, Wraxall and Lid Brooks) have a total length of c.38 km within Wiltshire. The river was divided into approximately 500m stretches with some stretches longer or shorter than this, as dictated by changes in topography or habitat.

For each  $\pm 500\text{m}$  river stretch the habitat was mapped using a simplified version of the River Corridor Survey method (National Rivers Authority 1992). On the same map all sightings and signs of water voles and mink were recorded. Water vole signs found included latrines, scattered droppings, feeding remains, pathways, burrow entrances and footprints. Mink signs found included scats (droppings), feeding remains and footprints.

Care was needed in the interpretation of field signs. For example, native crayfish remains on

boulders might have been the result of predation by a number of avian or mammal predators, but a diagnosis of mink was arrived at for several reasons. Crayfish remains were relatively frequent along parts of the river (suggesting an efficient aquatic predator), they were found on boulders and fallen logs within the river (suggesting an agile mammal), and they sometimes had canine puncture holes separated by c.14mm — diagnostic of mink (Strachan 1995). In addition, mink scats were sometimes found in the vicinity.

Similarly, field vole signs are similar to water vole signs but smaller in size, and may be deposited along river banks with potential for confusion.

In addition to the survey, live-trapping was carried out at selected locations to provide further information on population numbers (by mark and re-capture), and the reliability or otherwise of recording field signs.

## RESULTS

The length of the By Brook and its tributaries were surveyed within a six week period.

Subsequent to the survey, the river was divided into 50m sections (within the  $\pm 500\text{m}$  stretches) for analytical purposes. Water vole signs plus occasional sightings of live animals were found within 89 (c.12%) 50m river sections, out of a total of 760 — as shown on Map 1. Of these, 32 held latrines (perhaps 'core breeding' areas, as described by Woodroffe and Lawton 1990a) whilst the rest held droppings, feeding remains (Fig. 1), burrow entrances, pathways, footprints or any combination of these, suggesting 'peripheral' areas.

The distribution of recorded sightings and signs of water voles was strongly focused towards the north of the river system (above Slaughterford) — as shown on Map 1. In the south of the river system



Figure 1. Water Vole feeding remains

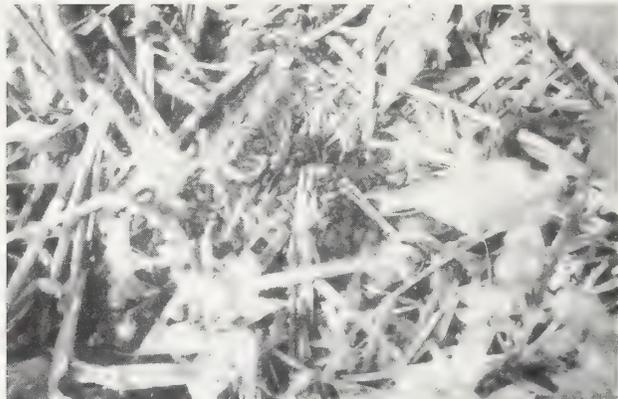


Figure 2. Water Vole latrine

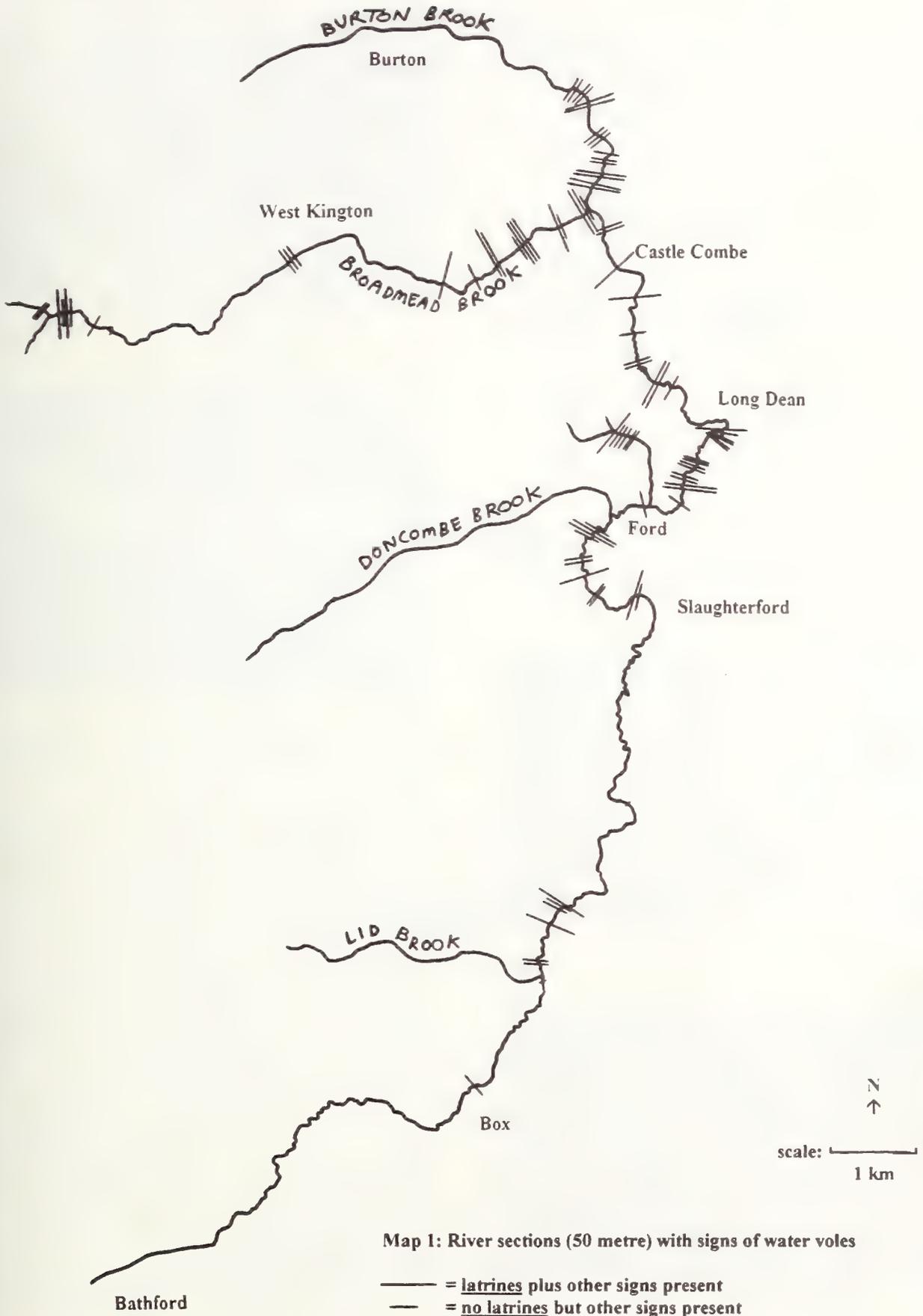
(downstream) water vole signs were found at only a handful of locations (7 x 50m river sections).

There was an average of 2.52 burrow entrances (range 1-13,  $n = 46$ ) and 2.06 latrines (range 1-8,  $n = 32$ ) per 50 metre river section (double river bank, Fig. 2). This compares with 24.9 burrow entrances (range 2-76) and 6.8 latrines (range 0-38) per 100 metres of single river bank, in a study by Strachan and Jefferies (1993). In both studies burrows tended to be under-recorded due to difficulties in locating them.

The results of the live-trapping were poor. Over 120 trap nights (10 traps x 3 nights x 4 sites) only one water vole was caught, on one occasion, at the Manor House Golf Club (stretch no. 5). In addition, one adult male weasel was caught. Such poor trapping success was presumably related to a low population density and / or a general reluctance of water voles to enter traps.

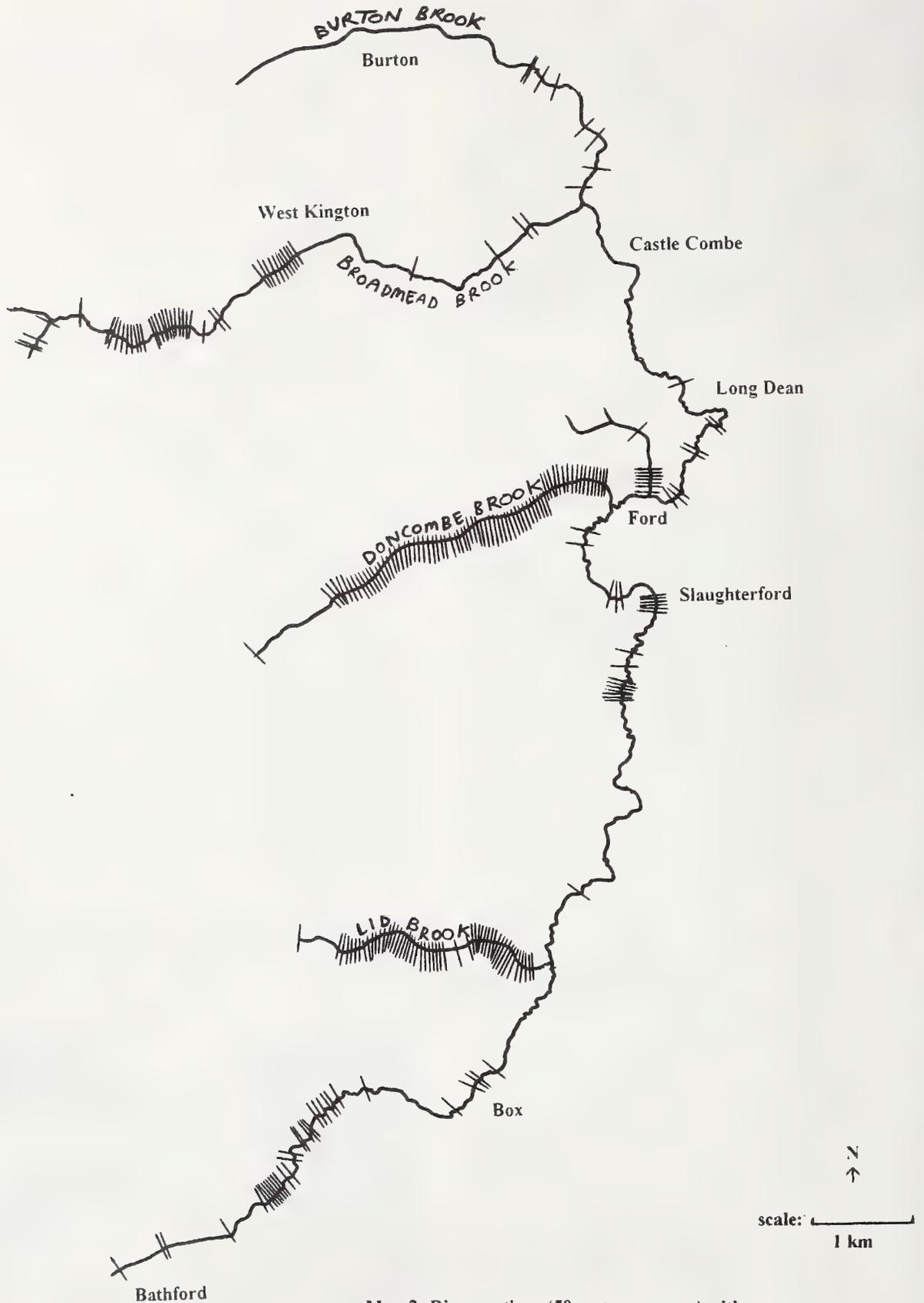
In terms of habitat, no water vole signs were found where the river was shaded (continually over 50m or more) by adjacent woodland or scrub (Fig. 3). Such conditions are frequent along the By Brook and its tributaries, accounting for 11.3 km (29.7%) of the total river length. There is a fairly even distribution of such habitat between the north and south of the river system, as shown on Map 2. Some of the tributaries are almost continuously shaded e.g. the Doncombe Brook and the Lid Brook.

Most water vole signs were found amongst stands of reed canary-grass, *Phalaris arundinacea* (holding 53% of latrines and 54% of feeding signs), followed by great willowherb (*Epilobium hirsutum*), branched bur-reed (*Sparganium erectum*) hard rush (*Juncus inflexus*) and a variety of other plant species (Fig. 4). Reed canary-grass grows as an emergent or on damp ground, associated with silt and shingle bars and sloping river banks, in open, unshaded conditions. This and other emergent monocotyledons were distributed widely throughout the river system, with



Map 1: River sections (50 metre) with signs of water voles

— = latrines plus other signs present  
— = no latrines but other signs present



Map 2: River sections (50 metre or more) with continuous, shading scrub or woodland



Figure 3. Wood-shaded river, unsuitable for water voles



Figure 4. Most water vole signs were found amongst reed canary-grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*)

no obvious differences between north and south — see Map 3.

Farmland abutting the river was recorded as being almost entirely down to permanent pasture throughout the river system. Only one arable field was noted, next to the Lid Brook. Only a small proportion (7.3km or 10%) of this farmland is fenced, with livestock having access to most river banks. In comparison, out of 89 river sections with signs of water voles, 20 (22.5%) were fenced or at least ungrazed by livestock, being a part of gardens or a golf course.

Mink signs were found largely in the south of the river system — see Map 4. These included scats, feeding remains (native crayfish) and footprints (Figs. 5, 6). Signs were particularly concentrated below Slaughterford Mill, around Weavern Farm and above Widdenham Farm. Much of this river stretch has woodland abutting the river on either side, presumably providing an attractive habitat to mink with ready-made dens and comparatively undisturbed conditions (Birks and Linn 1982; Smal 1991).

When comparing Maps 4 and 1, it is apparent that river sections with mink were correspondingly lacking in water voles. Out of 29 river sections with mink signs, 28 were completely lacking in water vole signs — even where the habitat appeared suitable or even optimal for water voles.

## DISCUSSION

The By Brook Water Vole Project had two main aims: to assess the current status of water voles and mink on the By Brook and its tributaries, by carrying out a detailed field survey; and to encourage practical conservation measures for wildlife along the river as part of the Wiltshire Cotswolds and By Brook Project. At the same time, a variety of interesting observations were made and these are discussed below, although statistical tests have not been performed on the data.

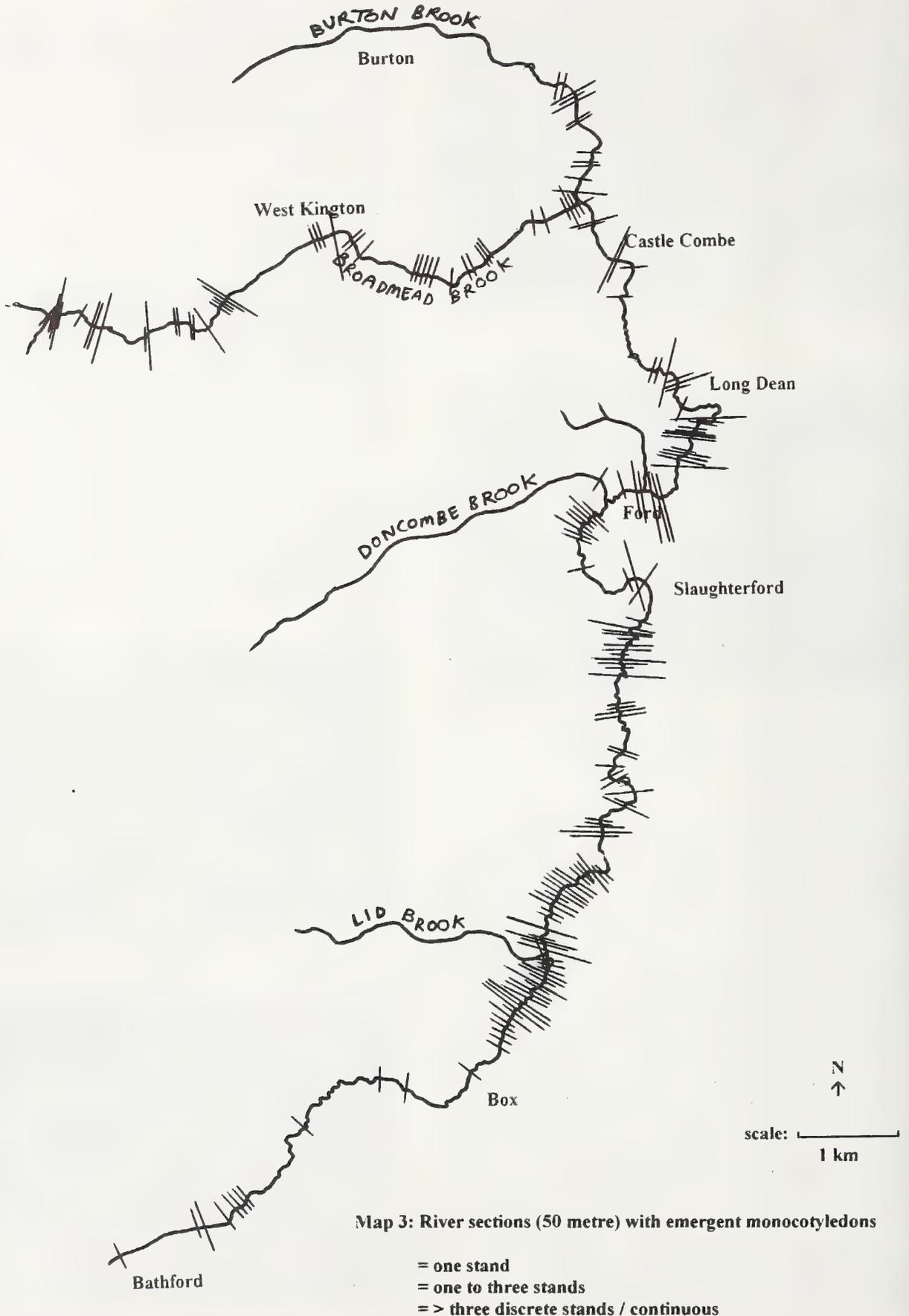
The survey covered almost the entire length of the By Brook and its tributaries. Water vole signs plus occasional sightings of live animals were recorded along 12% of (50m) river sections, mostly in the north / upper reaches of the river system (above Slaughterford).

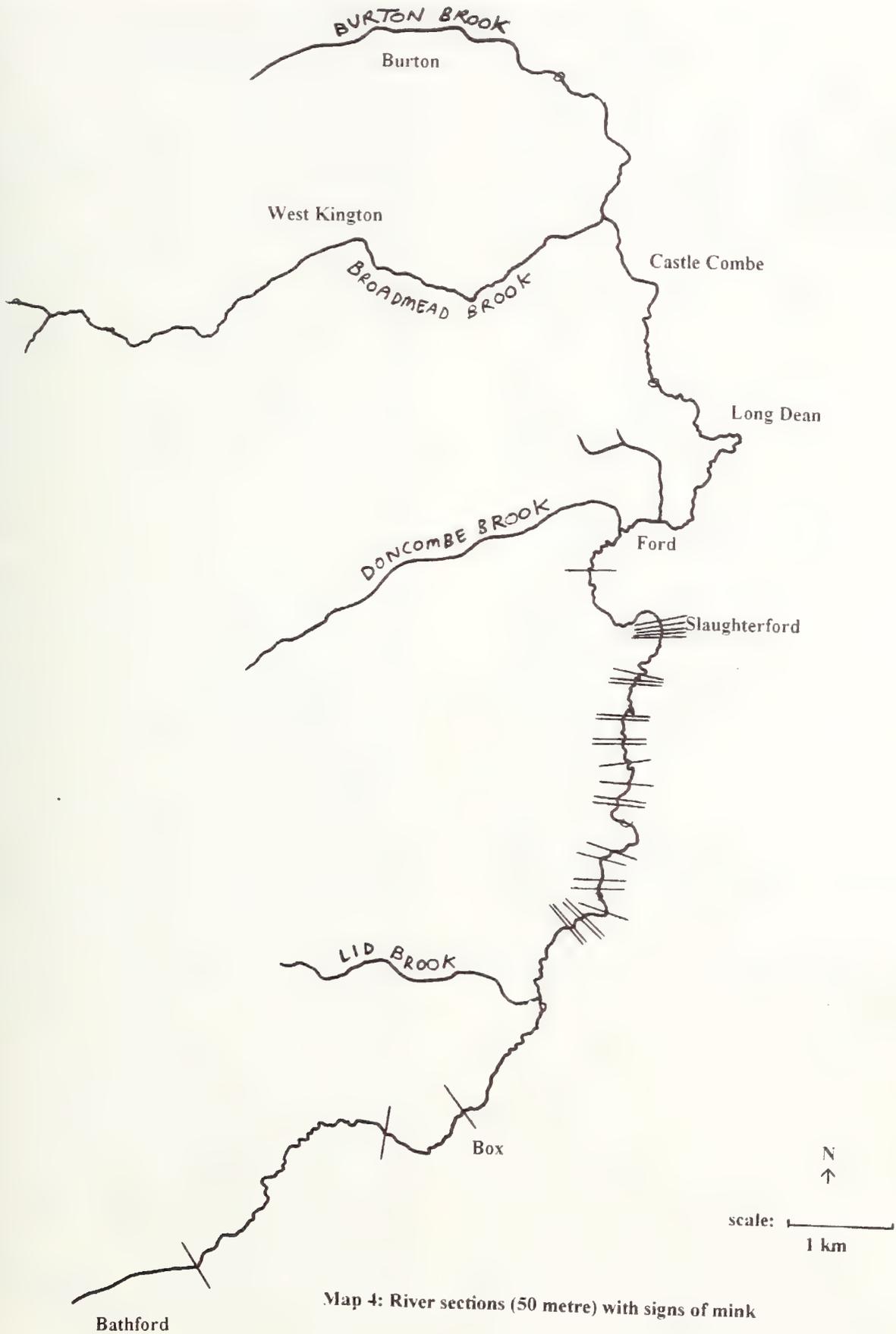


Figure 5. Mink scats on a rock



Figure 6. Mink feeding remains -- native crayfish





Map 4: River sections (50 metre) with signs of mink

Where water vole signs were found, the numbers of latrines and burrow entrances were low in comparison to the results of other studies, suggesting low population numbers.

Habitat was the most obvious factor affecting water vole distribution, at least in the north of the river system. No water vole signs were found where the river was shaded by adjacent woodland or scrub. Such habitat is less than ideal for water voles, having an absence of aquatic and emergent vegetation, and comparatively unproductive bankside vegetation — although in winter the situation may be different, with water voles depending more on roots and bark of woody species.

Extensively wooded or scrub-shaded river stretches were found to be frequent throughout the By Brook and its tributaries, limiting the potential for water voles to colonise — although such river stretches are valuable for other types of wildlife, e.g. otters, dippers.

Most water vole signs were found amongst stands of reed canary-grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*) which grows as an emergent or on damp ground, along open, unshaded rivers. Indeed, in the north of the river system, wherever this type of habitat was found, almost invariably water vole signs were found too. This suggests that bankside vegetation is an important factor, and that other factors like stream width and flow rate are less important, in the context of the By Brook. For example, the Wraxall Brook is less than 300cm wide in places but had water vole signs amongst over-hanging grassy tussocks.

Reed canary-grass and other emergent monocotyledons were widely distributed throughout the river system, with no obvious differences between north and south. Conversely, water vole signs were found mostly in the north / upstream reaches of the river system, suggesting that other factors were affecting water vole distribution. Other likely factors included mink predation, farming intensity and flooding, and these are discussed below.

Mink signs (feeding remains composed of native crayfish carapaces, and scats) were found mostly in the south of the river system, particularly where woodland abuts the river on both sides. Such a distribution of signs was strongly correlated with a lack of water vole signs, even where the habitat appeared optimal (for water voles). Honeybrook Farm (below Slaughterford Mill) was particularly striking, with its meandering, relatively open river, including plenty of emergent and bankside vegetation, plus adjacent unimproved meadows (a Site of Special Scientific Interest), yet no signs of water voles.

Mink signs are harder to find than water vole signs, being less abundant and less predictable in their positioning. In this respect, native crayfish remains proved a useful indicator of mink presence, being relatively abundant in places. However, downstream from Saltbox Farm (near Box) crayfish remains were never found, and it remains uncertain whether this was because mink were less abundant or native crayfish were likewise.

In addition to the survey, anecdotal evidence was obtained from various riparian landowners and fishing organisations. This showed a pattern, in that sightings of mink became progressively more recent downstream. Thus, in the north of the river system around West Kington, several people reported seeing (and controlling) mink about eight years ago; whilst in the south of the river system, two farmers had had sightings within the last two years, and one had seen mink shortly before the survey (1996). Thus it seems possible that mink are periodically moving up the By Brook from the River Avon — and this would help to explain the dearth of water voles at this southern / downstream end of the river.

Grazing by livestock and fencing appeared to have a small effect on water vole distribution (but not between the north and the south of the river system). Out of all the (50m) river sections with signs of water voles, a higher proportion had fenced river banks or were ungrazed, being a part of gardens or a golf course, than would be expected if water voles were randomly distributed between fenced and unfenced river banks.

Farming intensity varies throughout the river system. To the north, a high proportion of farmland is unimproved limestone grassland (largely due to the steep terrain), whilst in the south (below Weavern Farm) most is improved grassland, with a number of dairy farms operating. This difference ties in with water vole presence / absence, however over-grazing and poaching of the river banks were not noted to be a particular problem at the time of the survey, either in the south or the north of the river system.

In fact, the river system is an unusually natural and undisturbed one, with frequent meanders all the way to its confluence with the River Avon. The valley slopes and surrounding area have the highest density of County Wildlife Sites found anywhere in Wiltshire. Problems experienced on other rivers such as conversion to arable land, improved land drainage and intensive river maintenance, have largely not occurred along the By Brook.

Flooding is another factor that might affect the distribution of water voles, although little information

is available. Flooding frequency, height and duration, and the types of retreat water voles might use, are all subjects for further study. On the whole, the By Brook is a small river with a narrow floodplain, never far from sloping land.

This survey has been a snapshot in time, and because of insufficient historical information it is not possible to quantify any changes that have occurred to water vole numbers and distribution on the By Brook and its tributaries. Browne (1983) reports that signs of water voles along the Broadmead Brook disappeared in 1976, possibly related to a pollution incident; otherwise there are no previous detailed records for the river system. However, the low density of latrines and burrow entrances found during this survey, the lack of signs in optimal habitat in the south of the river system, and anecdotal evidence from riparian owners, all hint at an overall decline in water vole numbers, probably in the last ten to twenty years.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the By Brook's water vole population was found to be concentrated in the north (upper reaches) of the river system and not exploiting seemingly optimal habitat in the south. Throughout the river system it seems likely that water vole numbers have declined, although this is the first detailed survey.

Overall, it is suggested that mink have had a marked impact on water vole distribution and numbers on the By Brook. These results reflect those from other studies in Britain, although this study was probably the first covering such a natural and undisturbed river system.

Follow-up work, as part of the Wiltshire Cotswolds and By Brook Project, has included the production of a leaflet on practical conservation measures for water voles and other wildlife along the By Brook,

aimed at riparian landowners and fishing organisations.

Acknowledgements: The author would like to thank the landowners and fishing organisations who permitted access along the By Brook, also Iain Donald for his assistance with the survey, Derek Gow (Nature Quest, Hampshire) for the loan of live-traps, and Rob Strachan (Wildlife Conservation Research Unit, Oxford University) for his advice. Funding from the Environment Agency and Mammal Conservation Trust made the project possible.

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# Alien versus Native Vascular Aquatic Plants in Wiltshire over Fifty Years

by JACK OLIVER

*The extreme fluctuations in the populations of four invading alien aquatic plants over the last fifty years are compared with levels of native aquatic species, with particular attention to the Duckweeds (Lemnaceae) and Waterweeds (Hydrocharitaceae, genus Elodea). A theory is put forward to help explain the changes.*

## INTRODUCTION

'Water Fern (*Azolla filiculoides*) was first noted in the Kennet and Avon Canal at Limpley Stoke, and in the autumn of that year (1939) the canal was almost completely covered. It looked from a distance like a red asphalt road, and I heard evacuated Londoners solemnly telling newcomers that the weed was a subtle device of the Government to prevent the enemy (German Luftwaffe) seeing the water from the air' (Grose 1957).

This is no longer the situation. The Kennet and Avon Canal is generally richer in aquatic plants than rivers in Wiltshire and is no longer dominated by Water Fern. Grose's *Flora of Wiltshire* was published in 1957, but his main observations were made from 1939-1954. He estimated the combined lengths of the 20 largest rivers in Wiltshire as 340 miles, and 6,000 miles for the smaller streams, and he gave the number 399 for all ponds or lakes in the county over 1,000 square yards in size. There were then 90 miles of canal, but now there are few lengths with water remaining, apart from the Kennet and Avon Canal which stretches 35 miles across the waist of Wiltshire from west to east. In the north of the county, gravel extraction has led to the development of extensive lakes in the Cotswold Water Park.

This article mainly considers freely floating surface and submerged species, and bottom rooted aquatic plants, but not the large numbers of 'emergent aquatics', plants which grow from the water to stick out of the surface. Comparisons over the last half century are possible because of Grose's work in the 1940s and 1950s, the Wiltshire Flora Mapping Project (WFMP) 1984-1991, the *Wiltshire Flora* (Gillam *et al.*, 1993) and the survey of river plants 1992-1996 by the Wiltshire Botanical Society (WBS; Oliver 1997). Each species or group is considered, followed

by a section dealing with the puzzling population fluctuations of four alien vascular aquatic species and the Duckweeds (Lemnaceae), with some experimental work discussed, some tentative conclusions, and a theory to help explain the fluctuations.

## FREELY FLOATING SURFACE AQUATICS

### **Water Fern: *Azolla filiculoides*: Family Azollaceae**

Our Water Fern came from tropical America to Limpley Stoke on the Kennet and Avon Canal in 1939. It rapidly spread along the canal throughout the war years. In 1942 it was so dense at Devizes that swans had very great difficulty in swimming through it. From 1946 to 1970 it diminished on the Kennet and Avon Canal, but with sporadic renaissances and occasional summer blanket cover over distances ranging from ten yards to four miles. Water fern cover looks hazy (compared with smooth blanketing by Duckweed) and can be blue-green or reddish, depending on the season. From 1970-1996 there were only sporadic minor recurrences on the Kennet and Avon Canal, but *Azolla* appeared on seven separate river sites (Wylde and Salisbury Avon), on one pond and at two watermills between 1970 and 1980. The 1993 *Wiltshire Flora* referred to *Azolla* at the seven known river sites, farm ponds, nurseries, water-meadows and mill-leats, but only give its occurrence in 15 one-km squares throughout Wiltshire. The 1992-6 WBS river survey revealed it also at six more river sites on the (Bath) Avon, Sherston Avon and Cowage Brook.

Even allowing for some human reintroductions, recurrences and new colonies seemed as random and unpredictable as the declines and/or disappearances of existing colonies.

**New Zealand Pygmyweed: *Crassula helmsii*.  
Family Crassulaceae**

This plant came from coastal New Zealand or Australia, usually from brackish or salty waters. In Britain, however, it has in some counties been extremely invasive in freshwater localities, doubling its quantity and numbers of sites every few years, as well as spreading in the free floating form, New Zealand Pygmyweed can root, trail, grow under water or spread in marsh or on mud to insinuate and then overwhelm other low marshy vegetation. It was first found in Wiltshire in 1979, but so far it has not progressed beyond small ponds or moats in six one-km squares, We have been asked to report new sites, as outside Wiltshire this in recent years has been the most invasive of all alien species.

**Least Duckweed: *Lemna minuta (minuscula)*:  
Family Lemnaceae**

Least Duckweed comes from Chile and warm temperate USA, and was first reported in Wiltshire from ponds near Chippenham in 1988. The major invasion of the county started on the Kennet and Avon Canal a year later (Last 1990). An extensive and continuous cover, like the green baize of a billiard table, formed over the canal at Devizes including the locks. This cover is yellower green than Common Duckweed (*Lemna minor*). The fronds of Least Duckweed are smaller, more regular and slightly more elliptic than those of Common Duckweed, usually about 2 x 1.5mm or less, one of our tiniest plants with just a single rootlet from under the floating disc. On still water in summer, this shape and size permits the dense interlocking mosaic, hence the flawless smooth yellow green surface. Wind can pile up the fronds, but Least Duckweed can also form surface layers up to 3cm deep by vigorous dividing alone. In Britain it so far only multiplies by repeated divisions of the thallic fronds, not by seeding. In Wiltshire it stays on the surface in winter and is frost resistant, but over two or three years the initially dense and continuous surface layers thin out, and some fronds go brown or transparent, or split around the edges, or succumb to (bacterial?) infections. In Wiltshire rivers, Least Duckweed does not form the smooth cover seen on ponds and canals, but looser associations of the little yellow-green fronds in backwaters or slow swirls between reed stalks or other emergent aquatics. In winter when the flows are faster, Least Duckweed loses the rootlets and can sometimes

be seen as tiny green blobs or discs looking like algae or small detached sepals. I have also seen Least Duckweed on mud or waterlines, and have unfrozen it in rootless form from the ice in winter to restart colonies in water in the spring.

Between 1991 and 1994 Least Duckweed carpeted the canal to the eventual almost total exclusion of all other floating aquatics between Devizes and Pewsey, and in some other stretches also. By the time of the 1993 *Wiltshire Flora*, it had been recorded in 40 one-km squares in the county, mainly the Kennet and Avon Canal, but also in ponds and in pockets on the rivers Thames, Wylye, Bourne and (Salisbury) Avon. The 1992-6 WBS river survey revealed it to be on twenty more river sites making it now the seventh most common of all floating and submerged aquatics on Wiltshire rivers, and fifth if the floating grasses (*Glyceria notata* and *Agrostis stolonifera*) are excluded. In this WBS survey Least Duckweed came out as existing at approaching half the levels of frequency of Common Duckweed on Wiltshire rivers.

Despite the seven-year success of the invasion of Wiltshire waterways by Least Duckweed, and the letters of complaint from canal users to the local newspapers about the dense blanket cover of the water surfaces, there were signs of changes in 1996. The canal in spring 1996 was almost completely clear over long stretches. By contrast, I have noted Least Duckweed at Coate Water, and in huge quantities (2 cm deep) in Fordbrook near the Kennet and Avon Canal, and total blanketing of an adjacent large pond to the depth of 3cm throughout. These fronds were all green, but residual colonies on the nearby Kennet and Avon Canal were often thin, bleached or brown or otherwise unhealthy. Disease, possibly bacterial, has seemingly spread to established colonies of Least Duckweed, whilst Common Duckweed has started to make a modest come-back in 1996.

**Common Duckweed: *Lemna minor*: Family  
Lemnaceae**

Grose (1957) reported this native duckweed in 69% of ponds and lakes, 20% of streams and 10% of canal sites in Wiltshire. It is also common in puddles, water butts etc, and was recorded in 35% of Wiltshire tetrads in the 1993 *Flora*. Flowering and seeding rarely if ever occurs in Wiltshire, but even so it is probably the county's commonest and most widespread truly aquatic vascular plant.

Unfortunately the situation is complicated by a small-frond variant (Rich and Rich 1988) which can

be confused with Least Duckweed, or (in eutrophic waters in cold weather) with Fat Duckweed (*Lemna gibba*). The normal variant is usually about 6 x 5mm across in summer, and the fronds die or sink in winter, surviving frosts as overwintering buds at the bottom. The small-frond variant, which seems much commoner in the Upper Kennet Valley is seldom if ever above 3 x 2.5mm, and these fronds are frost-resistant and remain afloat in winter. In pure rainwater or dystrophic conditions, the normal form of Common Duckweed can be reduced to small thin fronds; or small fat fronds in cold eutrophic (over enriched) waters. Severe frosts can render colonies liable to disease which makes the fronds go brown and soft, sometimes with a film on the water reminiscent of infection with *Bacillus subtilis*.

#### Other Native Duckweeds: Family Lemnaceae

Ivy-leaved Duckweed (*Lemna trisulca*) usually floats just below the surface, usually in slow or static waters, in loose networks which sink in winter. It was found in 40 one-km squares as recorded in the 1993 *Flora*. Fat Duckweed (*Lemna gibba*) by comparison was only recorded in nine one-km squares, but Greater Duckweed (*Spirodela polyrhiza*), with its multiple rootlets, occurred in 41 one-km squares, 1% of the coverage of the county. All three species are found more often in the Kennet and Avon Canal than all other ponds and waterways together, with erratic disappearances and reappearances and occasional summer abundance, but without the aggressive year-round colonizing and blanketing capabilities of Least Duckweed. The very rare Rootless Duckweed (*Wolffia arhiza*), at 1mm Britain's smallest 'vascular' plant, has not been recorded in Wiltshire since 1949.

### UNDERWATER NON-NATIVE PLANTS

#### Canadian Waterweed: *Elodea canadensis*: Family Hydrocharitaceae

This plant reached Wiltshire in 1859 from Northern America, and became abundant in the early years of this century. By the 1950s it was in decline, still very common but only as the female plant and seldom flowering. Grose (1957) then recorded it in 57% of rivers, 33% of canal sites and 14% of lakes. The 1993 *Flora* describes Canadian Waterweed as occurring in many types of open water in 102 one-km squares, or 3% of the total for the county. The 1992-6 river survey

showed it to be at only 12% or less of river sites, now only the ninth most common of all true aquatic species, at least in the Wiltshire rivers.

#### Nuttall's Waterweed: *Elodea nuttallii*: Family Hydrocharitaceae

Also from North America, Nuttall's Waterweed reached the Cotswold Water Park lakes in Wiltshire in 1978. There was subsequent invasion of adjacent river tributaries, and by the 1990s, occasional dredged stretches of the Thames in North Wiltshire revealed Nuttall's Waterweed to be the dominant underwater plant with bankside piles three feet high. This dominance underwater is also true for parts of the Thames near and in London, but because the plant is usually three feet or more below the surface it is seldom if ever recorded. By 1986 Nuttall's Waterweed had already dominated eight miles of the central stretch of the Kennet and Avon Canal, largely supplanting Canadian Waterweed. The axillary shoots and roots grow faster in the former (Simpson 1990), and were even elongating under the ice in February 1986 (Oliver, in Gillam 1993).

The WBS 1992-6 river survey recorded Nuttall's Waterweed at 14% of sites, commoner than Canadian Waterweed, fulfilling the prediction by Dave Green in the 1993 *Wiltshire Flora*: '... *E. nuttallii* may, in time become dominant to *E. canadensis*'. It had reached this point in Wiltshire by 1996. I have seen Canadian Waterweed in shallow sunlit backwaters, for instance adjacent to the (Salisbury) Avon at Downton, but Nuttall's Waterweed by contrast seems to have a tendency to become abundant in the deeper, darker central river or canal channels, seldom visible. After the floods in the winter of 1994/5, by February 1995 Nuttall's Waterweed had become uprooted to festoon the riverside trees in large quantities, six or more feet up in the branches by the River Avon at Melksham and Limpley Stoke, not previously having been recorded in this river system. By 1993, Nuttall's Waterweed had been recorded in 34 one-km squares in Wiltshire, but then almost entirely confined to the Kennet and Avon Canal and some Cotswold Water Park lakes. At the time of writing (in 1996), this count should at least be trebled, with a much wider spread in the county because of invasion of the rivers.

#### Curly Waterweed: *Lagarosiphon major*: Family Hydrocharitaceae

Curly Waterweed, from South Africa, has only been formally recorded in Wiltshire since 1986, but

probably goes back longer. By 1993 it had only been found in 10 one-km squares in the Kennet and Avon Canal, lakes and ponds, but has been found in about six more ponds since 1994. It has not yet spread to the rivers.

These three non-native members of the Hydrocharitaceae spread only by vegetative fragments in Wiltshire. They seldom flower, and most or all Wiltshire plants are female.

## THE MAIN AQUATIC FAMILIES IN WILTSHIRE

Excluding all amphibious species, such as the Flote grasses (*Glyceria* spp.), some Umbellifers and Amphibious Bistort (*Persicaria amphibia*), and all the emergent aquatics, the main Wiltshire true aquatic representatives are as follows:

**Azollaceae:** Water Fern, discussed above.

**Nymphaeaceae:** Two Water-lily species. The Yellow Water-lily (*Nuphar lutea*) is found in 3% of one-km squares and was the fourth most common true aquatic in the 1992-6 WBS river survey.

**Ceratophyllaceae:** One species, Rigid Hornwort (*Ceratophyllum demersum*) in canal, ponds, lakes and slow streams, submerged and free floating, in 2% of one-km squares, but only 20th in the recent WBS river survey.

**Ranunculaceae:** Seven or eight Water-crowfoot (or Water Buttercup) species in Wiltshire with floating or submerged leaves, or both. Stream Water-crowfoot (*Ranunculus penicillatus*) is found in 4% of one-km squares and came a clear first in the river survey, found at more than half the river sites, often in great quantity.

**Crassulaceae:** One non-native aquatic species in Wiltshire, discussed above.

**Haloragaceae:** Three Water-milfoils (*Myriophyllum* spp.), one from Brazil but not persisting.

**Callitricheae:** Six Water-starworts (*Callitriche* spp.), most very uncommon. Common Water-starwort (*C. stagnalis*) however was recorded in 10% of one-km squares, seemingly making it Wiltshire's second commonest true aquatic plant after Common Duckweed. In the river survey it came second to Stream Water-crowfoot which is not found in canals or ponds.

**Hydrocharitaceae:** The most important three species (all non-native) discussed above, but one species Water-soldier (*Stratiotes aloides*) is native to Britain but introduced to Wiltshire — but only in one

pond.

**Potamogetonaceae:** The Pondweeds, 13 species in Wiltshire. Grose (1957) gave the following levels for the two commonest species, Broad-leaved Pondweed (*Potamogeton natans*) and Fennel-leaved Pondweed (*P. pectinatus*) respectively as follows: ponds and lakes 71% and 32%; rivers 7% and 50%; canals 22% and 18%. In the 1990s, these two species were only found in 3% and 1% of one-km squares; and even more tellingly the WBS 1992-6 river survey found them at less than 1% of river and stream sites! The other eleven species are all now uncommon or very rare. Ten species from the family have their main refuge on the Kennet and Avon Canal, and three have only been found in the canal.

**Zannichelliaceae:** One species, Horned Pondweed (*Zannichellia palustris*). Rivers, ponds, lakes, gravel pits, sometimes in quantity, but only recorded for 0.5% of one-km squares and 4.5% of sites in the river survey.

**Lemnaceae:** All species discussed under earlier headings.

## THE FLUCTUATIONS IN POPULATIONS OF AQUATIC SPECIES

Early this century, Canadian Waterweed actually blocked waterways, becoming for years the most abundant water plant in Wiltshire. It is now about ninth, mostly occasional in quiet backwaters. Nuttall's Waterweed, despite only reaching the county in 1978, may now have overtaken it in numbers of sites, and certainly has in bulk of vegetation. The wartime rise of the surface-floating Water Fern and its subsequent decline has been obvious and well recorded. Least Duckweed has been an even more recent invader, and since its arrival in 1988 it has already risen to fifth place. All of these plants reproduce and spread vegetatively in Wiltshire, only Water Fern having any chance of sexual reproduction (by spores) and genetic modification thereby.

Wiltshire's commonest native aquatics, Stream Water-crowfoot, Common Water-starwort, Common duckweed and Yellow Water-lily all produce seed and have maintained their populations at relatively constant levels over the past 50 years. This also goes for most of the less common native species. However all 13 native Pondweeds (Potamogetonaceae) are in decline. The Kennet and Avon Canal and the Cotswold Water Park lakes are important remaining refuges for these Pondweeds, and also for less common natives from other families, for instance Fan-leaved Water-buttercup (*Ranunculus circinatus*).

The puzzle is, what caused the declines and erratic reappearances of those non-natives that achieved widespread abundance following initial invasions? Grose (1957) and many commentators since have incriminated nutrient depletion, and there have been numerous laboratory studies showing reasonably enough that some species are happier in solutions with certain pH values or chemical nutrients. Even so, it is hard to see how any species which has had sudden population explosions and then declines on the Kennet and Avon Canal (Water Fern; Greater, Fat, Common and Least Duckweeds; Canadian Waterweed and various other species) could use up nutrients, even trace elements, when the water is eutrophic and continuously renewed, and mixed by boating and other human, bird and animal activities. The duckweeds hardly ever reproduce sexually, yet populations reappear erratically from submerged or floating buds or turions or over wintering fronds. Furthermore water from an ailing Duckweed population can be boiled; and when healthy fronds from the same clone are reintroduced they grow happily. Finally I have grown surface populations of different Duckweed species in rainwater for two years. The fronds grow much longer rootlets than those of Duckweeds grown in approved nutrients, but otherwise they keep dividing healthily.

Disease can occasionally be observed in some Duckweed populations. Secondary, but not highly virulent infections may occur when the fronds have been weakened by frost or grazing by water snails. I have also seen a (presumed) primary fulminant summertime infection sweeping across a Common Duckweed population. I think that the infections have been caused by bacteria rather than viruses or fungi, but the latter can devastate *Lemna* populations (Rejmankova *et al* 1986).

Herbivory and secondary infections, or primary infections alone, may explain the population collapse of alien aquatic populations, but certainly not their erratic reascendances and recoveries when they cannot reproduce sexually. Some laboratory studies have blamed protozoa for the collapse of their *Lemna* populations, but I see protozoa usually as allies, not pathogens. This applies particularly to the dense anoxic underlayers of Least Duckweed, where the protozoon *Vorticella* seems to mop up potentially pathogenic bacteria (Oliver 1993). I have noted recoveries of buds at the bases of rotten fronds, and the giant ciliate protozoa seemed to be concentrated in these pockets. The concentrations of large ciliate protozoa in the sub-thallic bud pockets might not quite amount to symbiosis, but seemed a mutually

beneficial temporary alliance (Oliver 1996). Landolt's (1986) monograph listed huge numbers of organisms associated with Lemnaceae. He referred to the special affinity, 'noted between *Lemna minor* (Common Duckweed) and the ciliate protozoa *Vorticella*, *Chilodonella* and *Pxyidium*.'

All this can provide evidence for a theory to explain why aquatics (especially aliens) which cannot or which seldom produce seed nevertheless partially recover from population collapses following initially successful massive colonizations. The multiplications or adaptations occur in *associated organisms* rather than in the vascular aquatic itself. Resascendances, recoveries, sudden reappearances of populations from a vegetative fragment carried in by a water bird or boat or by other means, depend not just on the nutrients, mud, physical and chemical properties of the water, but on the chance associations of organisms such as 'friendly' protozoa which can form associations with the aquatic plant. The balances between herbivory and pathogens on the one hand, and microscopic (symbionts or) allied organisms such as protozoa on the other, determine the otherwise mystifying, sporadic and unpredictable renewals of populations of an infertile aquatic which once had reigned over miles of water. This theory does not seek to underplay the importance of the chemical and physical aquatic environment, but in the absence of extremes of cold or pH or nutrition, biologically associated organisms are likely to be crucial in the survival of aquatics which produce little or no seed, or which seldom or never reproduce sexually. The prediction is that, between five and fifteen years hence, populations of Nuttall's Waterweed and Least Duckweed will no longer be rampant but will behave much as Canadian Waterweed in the 1990s.

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## Notes

### The Unknown Warrior? The Re-Evaluation of a Skeleton from a Bell Barrow at Sutton Veny, Wiltshire

by RICHARD OSGOOD

In the summer of 1964, David Johnston excavated a large round barrow at Sutton Veny in Wiltshire (ST 913415) with a team from the Department of the Environment (Johnston 1980). This barrow (4a) is one of a group of three, aligned roughly east-west. The barrow was c.43m in diameter, and contained a central grave with the remains of a wooden coffin, inside which was a bronze dagger, shattered food vessel and pygmy cup. The north west 'quadrant' of the bell barrow was found to contain an extended inhumation, lying more to the periphery of the chalk crust of the barrow. This burial of a young male, some 24-28 years of age, had a clear sword cut to the head and was interpreted as being of Late Bronze Age date. The wound suggests that this person was a possible victim of conflict.

In this article, the possibilities of this being a Late Bronze Age warrior or victim of combat are examined. The skeleton is now missing and so the evaluation must proceed without the tool that would almost certainly settle any dating argument.

#### SECONDARY USE OF WILTSHIRE ROUND BARROWS

Initially, Johnston thought that 'careful examination at the time of excavation seemed to confirm that the grave was not inserted, but primary – a "satellite" burial, in fact. However, the evidence for the sword cut is clear, and would date the burial to the later Bronze Age. We must therefore regard this as a secondary burial in a grave backfilled with its own upcast packed tight' (Johnston 1980, 38).

However, need this be the case? It seems something of a leap of logic to assume that this secondary inhumation needs to be Late Bronze Age simply because this was when the first slashing swords occur in the British Isles. After all, there is much evidence both in Wiltshire and also the rest of the country for re-use of existing monuments by other later societies, perhaps by way of making claims on

the ancestors for reasons of prestige and power legitimisation. This practice was nothing new even in the earlier Bronze Age – beakers are frequently found interred in or around existing monuments such as the West Kennet long barrow (Piggott 1962, 43-6).

#### LATE BRONZE AGE SKELETONS

In a recent article, Joanna Brück examined the fact that there is a distinct lack of an archaeologically visible burial rite at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Brück 1995). Very few Late Bronze Age skeletons survive in Britain, and none at all have been found interred in round barrows in Wiltshire; there appears to be a distinct movement away from the traditions of individual burial under a mound or in a cremation cemetery found in earlier stages of the Bronze Age. Perhaps, after a period of excarnation, bodies were disposed of in rivers or other 'wet' places in a similar manner to much of the metalwork of the period - Bradley and Gordon have examined this possibility with regard to the Late Bronze Age skulls recovered from the River Thames (Bradley and Gordon 1988). This may reflect a facet of the general change in society as a whole during this period with the emergence of water cults and divisions of the land.

As one would imagine, the subset of Late Bronze Age skeletons in Britain that display weapons injuries is even smaller. Only two certain sites exist in Britain: Tormarton in Gloucestershire (Knight *et al.* 1972) and Dorchester on Thames in Oxfordshire (Ehrenberg 1977). Both of these sites have the remains of individuals that have Bronze Age spearheads still embedded within their spines (see also Osgood 1998). Thus the find of a Late Bronze Age skeleton with a sword-cut to the head would be unique in Britain.

As far as intrusive deposits within round barrows are concerned, the situation is very different in the Anglo-Saxon period. Large numbers of Anglo-Saxon deposits have been found in earlier monuments throughout Britain. For example, there are 18 Anglo-

Table 1: Anglo-Saxon Secondary Interments in Wiltshire round barrows

NGR	SMR Number	County Barrow Number	Location	Description	Comments
ST 96712540	ST92NE402	VCH 1 1,152(4)	Middle Down, Ansty	Intrusive Saxon burial excavated from a Bronze Age round barrow	Large grave with grave goods including bucket, ring and comb
ST 95072126	ST92SE406	VCH 1 1,156(6b)	Winklebury Hill, Berwick St John	Saxon Burial within a Bronze Age round barrow	Intrusive extended interment with iron knife
ST 98044280	ST94SE401	VCH 1 1,167(6)	East of Codford Down	Intrusive Saxon inhumation in Bronze Age barrow	Found with remains of bucket, iron and cloth
SU 08944485	SU04SE206	VCH 1 1,190(5K)	Net Down Barrow Group, Shrewton	Double inhumation in top of Bronze Age barrow	Iron Age or Saxon
SU 07664208	SU04SE401	VCH 1 1,221(61)	Winterbourne Stoke West Group	Probable Saxon intrusive inhumation in Bronze Age disc barrow	Found with iron knife
SU 00596476	SU06SW401	VCH 1 1,188(1)	East of Oliver's Castle, Roundway	Saxon inhumation in a Bronze Age bowl barrow	Found with 4 gold beads, 7 pendants 2 pins, medallion, bucket and iron /wooden coffin
SU 09017724	SU07NE400	VCH 1 1,166(5)	Thornhill Lane Broad Town, Clyffe Pypard	Saxon burial in Bronze Age round barrow	Found with amber and glass bead and iron arrowhead
SU 07087096	SU07SE401	VCH 1 1,165(10)	Yatesbury Hill, Cherhill	Saxon intrusive burial in Bronze Age round barrow	Found with a knife, beads and a metal box
SU	SU07SEU02	Unlocated	Yatesbury, Cherhill (unidentified)	Saxon burial in a Bronze Age round barrow	Associated with gold ring, some brass, and iron spearheads
SU 17223322	SU13SE401	Laverstock 17	NE of Broken Cross, Laverstock	Saxon intrusive burial in Bronze Age round barrow	Found with sword fragments and bronze strip
SU 16554690	SU14NE402	VCH 1 1,175(25)	Barrow Clump, Figheledean	Intrusive Burial in a Bronze Age round barrow	Found with socketed iron spearhead
SU	SU14NEU06	Unlocated	Silk Hill Group, Milston (unidentified)	Intrusive Saxon inhumation in a Bronze Age round barrow	Skeleton found with an iron lance
SU 19034444	SU14SE405	VCH 1 1,163(22)	Sling Plantation Group, Bulford	Saxon skeleton found in a bronze Age ditched bowl barrow	Saxon finds found with extended skeleton
SU 11926833	SU16NW400	VCH 1 1,195(6)	Overton Hill, West Overton	Saxon intrusive inhumation within a Bronze Age round barrow	Found with Saxon grass-tempered ware and implements
SU 11926835	SU16NW401	VCH 1 1,195(6a)	Overton Hill, West Overton	Saxon intrusive inhumations within a Bronze Age round barrow	Found with Saxon grass-tempered ware and implements
SU 11936837	SU16NW402	VCH 1 1,195(7)	Overton Hill, West Overton	Saxon intrusive inhumations within a Bronze Age round barrow	Found with Saxon grass-tempered ware and implements & child skeleton
SU 11966835	SU16NW403	VCH 1 1,195(6B)	Overton Hill, West Overton	Saxon intrusive inhumation within a Bronze Age round barrow	Found with 4 iron spears, knives, shield bosses, silver gilt studs and pottery
SU 13067538	SU17NW402	VCH 1 1,162(1)	N of White Horse, Broad Hinton	Saxon intrusive inhumation in a Bronze Age bowl barrow	Found with an iron spear

Saxon intrusive burials within Earlier Bronze Age round barrows in Wiltshire listed in the County's SMR (Table 1). Cunnington stated that at least 22 Saxon burials were found in older barrows in Wiltshire (Cunnington 1934, 41), believing that, as the majority of secondary Saxon interments were of robust males often with weapons, the use of a pre-existing mound occurred when a warrior fell by the way and for whom little time of labour could be spared (Cunnington 1934, 42). A further group of secondary Anglo-Saxon burials within Wiltshire round barrows is listed by Bonney (1966).

Although they are found in some earlier British monuments, no Iron Age secondary burials have been found in Wiltshire round barrows, and only one site, a round barrow at Snail Down, Collingbourne Ducis (SU 22025208), contained intrusive Romano-British inhumations.

Unlike the surviving skeletons of Late Bronze Age date, there are a number of Iron Age burials with weapons injuries (Dent 1983, 125-127) and Anglo-Saxon victims of possible combat trauma survive with reasonable frequency, such as the six skeletons from Eccles in Kent (Wenham 1989, 123) and the body from Maiden Castle (Brothwell 1971). This may be due to the fact that victims of combat were buried more frequently than their Late Bronze Age counterparts, or simply that the conditions for survival of remains have been more favourable. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the chances of the skeleton being damaged perhaps through combat and being interred within an earlier monument (in this case a round barrow) lie with a post-Late Bronze Age, probably Anglo-Saxon, date.

## THE INJURIES

Do the injuries sustained by the man give us any further clues as to the date of the body and to the type of weapon used? The cut to the Sutton Veny skull is clean and fresh and thus unhealed, a 'perimortal' wound. Rosemary Powers in looking at the human skeletal remains from Sutton Veny states that: 'The cause of death was apparently yet another head wound. A clean cut, probably from some sword-like weapon, passes obliquely across the right parietal bone from lambda to the centre of the temporal suture. A similar cut, obliquely dividing the malar bone on the same side, probably represents an extension of the same injury. Behind and posterior to this line the bone is broken away, so that only the anterior edge of the cut is preserved, and that incompletely. The blow

therefore halved the right side of the skull and penetrated almost to the midline; it was perhaps the "coup de grace" dispatching a wounded man' (Powers, in Johnston 1980, 47-48).

The size and shape of the cut can help to determine the type of weapon used (Wenham 1989, 132). Experimental work on human bone has shown that if a metallic edged-weapon enters the skull at an angle similar to the Sutton Veny or Eccles III skull, the obtuse-angled side of the cut would have a smooth cut surface whilst the acute-angled side would have a broken surface. From the size and shape of the cut to the Sutton Veny skull, it seems likely that a sword (or long seax) was used rather than an axe; the wound is quite long – greater than 10cm – and has a smooth cut-surface consistent with the use of an edged-weapon.

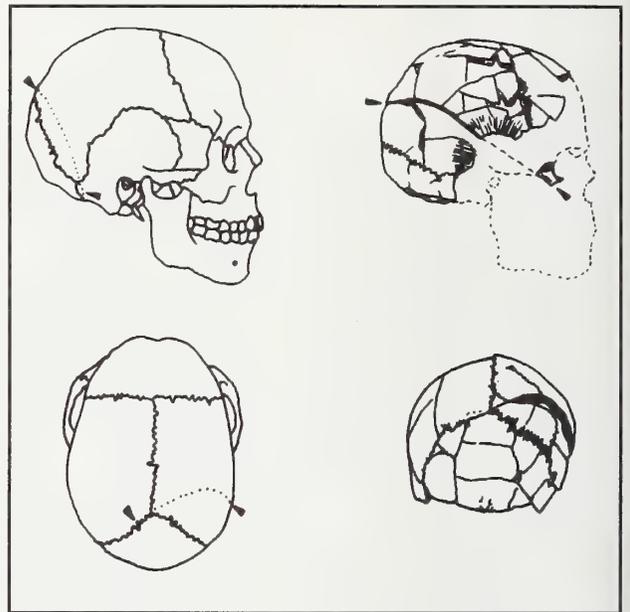


Figure 1. Skull 3 from Eccles (left) and the skull from Sutton Veny (right) showing sword damage

The position of the blow certainly seems unlikely to have been delivered in front-on combat. Not only is it on a somewhat unusual side (the right-hand side of the skull - a right-handed person is more likely to deliver a blow to the left side of his opponent) its location on the skull is more consistent with an assault upon a wounded body or somebody who was retreating or attacked from behind (see Figure 1).

If this were the case however, it is possible that further wounds to the skeleton might be expected and it is not impossible that the skeleton was damaged at the time of deposition, after death; 'ritually' killed for want of a better term. There are a number of examples

of damaged human skeletons surviving in the archaeological record that seem to display this phenomenon. At Garton Slack in East Yorkshire an Iron Age skeleton, GS 10, had 14 spearheads in the grave, six of which had been driven into the corpse. There were also 11 in a similar style in GS 7 (Stead 1991, 33), and we should thus not assume that this blow necessarily killed the man. The wounds inflicted may therefore not be indicative of warfare or combat. The body may have been ritually mutilated or, if the wounds were the cause of death rather than a post mortem action, a result of murder, legal punishment or religious sacrifice.

## CONCLUSIONS

With the skull now missing, it is impossible to go into greater detail, let alone analyse it for metallurgical traces (of bronze or iron). Other than to say that an edged weapon – a sword or seax – probably caused the wound, we cannot be too dogmatic. A Late Bronze Age leaf-shaped sword could be just as effective as an Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon iron sword (Osgood, 1998, 13) and could certainly inflict a wound similar to that sustained by the Sutton Veny skull. However, given that Late Bronze Age skeletons *per se* are so very rare, as opposed to Anglo-Saxon examples with possible combat trauma, a later date is more palatable and the probabilities lie with an Anglo-Saxon rather than Iron Age or Roman date. In addition to this, to simply assume that a weapon injury necessarily equates with warfare is problematic. It seems, thus, to be more likely that the skeleton is an intrusive Anglo-Saxon interment than a Late Bronze Age victim of combat.

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## A Bronze Appliqué Mount from Westbury

by MARTIN HENIG

A mount in the form of an undraped male bust was found in a garden at Westbury and submitted to the Museum for identification.<sup>1</sup> The nose is worn down and the mouth is almost obliterated but the high brows, balding pate and short beard suggest that it is Hercules. Each shoulder is pierced and the hole on the left shoulder has passing through it a ring to which a chain is likely to have been attached. The appliqué has a rectangular extension behind, into which a plug of circular section was once fitted in order to attach it to a vessel, casket or item of furniture. The boss is

54mm in height and measures 42mm across the shoulders.

A number of attachments of this sort have been found in Roman Britain, including a bust of Jupiter from Caerleon (Gwent), a satyr from Tarrant Hinton (Dorset) and, from Wiltshire, the Bacchus-Antinous and an associated Bacchus-bust found at Littlecote.<sup>2</sup> It is tempting to see the Westbury example as a fixture from a table-vessel with a carrying chain such as an *authepsa* (samovar), used for heating liquids. *Authepsae* were valued luxury items, which would



Figure 1. Westbury: Bronze mount (front) (Scale 1.2:1)

have allowed wine to be heated at the table.<sup>3</sup> Although the examples cited are not ornamented with appliqué of quite this sort and none figures Hercules, that hero would have been a highly suitable subject in such a context as a noted gormandiser and drunkard. Indeed the fourth-century Greek sculptor Lysippus made a special statuette depicting the hero called 'Hercules on the table' (*Heracles Epitrapezios*), as the name implies designed as a table ornament. It depicted Hercules, seated on a rock and drinking from a *skyphos*. Copies of the work survive in some quantity and it is clear that the Westbury appliqué is actually based on the upper part of this famous image.<sup>4</sup> The only other appliqué in the form of a Hercules-bust I have yet found comes from a different prototype and may have ornamented an item of furniture.<sup>5</sup> Finally it should be noted that a chain is a not inappropriate addition because the theme of Hercules in bondage to the Lydian queen Omphale was popular in Roman art and literature.<sup>6</sup>

Although the appliqué is not stratified, comparanda show it belongs to the first century or the early part of the second century. It seem to be a stray find, although it should be pointed out that a rich assemblage of Roman material including bronzes has been recovered from the Romano-British site of the Westbury ironworks in Heywood parish. With its intriguing hint at fashionable and luxurious dining practices against which Tacitus, indeed, inveighed (*Agricola*, 21), this object is further evidence of high sophistication in Roman Wiltshire.



Figure 2. Westbury: Bronze mount (rear) (Scale 1.2:1)

## NOTES

1. I am grateful to Dr Paul Robinson for bringing this item to my attention and for supplying information and photographs.
2. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford 1964), 65 and pl.xiia and b; B. Walters and M. Henig, 'Two busts from Littlecote', *Britannia*, vol. 19, 1988, 407-10; M. Henig, *The Art of Roman Britain* (London 1995), 70-1, ill. 40 and 39.
3. M. Yazici and C.S. Lightfoot, 'Two Roman samovars (*authepsae*) from Caesarea in Cappadocia', *Antiquity*, vol. 63, 1989, 343-9; L.P.B. Stefanelli, *Il Bronzo di Romani* (Rome 1990), 234 fig. 218 and 279, no. 98 from Pompeii; A.KaufmannHeinimann, *Die Römischen Bronzen der Schweiz V. Neufunde und Nachträge* (Mainz 1994), 153-6, no. 263 from Kaiseraugst.
4. J. Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age: The Greek World View 350-50 BC* (London 1979), 125 ill.123; J.Boardman with O. Palagia and S. Woodford, 'Herakles', *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 4 (Zurich and Munich 1988), 728-838 especially pp.774-5 nos 957-83.
5. Exhibition catalogue, *Los Bronces Romanos en España*, Madrid, May/July 1990, 322 no. 305 from Támara (Palencia).
6. J.Boardman, 'Omphale', *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 7 (Zurich and Munich 1994), 45-53.

## A Silver Ring-Bezel from Gastard, Corsham

by MARTIN HENIG

The silver ring-bezel (Figure 1) was found at Boyd's Farm, Gastard, in Corsham by Mr S. Copland in 1997. It was declared 'treasure' under the Treasure Act (1996) at a coroner's inquest held in Chippenham in 1998, and was subsequently acquired from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport by Devizes Museum (accession number 1998.52). There is a major Roman site at Boyd's Farm. Although its type is uncertain, it is known to have continued in use until at least the early-5th century AD, and it is clear that the bezel is directly associated with it.



Figure 1. Gastard: Silver Ring-Bezel (Scale 6:1)

The ring was evidently of the familiar late 4th- and 5th-century type with a raised square or rectangular bezel, measuring here 9mm by 7.5mm. Examples in regular Late Roman style include the two Christian rings from the villa at Fifehead Neville, Dorset (Mawer 1995, 72-3 and figs on p. 127, nos. D3.Si.5 and 6), the former depicting a chi-rho and the later a dove between two palms; and the recently discovered ring from Roundway Down, Wiltshire depicting an Imperial bust. Others are in a native style related to that of the quoit brooches, of which the best known examples are three from the Amesbury hoard (Henig 1978, nos. 801-3, pl. lix; Henig 1995, 172 ill. 101).

The present example clearly belongs to the second category. Like the Amesbury rings there is a simple hatched border on each side. The motif consists of two creatures, one on each side of a three branched

plant or a spray with three branches, each terminating in a pellet. At first glance they appear somewhat enigmatic, and one might even imagine them to be simplified versions of the *ketoï* on a silver ring from Wantage, Oxfordshire (Henig 1995, 172-3 ill. 103). However if the ring is turned so that the branch is on its side, one of the creatures is convincingly read as a bird with its head turned to face its rather stylised tail; it may, indeed, be compared with the birds depicted on a lost 'brass' bezel from Richborough, Kent (Roach Smith 1850, 89-90, fig. 6) and on a bronze ring-bezel (could it be Romano-British?) from Creissels in the region of Toulouse (Labrousse 1964, 431 fig. 9). Attention should also be drawn to a ring from a late Roman coin hoard found at South Ferriby, North Lincolnshire (O'Neil 1935, 257-8 fig. 2; Mawer 1995, 73 and fig. on p. 127, no. D3. Si. 9). The other creature is more enigmatic. It is fatter with an ill-defined head: it could be understood as a fish or, if it were standing upright, it might be an owl, although its arms are very close to what O'Neil called 'flippers' on the South Ferriby bird, and so this too may tentatively be identified as a bird. Single birds are quite common on rings of this sort, including, in addition to those mentioned above: a simple bird on a silver ring from another Theodosian coin hoard found at Whorlton, North Yorkshire (O'Neil 1935, 258 fig. 3); and another, rather duck-like from Droitwich, Worcestershire (Henig 1978, no. 798, pl. lix); a bird surrounded by four stars on another silver ring from a mausoleum at Bancroft, Bucks (Henig in Williams and Zeepvat 1994, 309-10 and pl. 72; Mawer 1995, 71 and fig. on p. 127 no. D3. Si. 1); and a bird with a roundel in the field beside it on a bronze ring from Cirencester, Gloucestershire (Henig 1979). All of these were probably made in Britain.

The circular bezel of a bronze ring found in a Theodosian context in the villa at Moor Park, Hertfordshire depicts a bird on either side of a palm-branch (Henig 1983-6; Mawer 1995, 74 and pl. on p. 128, no. D3. Br. 2) and this has been assigned a Christian significance. Although corroded its style more nearly approximates to the norms of Late Roman art. More interesting stylistically are the confronted peacocks or confronted peacock and griffin on either side of a tree on buckle-plates and

strap ends (Mawer 1995, 59-65 and figs. on pp. 124 and 125). In one instance (*ibid*, 61-2 and p. 124, no. D1. Br.3 from Penycorddyn, Clwyd) two fish are shown as well as two peacocks; this is worth citing in view of the particularly blundered nature of one of the figures, which makes a fish an outside chance. In this connexion the bezel of a circular ring in the Fortnum collection depicting two fishes and a palm may be mentioned (Fortnum 1880, 352 no. 35).

Although the device could have been read as Christian this lack of clarity in execution renders it uncertain whether it was really understood as such by the person who wore it. The ring, like those from Amesbury, albeit far inferior in artistic quality, is a native product dating from the 5th-century, and thus shows the continuity of Romano-British artistic production beyond the severance of close political links with the central Empire. This late provincial art was, essentially, an animal art (Henig 1995, 170-73), and birds were by no means out of place in such a context; one of the Amesbury rings, indeed, depicts a deer together with a bird and is probably without any Christian connotation.

## Clatford Manor, Preshute, 1668-1756

by JOHN FERRIS

A Chancery bill<sup>1</sup> presented by Thomas Fitzjames, late of Fullerton, Hampshire, on 1 July 1691 on behalf of his only surviving child, Katherine, permits some expansion of the descent of this property given in the *Victoria County History*<sup>2</sup> for a period of almost a hundred years, from the extinction of the Goddard family in the male line in 1668 to the purchase of the manor by the 3rd Duke of Marlborough in 1756.

On the death of Richard Goddard the manor of Clatford passed, apparently unconditionally, to his widowed and childless daughter-in-law Joan, sister of Thomas Fitzjames. Her brother's bill recites her settlement of 22 July 1685, entailing the property on:

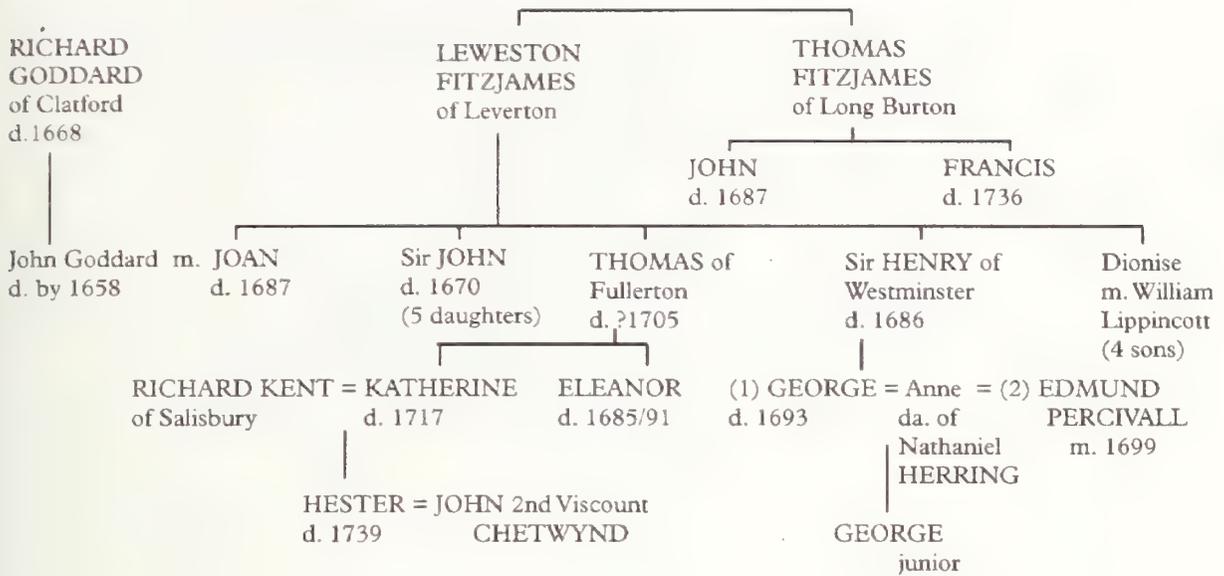
1. Her nephew George Fitzjames, son and heir of her youngest brother, Sir Henry Fitzjames, and his issue.
2. Eleanor and Katherine Fitzjames, daughters of Thomas Fitzjames, and their issue.
3. Her cousin John Fitzjames, gent., of Long Burton, Dorset, and his issue.

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4. Her cousin Francis Fitzjames, gent., also of Long Burton, and his issue.

It seems probable that by these dispositions Joan Goddard hoped to re-establish the Fitzjames name among the landed gentry of the West Country, where it had figured from medieval times until the death in 1670 of her eldest brother, Sir John Fitzjames of Leweston, Dorset, leaving only daughters.<sup>3</sup> They were sufficiently provided for; but the same could not be said of her four nephews, the children of her deceased sister, Dionise Lippincott.<sup>4</sup> But they, too, were passed over in silence. Her two other sisters, Eleanor Coles and Sarah Fitzjames, had died without issue, but her remaining brothers, Thomas and Sir Henry, were both living in 1685. They too were ignored, probably on grounds of character. Thomas was soon to quit the Hampshire estate which he had acquired by marriage, while Sir Henry had been outlawed for debt in 1671.<sup>5</sup> The two Dorset cousins were rustic and childless, and had to live down the conviction of their father Thomas for robbery in 1619.<sup>6</sup>



It was to the next generation, consequently, that Joan Goddard looked for an heir, ignoring primogeniture to give precedence to Sir Henry's son over Thomas's daughters. George Fitzjames was undoubtedly better qualified than any of his kin to hold his own among the Wiltshire gentry when his aunt died in 1687.<sup>7</sup> As page to the Lord High Admiral, the Duke of York, he had served in the Royal Navy.<sup>8</sup> His feelings over the usurpation of his surname by his master's illegitimate children can only be surmised, especially since their mother, Arabella Churchill, was his own second cousin, their grandfathers, Leweston Fitzjames and John Churchill, having married sisters, the coheirs of the Winston family of Gloucestershire. George Fitzjames took up residence at Clatford manor, and in 1689 married Anne Herring, daughter of a West Indian planter.<sup>9</sup> When Thomas Fitzjames initiated Chancery proceedings, they were expecting their first (and, as it proved, only) child. George Fitzjames (junior) was born on 26 July 1691, and was mentioned in his father's will of 24 April 1693, proved on 15 May by his mother Anne, who under her marriage settlement was to enjoy a life interest in all her husband's lands.<sup>10</sup> In 1699 she married Edmund Percivall, a Lincoln's Inn lawyer with a keen eye for an heiress, having acquired Heybridge Hall through his first wife. Anne Percivall survived him, a childless widow, for many years; it is not known when her son died.<sup>11</sup> Probably he was buried with his father at Fyfield, where the parish register is no longer extant.

It would appear that Thomas Fitzjames failed to establish the validity of his sister's entail of Clatford. His daughter Eleanor was dead by 1691, but Katherine lived to inherit Fullerton, and to marry

Richard Kent of the Close in Salisbury.<sup>12</sup> Their only child Hester inherited her mother's property in 1717.<sup>13</sup> She married John Chetwynd, who later succeeded to an Irish viscountcy. Fullerton, though distant from his principal estate in Staffordshire, was of value to him as carrying an interest in the borough of Stockbridge, which he represented in Parliament from 1722 to 1734.<sup>14</sup> He may have hoped to acquire influence at Marlborough by buying out Anne Percivall's life interest at Clatford, though her nephew and heir Julius Herring continued to reside at the manor.<sup>15</sup> Francis Fitzjames, the last remainderman in Joan Goddard's entail, died in 1735, leaving the Chetwynd's title beyond dispute.<sup>16</sup> But the existing borough interests at Marlborough were too powerful to be challenged, and in 1756 Clatford was sold to the Duke of Marlborough.<sup>17</sup> The Duke was Arabella Churchill's great-nephew though, with the extinction of the Churchill and Fitzjames families in the male line, the connexion had become remote.

## NOTES

- 1 Public Record Office [PRO] Chancery 5/160/17
- 2 *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 12, 1983, p. 173
- 3 *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* [SDNQ]. vol. 16, pp. 248-9
- 4 PRO Probate 11/371/283v
- 5 B.D. Henning (ed.), *The House of Commons 1660-1690*, 1983, vol. 2, p. 328; W.A. Shaw, *Calendar of Treasury Books 1669-1672*, p. 1266
- 6 PRO Chancery 231/4/80
- 7 SDNQ vol. 16, p. 225

- 8 PRO Admiralty 2/1746, f. 81v  
 9 City of Westminster Archives, St Martin-in-the-Fields parish register 34, 14 May 1689; *SDNQ*, vol. 16, p. 255  
 10 J.B. Nichols, *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 1838, vol. 5, p. 346; PRO Probate 11/414/352  
 11 P. Morant, *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 1768, vol. 1, p. 380  
 12 *VCH Hampshire*, vol. 4, 1911, p. 413

- 13 *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 11, 1980, p. 189  
 14 V. Gibbs, *Complete Peerage*, 1913, vol. 3, p. 188; R. Sedgwick (ed.) *The House of Commons 1715-1754*, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 545-6  
 15 Morant, *op. cit.*  
 16 *SDNQ*, vol. 16, p. 185  
 17 *VCH Wiltshire*, vol. 12, p. 173

## The Alvediston Altar Set by Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr

by ANTOINETTE HOOG

In 1903 Alvediston in south-west Wiltshire saw the departure (to Ash Priors, near Taunton) of Revd Arthur Wilfred Baynham from the church of St. Mary the Virgin, and the arrival of Revd George Wynne (*Clerical Directory*). The new vicar, formally appointed on Saturday 30 July 1903, continued what appears to have been a programme of improvements to the church and its contents, since two years earlier a vestry meeting had proposed to insure the 'new' lectern (WRO 1052/20). On 27 June 1904, Revd Wynne and his two churchwardens, Bernard Parnham and George Thatcher, completed a faculty petition to the bishop of Salisbury, in which they recited that a new hot water apparatus had been placed in the Church before last winter, and that they now proposed to 'place new lamps in the Church of S. Mary's Alvediston; also new altar ornaments'. The estimated cost was £95, to be defrayed by subscription, and 'the whole sum in hand is forthcoming' (WRO D1/61/40/13).

The altar ornaments (subsequently offered for sale in 1997, and purchased by Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, with grants from the Victoria and Albert Purchase Grant Fund and the Primrose Trust, accession number 1997.29) were a cross and pair of candlesticks, which at some point were commissioned from the up and coming Arts and Crafts silversmiths, Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr. The purpose of the present note is to describe this most interesting addition to the museum's collection, and the careers of its makers.

On 15th August 1904, Rev. Wynne wrote: 'Dear Sir, I have given overleaf the statement required & have asked Mr Ramsden who only returned home on Friday to send you tracing of cross & candlesticks.

I should be glad if these latter could have the approval of the authorities without delay as the donors are anxious that the cross should be in place by October 23 when the Bishop holds a confirmation here.' The statement required reads, 'At a meeting in the Vestry held on May 13th the Vestry approved of the whole of the Designs'.

The designs mentioned are presumably those sketched on a paper now held (with Wynne's letter and statement) among the Salisbury Diocesan archives in the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office (WRO D1/61/40/13), which show virtually life size drawings of the proposed pieces. They are very like the finished works except for the design of the cross, which Ramsden and Carr had originally intended to bear enamelled square areas depicting the four Evangelists at the four extremities of the cross, and a circular central boss showing the Lamb of God. In the top right corner of this paper, Rev. Wynne has instructed: 'Simple bosses in the place of the enamel work', accompanied by a helpful sketch of what he meant! As executed, these areas bear the initials of the Evangelists, with the Paschal Lamb in the centre in a stylised repoussé fashion. Wynne even produced a sketch showing the position and dimensions of the altar set on the altar, with the note, 'The Cross & candlesticks will be placed on top of the re table'. It is not clear for whose benefit he drew this sketch.

Made in brass, the altar set shows elements of the Art Nouveau style still popular at that time, with its wavy line decoration, but retains an Arts and Crafts sobriety and traditionalism in its even patina ranging from rich gold to dark brown. All of the pieces have been executed in sections, decorated with a repoussé technique and soldered together. Each piece also has



Figure 1. Alvediston: Altar set (Scale 1:5 approx.)

an inner weight, probably of resin. The cross, which is flat in section with a square base, bears the inscription OMAR RAMSDEN AND ALWYN CARR MCMIV, and stands some 67cm high; the candlesticks, round in section with two drip trays and a square base are 38 cm high.

It seems remarkable that so small a parish (population 165 at the 1901 census) should commission fashionable London silversmiths to produce an altar set at not inconsiderable cost, although no evidence has been discovered to link the commission to a wealthy benefactor. Both Roman Catholics, Ramsden and Carr were well known as makers of individually and handmade ceremonial,

ecclesiastical and presentation plate; although noted for their silver, they also worked in the medium of bronze, which was quite often used by Arts and Crafts craftsmen for its pleasing colour and easiness to work with (Karlin 1993, 34). Bronze was also far less expensive, which may very likely have been a serious consideration for Alvediston. Nor would it have been problematic for Ramsden and Carr, who were willing to take on all manner of commissions in the early years of their partnership.

Omar Ramsden (1873-1939) and Alwyn Charles Ellison Carr (1872-1940) were both born in Sheffield (for these and subsequent details of their careers see especially Cannon-Brookes 1973). Ramsden's father

Benjamin describes himself as an engraver on Omar's birth certificate, but in 1879 is listed in a local trade directory as: 'Benjamin Ramsden & Co, manufacturers of silver and electroplate, fish carvers, fish eaters, desert spoons, knives, scoops etc' at the Rockingham works. After spending seven years of his childhood in America, Omar Ramsden had returned to England by 1887, when he was apprenticed to a silver manufacturer whose name is not recorded, but is presumed not to be his father's company. In around 1890 he began attending part-time classes at the Sheffield School of Art, where he studied for the next seven years and met Alwyn Carr.

Alwyn Carr came from an altogether more prosperous background and went straight to the Sheffield School of Art from the Sheffield Central Higher Grade School. Both Ramsden and Carr won the Sheffield Corporation Scholarship (in successive years), and attended special courses at the Royal College of Art in London during the summer holidays, not only strengthening their friendship, but also developing a working relationship which matured into a business partnership. (It is worth noting that in 1899 the Sheffield School of Art was reported to have received more student awards in the national competition organised by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths than any other in the country: Turner 1992, 1.)

Of the several prizes Ramsden won, the most significant was the silver medal awarded by the Department of Science and Art for his design of a ceremonial mace suitable for the city of Sheffield. Having completed their studies and returned from a six-month tour of the Continent, Ramsden and Carr formed a partnership to execute the mace design, which had been formally commissioned by the 15th Duke of Norfolk. Despite their strong connections with Sheffield, the pair headed for London and set up business at Stamford Bridge Studios in Chelsea in 1898. The resulting mace was a professional piece of silversmithery and craftsmanship, the design based on conventional sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples. As such, it was not as stylistically significant as other pieces produced in the same year, 1899, which owed much more to the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Ramsden and Carr shared with others involved in the Arts and Crafts Movement an increasing dissatisfaction with manufactured goods and the depreciation of the individual craftsman. The movement had emerged in England in the last half of the nineteenth century as a reaction against the rise of industrialism, with a strong desire to raise the standards of design. It was also very much a social as

well as an aesthetic movement, somewhat idealising the role of the craftsman in medieval society, and disapproving of the acceleration of machine-made innovations, mass production and overworked items of all kinds, as promoted by the Crystal Palace Great Exhibition of 1851.

William Morris, often seen as the major inspiration behind the Arts and Crafts Movement, was greatly influenced by John Ruskin and the architect A.W.N. Pugin, who looked back to the Gothic Age for the utmost in visual beauty and craftsmanship. Morris was also well acquainted with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, who believed that the quality and nature of painting had been in decline from the time of Raphael. They set out to improve English art by using classical, religious, historical and literary themes. They were especially inspired by the medieval period, and both Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites advocated working from nature, this aspect having been particularly praised by Pugin.

In 1884 the Art Workers' Guild, of which Ramsden and Carr were both elected members (Ramsden was also Chairman of the Church Crafts League), was set up to provide a forum for discussion between craftsmen, architects and designers (Turner 1992, 7; Osborne 1975, 50). It is often considered the heart of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and Ramsden and Carr would certainly have empathised with the group's emphasis on the role of craftsman as artist. Some members of the guild went on to extend the group's activities by forming the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in order to reach a wider audience.

During the latter period of the Arts and Crafts Movement, it began to connect with the International Art Nouveau style which had spread across Europe and America from around 1880-1910. Also inspired by nature and particularly swirling vegetation forms, Art Nouveau was a deliberate attempt to create a new style rather than rework styles from the past. It was essentially an art of ornament, working best in architecture and decorative and applied art, and therefore beautifully manifested in metal work. The periodical *The Studio*, founded in 1893 and in which Ramsden and Carr regularly featured, did much to spread the style of Art Nouveau, while Liberty did much to make it popular. The last decades of the nineteenth century also saw a Celtic Revival, as a result of the discovery of Celtic jewellery and artefacts throughout the United Kingdom. Ironically, the antique interlaced knotwork and writhing patterns, often incorporating natural forms, complemented the modern Art Nouveau style as reflected in the Alvediston Altar Set.

In addition to the artistic environment Ramsden was working in, he was also personally influenced by the antiquarian, Fellow and Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London from 1884, Sir William Henry St. John Hope (1854-1919), who had advised Ramsden when he was designing the Sheffield mace. St. John Hope's special interest was in ecclesiastical architecture, but it is noteworthy that he also published papers on various subjects, including medieval plate and English mazers, the latter being a form Ramsden particularly used later in his career. Another significant source of influence for Ramsden and Carr must have been their friend W.W. Watts, who was responsible for the English Silver Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum; and it is interesting to note that a rose bowl by Ramsden was one of the few contemporary pieces of metalwork acquired by the museum for several decades (Turner 1992, 4-5).

Artistic training and influences taken on board, Ramsden and Carr completed the Sheffield mace and moved the studio to Albert Bridge, Battersea in 1901, and the workshop to Fulham. They later moved the studio again to Seymour Place off the Fulham Road in 1905, and called it The St. Dunstan's Studio. The Alvediston Altar Set must therefore, have been designed at the Battersea Studio and made at the Fulham workshop. Ramsden and Carr usually inscribed their work OMAR RAMSDEN AND ALWYN C.E. CARR ME FECIT or MADE ME plus the date of execution. In fact, it appears that Ramsden executed very few of the pieces himself, although he was renowned for supervising his workshop very closely.

From early on in their partnership, Ramsden and Carr were joined by apprentices and other silversmiths, such as Walter Andrews and Leonard Burt, and by chasers such as A.E. Ulyett, who was responsible for all the repoussé work. Later more joined including enamellers, engravers and panel beaters. Carr was largely responsibly for financing the business, using its profits to improve the premises. He is also regarded as producing the most imaginative designs and as being a successful networker. Before the First World War it was also Carr who is thought to have produced most of the drawings to be sent to clients for approval, so it may be assumed that the sketches held at WRO are by his hand. Ramsden is usually credited with the organisational skills and business acumen (Cannon-Brookes 1973, 4-5).

The St. Dunstan's Studio became a social centre and exhibition gallery for Ramsden and Carr, who exhibited annually, and the business flourished until the interruption of the war. Ramsden was considered

medically unfit for active service and was able to continue the business and his career, which he did with success. However, Carr enlisted in the Artist's Rifles and served in France until he was invalided out in 1918. His attempted return to the partnership was a failure, Ramsden having struck up a close friendship with a Mr and Mrs Downes-Butcher (later marrying the widowed Annie Downes-Butcher), which Carr found difficult to reconcile. This circumstance, together with the fact that Ramsden no longer needed Carr's financial support, led to the formal closure of the partnership in 1919 (Cannon-Brookes 1973, 5).

Carr set himself up in Kensington as a silversmith and designer of wrought iron during the 1920s, calling his workplace the St. Dunstan's Studios (plural!). Ramsden remained at St. Dunstan's Studio, Fulham Road, with an increasing team of craftsmen, having developed from an Arts and Crafts silversmith to a very successful businessman, and catering for the needs of a sector who wanted modernity combined with traditional craftsmanship. In his entry in *A Dictionary of Contemporary British Artists, 1929* (Dolman 1929), Ramsden is described as, 'reviver of the art of the English ceremonial goldsmith'. Still a member of the Art Workers' Guild, he was said to have, 'frequently lectured on historic design and execution at the Art Workers' Guild, The Royal Soc. of Arts, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Sheffield'. The entry lists some of his principal works, including the Sheffield mace, but it is significant that no mention is made of his partnership with Alwyn Carr. However, in Carr's will made in 1938, he wrote, 'to Omar Ramsden ... my friend and partner for so many years, my continuous affection and gratitude for all that I owe him during our years together', thus indicating that their friendship had at least been rekindled (Cannon-Brookes 1973, 5). Omar Ramsden died in 1939 and Alwyn Carr in 1940.

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## Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire 1997

**Alton:** Golden Ball Hill (SU 1270 6400); Mesolithic  
In order to locate and investigate concentrations of worked flint first identified in 1983, fieldwork was undertaken on Golden Ball Hill by a team from Cardiff University during 1997. The site, located on clay with flints, was investigated by means of gradiometer survey and test pitting on a 40m grid. A sub-circular anomaly was revealed by gradiometer survey and subsequently investigated by trial excavation. This proved to be a compact flint surface, loosely interpreted as a floor, and associated with a hearth of possible Mesolithic date. The dating of the surface is tentative; the only associated artefacts comprise pieces of worked flint of Mesolithic character. Three other surfaces were also located by the test pits, along with peripheral stake- and post-holes. Further work is planned for 1998. It is hoped to fully excavate at least one floor and obtain more positive dating evidence, including radiocarbon dates from the hearth.

**Amesbury:** Boscombe Down Airfield; Iron Age to Post-Medieval

The Defence Evaluation and Research Agency (DERA) site at Boscombe Down has been the subject of both aerial and field surveys during 1997. Ten watching briefs were carried out during work on a number of development projects, most revealed modern disturbance or were free from archaeological features. However, two produced Iron Age (SU 1890 3995) and Romano-British pottery (SU 1894 4035). The aerial survey, using new and archived photographs from the establishment's comprehensive collection, has revealed large amounts of previously unrecorded surviving archaeology, including a marl pit (SU 1760 3908), a round barrow (SU 1775 4105) and extensive areas of field systems (SU 1800 3880) and linears (SU 1654 3920). A number of small scale excavations are planned in the coming year to substantiate the aerial survey work, along with a full assessment of the barrow. The work was carried out by DERA archaeologists Bob Clarke and Colin Kirby for the Boscombe Down Conservation Group.

**Amesbury:** The Pennings (centred on SU 174 419); Prehistoric and ?Romano-British  
AC *archaeology* evaluated, by surface artefact collection, an area of c.65ha proposed for business

development at The Pennings. Previous archaeological assessment of the area had identified the presence of a number of archaeological sites, including several ploughed-out prehistoric barrows, cropmarks and linear features recorded from aerial photographs. Worked flint, burnt flint, pottery and tile was recovered. The overall density of this material was low, although some localised concentrations were apparent. The worked flint includes a number of technological and functional types. The range of core types recovered and the near absence of blades suggest a flake industry, although no areas of industrial activity were identified. Amongst the tools scrapers predominate, though knives, fabricators, an arrowhead and a fragment of ground axe are also present. The absence of blades and blade cores suggests little earlier Neolithic activity within the survey area, although a single fragment of ground flint axe was retrieved. The transverse arrowhead and the fabricators are of later Neolithic date, and the knives and a small number of 'thumbnail' scrapers may be early Bronze Age. Apart from these diagnostic pieces, the remainder of the assemblage may date to anywhere within the Neolithic or Bronze Age. Although a few concentrations of worked flint could be determined (at SU 169 417, SU 171 419, SU 174 414 and SU 175 418), there appeared to be no consistent relationship between these and the ploughed-out barrows and cropmarks. A small quantity of pottery was recovered, of which a few sherds from the extreme east and west sides of the site may be Bronze Age. Romano-British and medieval pottery appears in low concentrations across the site, and may relate to cultivation. The absence of significant concentrations of pottery contemporaneous with the flint assemblage is unsurprising considering the intensive cultivation of the area within the recent past. A limited programme of augering across shallow coombes, undertaken concurrently with the surface artefact collection indicates the potential for survival of undisturbed soil horizons sealed beneath localised colluvial deposits.

**Amesbury:** Stonehenge Road (SU 1450 4150); Modern

A watching brief was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeological Trust (CAT) during small-scale residential development within the bounds of

Vespasian's Camp hillfort. This followed earlier evaluation and geophysical survey (see WAM 91). Only modern deposits were recorded.

**Avebury:** Avebury henge and the West Kennet Avenue (SU 102 700); Neolithic

Topographic survey and stone recording within the Avebury henge monument and along the West Kennet Avenue was undertaken by a team from Leicester, Newcastle and Southampton Universities. The work, which included both conventional and innovative computer-based stone recording techniques, is part of a project intended to explore the potential of Geographical Information Systems and Virtual Reality techniques in the interpretation of the Avebury complex.

**Avebury:** West Kennet Farmhouse (SU 112 684); Saxon–Medieval

The archaeological excavation of a service trench during refurbishment of West Kennet Farmhouse was a condition of a Scheduled Monument Consent because of its proximity to the late Neolithic double palisade enclosure and the West Kennet Avenue. No prehistoric features were encountered but a Late Saxon linear ditch containing domestic refuse and an important environmental assemblage was investigated. Medieval activity, including pits, suggests that occupation continued until the 14th century when the site may have been abandoned until the construction of the present farm in the 16th or 17th century. The work was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology.

**Berwick St. John:** Berwick St. John to Ansty Water Main Renewal (centred on ST 9346 2352); Prehistoric

An archaeological watching brief was maintained by AC *archaeology* in conjunction with groundworks along part of the Berwick St. John to Ansty water main renewal. The watching brief monitored topsoil stripping and trenching in three fields at the base of Whitesheet Ridge which were thought to contain possible archaeological features identified from aerial photographs held by Wiltshire County Archaeological Service. No evidence was found for these or any other archaeological features along the length of the easement. Substantial quantities of colluvium from the adjacent scarp were recorded, the uppermost levels of which produced a small finds assemblage. This, along with finds recovered from the topsoil, include a significant proportion of worked flint. The various patinas, different flint and chert types, and the abraded

condition of this material suggests that they are a colluvial import, and are not related to *in situ* archaeological remains in the immediate vicinity of the works.

**Bishops Cannings:** Easton Down and Wansdyke (SU 0630 6565); Post-Roman

Excavation of a water-pipe trench through an existing causeway across the Wansdyke and an adjoining enclosure of Easton Down was supervised by Archaeological Site Investigations (ASI) on behalf of the Crown Estate's agents, Carter Jonas. Much of the ground through which the pipe cut was evidently of recent formation; only the uppermost, tertiary, ditch fills and layers of redeposited bank materials were cut into. No artefacts or other materials were recovered during the work.

**Brixton Deverill:** Summerslade Down, Lower Pertwood (ST 880 378); Prehistoric

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by AC *archaeology* in connection with a proposal to erect a telecommunications mast on land at Summerslade Down. The evaluation produced no evidence of subsoil features or archaeological deposits. A small quantity of worked flint and unworked burnt flint was recovered during the evaluation. The worked flint comprises irregular flakes with no retouched pieces, and is probably later Bronze Age in date

**Calne:** Church Street (ST 9985 7092); Undated

An archaeological watching brief was carried out by AC *archaeology* in July 1997 on groundworks associated with pavement renewal, following the discovery by contractors of human remains. The partial remains of a single undated burial were exposed and recorded, and an earlier graveyard boundary noted to the north of the burial. The remains were retrieved for reburial elsewhere within the churchyard. Further groundworks did not compromise archaeological deposits.

**Castle Combe, Kington St Michael, Yatton Keynell:** Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline (ST 8335 7950 - 9100 7655); Prehistoric and Romano-British

A watching brief along the 12km route of the Littleton Drew to Chippenham gas pipeline was undertaken by CAT. The pipeline ran through a landscape of proven archaeological interest, which included three previously recorded sites: the Fosse Way Roman road; a cropmark complex at ST 8980 7667 (Site B), and a prehistoric flint scatter at ST 8880 7653 (Site C).

Contingency was made for more detailed excavations in the event of the discovery of significant archaeology. Excavations within Site B sampled a number of ditches, pits and post-holes associated with a previously undated cropmark complex. The features produced both Iron Age and 2nd century Romano-British pottery. Excavations centred on ST 8790 7998 examined Romano-British ditches, pits and a well dating to the late 1st - 3rd centuries. The intensity of features suggests a previously unknown settlement within the immediate vicinity. A single Iron Age ditch was identified immediately to the north of this area. At the Fosse Way (ST 8394 7934) no trace of earlier metallurgy was observed. The road was flanked by two undated ditches. Two small pits containing prehistoric pottery were identified within the area of the known flint scatter at Site C. A number of isolated and undated pits were also recorded elsewhere on the route.

**Cherhill:** Bell Farm (SU 0399 7010); Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval

An evaluation was carried out by RPS Clouston (M. Connell) on behalf of Beaufort Homes. Eight trenches were excavated in the area to the north and west of the present farmyard. In the northern part of the site evidence was found for two phases of Iron Age ditch representing field system boundaries sealed below colluvium. At least two phases of Romano-British field boundary were found cut into the colluvium. One ditch and a buried ploughsoil related to medieval activity on the site. Middle Iron Age, Romano-British and medieval sherds were retrieved, along with a small quantity of residual flintwork. The Romano-British pottery spanned the 2nd - 4th centuries and the medieval collection was predominantly from the 13th - 14th centuries.

**Cherhill:** All Saints Church, Yatesbury (SU 063 715); Medieval

Following small-scale excavations by the Compton Bassett Area Research Project (CBARP), University College London, to the south of the church in 1994 (WAM 89 (1996), 153), open area excavation revealed further evidence of medieval activity. Two successive phases of the southern east-west boundary of the present churchyard were recognised, with a change from a post-built fence to a boundary ditch. A substantial ditch on a north-south alignment respected the line of the former fence and had been rapidly infilled with domestic rubbish at the end of its useful life. The north-south ditch demarked a small area without the consecrated ground, but within the

west end of an enclosure containing the churchyard in its north-west corner. Contained within this patch of ground were several animal burials and a north-south human burial; the latter is best seen as that of a suicide. Both the human and animal burials were sealed by a layer of late medieval date. Further features included two shallow gullies at an obtuse angle to each other, but separated by a gap of 1.2m. The configuration of post-holes in the vicinity of the terminals of each section of gully is indicative of a gate structure. The excavations succeeded in elucidating the sequence of churchyard boundaries, but also revealed a sizeable assemblage of glazed medieval sherds suggesting high-status occupation in the immediate vicinity. Indeed, the fragmentary remains of a post-built structure recognised in the 1994 investigations may represent part of a former manorial complex.

Geophysical survey was undertaken by Dr Mike Hamilton, with the aim of investigating the foundations of the now lost south aisle of the church. Whilst such remains proved elusive, the church itself was found to be ringed by a negative anomaly suggestive of the ring ditch of a former round barrow. The topography of the site lends support to this interpretation.

**Cherhill:** Yatesbury Manor Farm (SU 065 716); Neolithic, Early Bronze Age, Late Anglo-Saxon and Medieval

A north-south cutting was made into the south side of the turf-built round barrow first identified in 1993 (WAM 88 (1995), 154). Geophysical survey by Dr Mike Hamilton had indicated a substantial ring ditch surrounding the mound. Although a previous cutting had been made on the east side of the mound, all traces of the barrow ditch had been eradicated by the cutting of later features. The trench revealed two ditches and one oval feature. The latest feature was part of a ring ditch which lay within the area described by the second, earlier, ditch created by the barrow builders. The latest feature is dated to c.1000AD by the presence of a large unabraded, stamped rim-*sherd* of characteristic Late Anglo-Saxon type found in the basal fill. The ditch fills comprised two distinct deposits of charcoal-rich soils. The earlier investigation of the mound revealed that the summit of the barrow had seen episodes of intensive burning. The burning on the mound is provisionally interpreted as representing a beacon; part of a Late Anglo-System of civil defence incorporating Silbury Hill and the earliest of the three enclosures recognised at Yatesbury (Reynolds 1995). The barrow ditch itself was steep-

sided with a flat bottom. The filling of the ditch was homogeneous and contained flecks of charcoal. The barrow ditch was observed to cut through the south end of an oval pit, found to contain one complete Peterborough ware vessel and approximately two-thirds of another. The pit filling contained large quantities of charcoal including hazelnut shells, a rounded sarsen boulder, a flake from a polished axe, a serrated flint blade and numerous other flakes. The finding of this deposit confirms the results of analyses of flint from other cuttings around the mound that the site upon which the barrow was constructed had seen activity throughout the Neolithic. Some 50m to the east of the mound, 11 test-pits were dug up against the inner edge of the early enclosure in close proximity to previous pits which yielded chaff-tempered pottery. No further finds of chaff-tempered ware were made, but a small collection of abraded medieval sherds was recovered. A metallised layer was exposed in one of the trenches and may represent a road surface. A number of the trenches revealed oval and circular features of possible natural origin.

Five further cuttings were made in a field 200m to the north of the turf barrow. Recording of earthworks had revealed traces of a ditched rectangular enclosure with a larger enclosure to its west visible as a low bank. To the north of these features lay ridge and furrow set out east-west. All features were laid out in relation to the former north-south main route through the settlement (Reynolds 1995). Medieval pottery was recovered from cuttings across each discreet set of earthworks and the results of the exercise have allowed refinement of the settlement and landscape chronology.

## REFERENCE

REYNOLDS, A.J., 1995 'Avebury, Yatesbury and the Archaeology of Communications', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 6, 21-30

**Chippenham:** Western Bypass between the A4 (ST 8970 7204) and A350 (ST 9090 7065); Prehistoric and Roman

A programme of excavation and watching briefs was undertaken by CAT along part of the route of the Chippenham Bypass. In 1991 fieldwalking revealed a significant concentration of prehistoric worked flint at Site F (centred on ST 8986 7176) and a concentration of Romano-British material, including pottery and tile, at Site E (ST 8970 7195). Several ephemeral sub-oval pits, stake-holes and possible gullies, forming a distinct cluster, were revealed within

the south-eastern quarter of Site F. A small lithic assemblage was retrieved from the pits. Within Site E, Romano-British ditches were revealed at the southern limit of the excavation. No further features were identified during the watching brief.

**Collingbourne Kingston:** Grafton Clump (SU 2510 5792); Prehistoric

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by AC *archaeology* in connection with a proposal for the erection of a telecommunications mast on land at Grafton Clump, Collingbourne Kingston. The evaluation produced no evidence of subsoil features or archaeological deposits. A small assemblage of burnt flint and a single abraded sherd of pottery were recovered, the latter possibly Bronze Age. The finds do not suggest the presence of intensive prehistoric activity.

**Corsham:** 45 - 53 High Street (ST 8720 7056); Modern

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by AC *archaeology* on land to the rear of Nos. 45-53 High Street, Corsham. Three hand-dug trial pits were excavated in an area proposed for housing redevelopment. Two were abandoned on encountering significant modern disturbance. The third established that the natural clay and cornbrash lie directly below a garden soil. No archaeological deposits or pre-modern finds were discovered.

**Devizes:** Old Joinery Works (SU 6137 0061); Medieval

Wessex Archaeology undertook excavation of the Old Joinery Works site in the town centre of Devizes in 1996, recovering evidence of medieval and post-medieval activity. A watching brief undertaken during redevelopment work in February and March 1997 revealed several medieval pits and also identified the (?12th century) ditch marking the outer bailey defences of the castle.

**Devizes:** Willis Court (SU 0066 6153); Medieval

Two trial trenches excavated by ASI in a vacant plot adjacent to 3-4 Willis Court, Devizes, revealed a pair of post-holes containing 13th century pottery, sealed beneath deep deposits of re-worked garden soil. Despite the presence of medieval deposits, the site is apparently situated on the periphery of areas of medieval activity.

**Easton Grey:** Whitewalls (ST 890 871); Roman and Medieval (Figure 1)

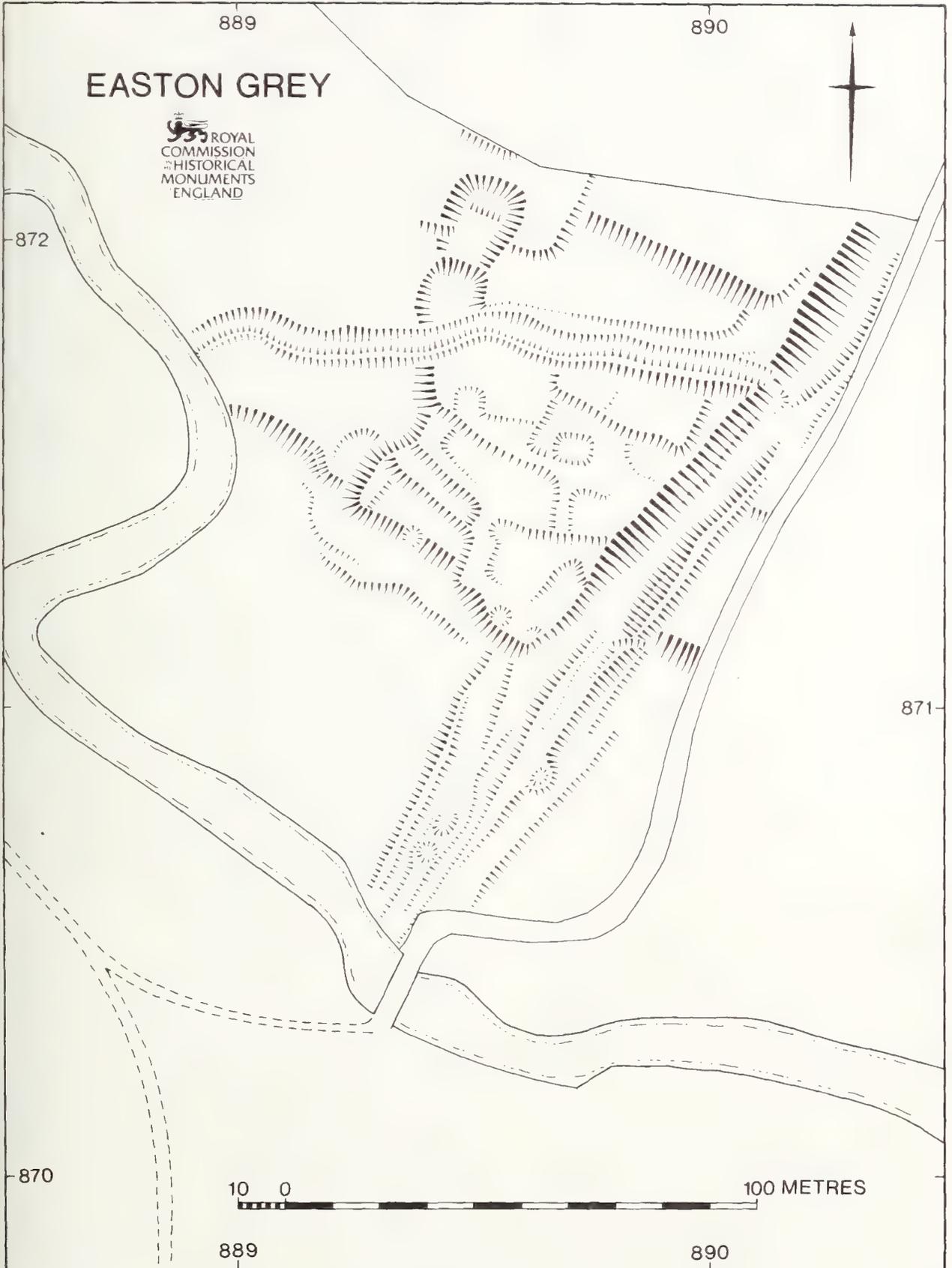


Figure 1. Easton Grey: earthworks of the Whitewalls Roman settlement

Earthworks thought to be part of a Roman small town were surveyed by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) at the request of English Heritage. 'Celtic' fields along the south-facing slope above the floodplain of the River Avon have been partly levelled, but are well preserved on the steeper part of the bluff. Cutting into or overlying these fields are up to twelve sub-rectangular hollows and a number of terraced platforms, which may represent buildings and accompanying garden plots or domestic compounds.

The line of the Fosse Way bounds the eastern side of the site and it too cuts the fields. The road is best preserved where it descends the bluff but the development of a later hollow way immediately alongside it has disguised its original form. On the floodplain its approach to the river crossing is masked by minor hollow ways. A sinuous bank and ditch overlies the settlement earthworks and is probably part of the pale of a medieval park to the north.

**Easton Grey:** Whitewalls Wood (ST 8895 8704 - 8905 8723); Romano-British

Archaeological monitoring was conducted by AC *archaeology* during work by Bristol Water to replace cathodic protection along an existing pipeline near Whitewalls Wood, Easton Grey. Twenty-seven installations were observed along a c.200m length where the pipeline ran adjacent to the course of the Fosse Way and through the area of the Whitewalls Wood Roman settlement. The majority of the groundworks involved the re-excavation of earlier pipe trench backfill, and no archaeological features were noted. A 2nd-century coin and five sherds of Roman pottery were recovered from the spoil.

**Enford:** The Mill, Coombe (SU 148 505); Post-Medieval

Deposits revealed in a trench located on the proposed site of a garage adjacent to Coombe Mill indicate that earthworks in the immediate vicinity are probably the result of surface chalk quarrying for building lime production, possibly associated with the construction of the adjacent mill buildings in the 18th century. The work was undertaken by ASI.

**Erlestoke:** Erlestoke Sands Golf Club (ST 9575 5400); Romano-British

A watching brief was undertaken by ASI during removal of topsoil as a part of landscaping works on the western edge of Erlestoke Sands Golf Club. This revealed a severely truncated linear feature containing the remains of a bovine/equine rib cage, and a subsoil

layer containing Romano-British pottery. The work, situated on the margin of areas evaluated by the Thamesdown Archaeological Unit in 1990-1, indicates that the Romano-British settlement extends northwards beyond the boundaries previously suggested.

**Great Cheverell:** St. Peters Church (ST 980 545); Undated

An archaeological evaluation of the proposed churchyard extension at Great Cheverell was undertaken by AC *archaeology*. The investigation comprised the excavation and recording of a single machine-dug trench. This revealed a deep sequence of sandy overburden largely devoid of artefacts. A ditch containing fragments of worked flint and animal bone was recorded in the base of the trench. No other subsoil archaeological features were present. A slight earthwork on the extreme southeast corner of the site is one of a number in the vicinity perhaps related to piecemeal quarrying.

**Heytesbury:** Heytesbury House (ST 932 428); Post-Medieval

Observations were undertaken by ASI on behalf of Peaselake Properties Ltd during groundworks associated with the refurbishment of Heytesbury House. In areas adjacent to the stable blocks, footings of out-houses probably contemporaneous with the kitchen block at the west end of the house were identified, as was evidence of earlier garden terraces not aligned with the existing buildings. No other archaeological deposits were revealed, supporting assumptions that any surviving remains of the earlier, 16th century, manor of the Lords Hungerford lie beneath or within the existing structure of Heytesbury House.

**Idmiston:** Porton Down (SU 213 376); Undated and Modern

Machine trenching supervised by ASI at CBD Porton Down, on behalf of the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency, revealed a number of archaeological features cutting into upper chalk, within an area considerably disturbed by modern activity. A minimum of four archaeological features were revealed, comprising a 'V-shaped' ditch and three shallower round-profiled gullies, all cut into natural chalk bedrock. None are securely dated. Modern features associated with recent EOD clearance were also revealed. The artefact assemblage was small, comprising worked and burnt flint, animal bone and a single fragment of antler from an undated feature.

**Latton:** Settlement west of Latton (SP 0875 9565); Bronze Age to Medieval

An evaluation was undertaken by CAT within the bounds of Scheduled Ancient Monument Wilts 899. Prehistoric activity comprised a Bronze Age double ring ditch and two Iron Age boundary ditches associated with a sub-rectangular enclosure previously identified during aerial photographic transcription. The evaluation indicated that Romano-British domestic occupation does not extend beyond the area defined by the cropmarks, although field enclosures and paddocks were identified. An undated horse burial is probably a late prehistoric or Roman ritual interment rather than a casual post-medieval burial.

Early Anglo-Saxon activity comprised post-holes, small pits, and a large sub-circular feature containing four concentric fills. The identification of early Saxon activity on the First Terrace of the Upper Thames Valley is significant as it has been suggested that there was a retreat from this area at the end of the Roman period. Evidence of medieval and post-medieval cultivation was found throughout the evaluation.

**Latton:** 'Roman Pond' SAM899 (SU 085 956); Late Bronze Age to Roman

The 'Roman Pond' site lay on the first gravel terrace, approximately 200m north of the River Churn, situated within Scheduled Ancient Monument 899 to the west of Latton Village. Excavations by the Oxford Archaeological Unit (OAU) in 1996, on behalf of Road Management Group, indicated that the 'pond' actually represented part of an extant palaeochannel which had been subject to frequent waterlogging. During February 1997 a number of environmental samples were taken. Analysis of these provided a pollen and environmental sequence running from the late Bronze Age through to the Roman period.

**Latton:** Latton Lands, near Cerney Wick (SU 0800 9670); Post-Medieval?

During 1997 an excavation was carried out by OAU on behalf of Cotswold Aggregates Ltd, as part of an ongoing archaeological investigation at this site. The archaeological features recovered comprised a number of small ditches, possibly on the same alignment as those revealed in previous field seasons. The only artefacts recovered were a single sherd of post-medieval pottery, nine fragments of bone, four fragments of building material, a burnt flint and a single fragment of modern glass.

**Laverstock:** Salisbury Northern Link Road (SU 1475 3267); Various

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Environmental Services, Wiltshire County Council, to undertake a test pitting survey of an area of farmland to the east of Old Sarum, Salisbury. The survey area represents part of the proposed route of the Salisbury Northern Link Road. The survey area was adjacent to a findspot of Bronze Age worked flint and an ancient field system recorded on aerial photographs.

The test pitting survey covered an area of 0.7 ha. Finds, predominantly of small quantities of worked and burnt flint and Romano-British and medieval pottery were recovered from the topsoil and colluvium. No demonstrable concentrations were identified, although the area surveyed was limited in extent. The test pitting identified a substantial depth of colluvium infilling a shallow, north-south undulation in the chalk bedrock. Medieval and post-medieval pottery was recovered from the colluvium suggesting that it is of relatively recent origin. The colluvium sealed two archaeological features, a ditch and a pit, both undatable, although the ditch may comprise part and a continuation of an ancient field system recorded on aerial photographs immediately to the east of the survey area.

**Lyneham:** Bradenstoke Priory (ST 996 791); Medieval and Post-Medieval

An earthwork survey of the Augustinian priory at Bradenstoke was undertaken by the RCHME at the request of English Heritage. Apart from the undercroft of the western range, there are no surviving priory buildings, and the area now forms part of a farm. Little detail of the priory is evident as earthworks. However, in the field to the east there are later garden features including at least one canal, and beyond this garden are traces of ridge-and-furrow, probably part of the monastic precinct. On the western escarpment is further evidence of a probable post-Dissolution water garden, including a small cascade and a terraced walk leading towards Clack Mount. This garden would have provided views across the Avon valley. To the north of the precinct, the polygonal mound known as Clack Mount, a probable prospect mound, is surrounded by a ditch. On one side this ditch is very large and may have served as a fishpond.

**Malmesbury:** Town Wall (ST 9349 8706); Medieval and Post-Medieval

A watching brief was conducted by Bristol and Region

Archaeological Services on the town wall of Malmesbury, located in the south-east of the town. This revealed a series of stone steps keyed into the surviving town wall. It was discovered that the wall behind 26-30 Back Hill, Silver Street, was not the original medieval town wall, but a reconstruction built in the 18th-19th century. Apart from a worked flint of possible Bronze Age date, only post-medieval finds were found throughout the clearance. The only probable evidence of the original town wall is the discovery of possible rampart material behind the existing wall.

**Marlborough:** Ducks Meadow (SU 1910 6875); Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age  
Evaluation by CAT found pits and possible post-holes containing late Neolithic/early Bronze Age pottery and flint. No evidence of the nearby medieval priory was found.

**Marlborough:** Wye House (centred on SU 191 692); Medieval and Post-Medieval

Evaluation on land to the rear of Wye House, Marlborough, was carried out by AC *archaeology* in three proposed development cells (A, B and D). Two hand-dug trial pits were excavated in Cell A, located on a south-facing slope. Both trial pits revealed a deep sequence of re-deposited soil layers. Some of these contained quantities of residual medieval pottery related to nearby settlement activity, perhaps on the ridge top immediately to the north. Below these layers at the base of the slope was a deep colluvial deposit. Three trenches were excavated in Cell B, located on the same slope further to the east. These revealed over 2m of colluvium towards the base of the slope. Little dating evidence was recovered from this sequence. Evidence was also revealed for deliberately cut terraces and a former garden path, possibly associated with the formal gardens for Wye House, constructed during the 1860s

Two trenches excavated in Cell D, located in the Kennet river valley, revealed a sequence of alluvial deposits similar in nature to those identified during evaluation of Cell E to the south. The paucity of artefacts and features in Cells B and D indicates that these areas were not used for settlement or river margin exploitation prior to or during the medieval period. It is possible that Medieval settlement activity may be present within the immediate area of Cell A.

**Melksham:** Bradford Road (ST 898 638); ?Palaeolithic

At the request of Wessex Water Engineering Services,

a watching brief was maintained by ASI during construction of a new outfall for the Melksham Sewage Treatment Works. This was close to a site where Palaeolithic flint tools had been recovered during earlier road construction works. A number of relic channels were revealed beneath 2.0m of homogenous alluvium. Geomorphological information will facilitate a more accurate assessment of the context of the earlier artefactual finds.

**Mildenhall:** Mildenhall Rising Main (centred on SU 208 692); Romano-British

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Thames Water Utilities to undertake a programme of archaeological excavation and observation prior to, and during, the construction of a new sewer pipeline at Mildenhall. The aim of the project was to ensure that all archaeological features and finds revealed during the course of the work were adequately investigated and recorded, with particular emphasis on that section of the route in the vicinity of Roman burials recorded in 1951.

A range of Roman features was identified that extend the known area of Roman activity at least 300 m to the west of the defences of the Roman town of *Cunetio* and to within 10m of the existing course of the River Kennet. The excavations revealed a significant range of archaeological features and deposits, including a substantial (possibly defensive) ditch, a well, inhumation burials, structural features and settlement debris. The majority of these features are likely to be of late 1st–2nd century AD date, although a small late Roman element is present in the finds assemblage.

The identification of earlier Roman settlement features so distant from the area contained within the later defences of the town is notable. These may represent an early focus for settlement prior to the construction of the town's defences or suburban development aligned along the main road running west from *Cunetio* to *Aquae Sulis* (Bath). Although the excavation at Mildenhall was limited in scope and extent, the results are nevertheless significant as there has been little excavation on the Roman town of *Cunetio* or its immediate surroundings.

**Netheravon:** Choulston Close (SU 1534 4872); ?Prehistoric

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by AC *archaeology* in response to proposals to construct a children's playground on the site of former housing at Choulston Close, Netheravon. The immediate area includes a linear cemetery of three Bronze Age

barrows and 11 ring ditches, one being located on the site previously re-developed. Trenching established that former housing had caused disturbance across a considerable area. Truncation was not, however, sufficient to removed traces of a narrow ditch found to contain a small quantity of undiagnostic worked flint. Although only a short length was uncovered, sufficient was seen to be able to determine that it was linear and not curving in plan, and therefore not part of a previously undetected ring ditch. No other archaeological features or pre-modern finds were encountered.

**Potterne:** High Street (ST 9950 5848); Undated  
Watermains replacement work along the High Street, between Church Corner/Rooks Lane and the entrance to Blounts Court, was monitored by ASI at the request of Wessex Water Engineering Services. Anaerobic fluvial silts, tufaceous silts and tufaceous deposits were revealed c.1.0m below present street level in Coxhill Lane and the lowest parts of the High Street. Adjacent to 'Porch House', these deposits appeared to be compressed beneath post-medieval building material. Although the watercourse corresponds in part to that indicated on early edition Ordnance Survey maps, and which continues north-west of the village as Whistley Mill Stream, the existence of peat deposits within the village was unsuspected. Undated, the peat is earlier than the late medieval buildings fronting the High Street.

**Salisbury:** Cathedral Hotel (SU 147 299); Medieval  
Small-scale archaeological excavation was undertaken by AC *archaeology* on land to the rear of the Cathedral Hotel in Cross Keys Chequer, within the area of the Medieval city. The work was undertaken during September 1997 in advance of the re-development and refurbishment of the hotel. It comprised a hand excavated trench, 6m x 3.5m. Walls of a medieval domestic building were recorded, together with a series of chalk and mortar floors and other internal surfaces. On the basis of associated finds, the major episode of the building's use would appear to have been in the late 13th or early 14th century. A sequence of structural modifications could be identified, but not closely dated. External deposits to the north of the building were encountered, including a chalk-lined well. This area of the site was disturbed by modern services and other intrusions, and a paucity of finds means that sequences of activity cannot be adequately dated. The trench was excavated to the natural over its southern two-thirds, but its exposure elsewhere was prevented by later structures, both medieval and modern.

**Salisbury:** Sarum Theological College (ST 1440 2965); Medieval

Trial trenches excavated by ASI within the grounds of Sarum Theological College revealed considerable depths of recent 'made ground', garden build-up and associated features, sealing probable medieval deposits which included surfaces, free-standing trench-built walls and a mortar mixing/slaking pit. The evaluated area probably encompasses the periphery of a medieval property. Although the site does not appear to contain medieval structures *per se*, the work identified an early property boundary and demonstrated that undisturbed archaeological deposits, potentially relating to the 13th century establishment of The Close, do survive beneath considerable depths of protective made-ground.

**Steeple Ashton:** St. Mary's Churchyard (ST 9065 5710); Undated

Archaeological observations were undertaken by AC *archaeology* during the laying of a water pipe and drainage facilities within St Mary's churchyard, Steeple Ashton. The flexible pipe was mole drilled across the churchyard from its southern boundary to the west front of the church, with only a limited number of exposures of subsoil deposits along its route. Fragmentary human remains (none from recent skeletons) were recovered and reburied. An exposure of foundation levels of the west front of the church was recorded, but no other evidence for pre-modern finds or deposits was encountered.

**Swindon:** Cricklade Street (SU 1568 8382); Undated

The first stage of an evaluation of a site adjacent to the Roman, Saxon and medieval core of Swindon Old Town was undertaken by ASI. Two trenches in a vacant yard off Cricklade Street revealed largely undisturbed natural soil sequences beneath deposits of brick rubble. No definite archaeological deposits were revealed.

**Warminster:** The Close (ST 8734 4517); Prehistoric, Medieval and Post-Medieval

Trial excavations by ASI in the rear garden of *Les Parisiens* restaurant, Warminster, recovered prehistoric worked flint and medieval pottery from a soil horizon sealed by deep deposits of 17th and 18th century made ground. Although no contemporaneous features or structures were revealed, the pottery was in good condition, and comprised fabrics from Old Sarum, Cockerton, Langley Burrell and other, eastern Somerset, wares.

**Warminster:** land off Newport (ST 8723 4531); Undated

An evaluation by AC *archaeology* involved the recording of two mechanically excavated trial trenches within the proposed development zone. These indicated that 2m deep deposits of made-ground existed within the zone, in all likelihood covering most of the evaluated area. Below the made-ground were intact deposits of peaty clay. There was no evidence of any archaeological deposits or features.

**Westbury:** Proposed Northacre Business Park (centred on ST 856 524); Prehistoric and ?Romano-British/Medieval

Archaeological investigations by AC *archaeology* at the site of the proposed Northacre Business Park comprised surface artefact collection across the proposed area, and a trial trench and trial pit evaluation of the proposed access road and adjacent areas. Surface collection revealed small quantities of worked and burnt flint. Field ditches of possible Romano-British or medieval date were recorded in the trial trench, and included small quantities of pottery within their fills. These features were generally shallow and possibly truncated. Although the evaluation demonstrated a low level of archaeological activity, potential remains for the discovery of archaeological deposits elsewhere on the site.

**Whiteparish:** Brickworth Park (centred on ST 222 246); Prehistoric

AC *archaeology* undertook an evaluation in connection with a proposed development at Brickworth Park, Whiteparish, in the autumn and early winter of 1997. This comprised systematic surface collection over some 50ha of arable land. Burnt and worked flint were recovered in very low quantities across the area. Assessment of the worked material shows the majority to comprise cortical, primary flakes, possibly of Bronze Age date, but with apparently earlier material, including blades and two dubious chipped flint axes. A single sherd of probable late Bronze Age pottery and a sherd of medieval pottery were also recovered. Otherwise, only post-medieval ceramics were found. The level of finds is broadly comparable with the densities recovered during a similar exercise carried out across fields to the east in 1992.

**Winsley:** Turleigh Flood Prevention Scheme (ST 806 606); Undated

Deep trenching was undertaken by ASI, on behalf of Wessex Water Engineering Services, along the valley

side south of Turleigh. The work revealed that features previously recorded as 'lynchets' are likely to be the result of land slips and rotation. Buried soil horizons were revealed at depths of 2.0m below present ground surface, indicating that the valley deposits have palaeoenvironmental potential.

**Winterbourne, Idmiston:** St. Mary's Field, Winterbourne Gunner (SU 180 354) and Great Ground, Gomeldon (SU 182 356); Medieval

A resistivity survey of part of the abandoned medieval settlement of Gomeldon was carried out by students at King Alfred's College, Winchester, under the supervision of Janet Symonds and Alex Turner. Survey of St. Mary's field, adjoining the earthworks of the medieval settlement, revealed the foundations of structures associated with the earthworks alongside the church. One of these, c.10 x 20m, and with the same east-west orientation as the present church, was located 100m to the north-east of the latter. An apsidal end at the east is indicated but no internal walls. The presence of ancillary structures is suggested at both corners of the eastern end, while aerial photographs show parching over the site and some indication of a surrounding enclosure. The survey also shows the outlines of structures below a possible terrace or boundary bank which rises to 1.5m on the southern side of the churchyard. A line of low resistivity readings across the north of the field may indicate the course of an early stream channel. Mole activity in the surveyed field has revealed much pottery, brick, tile and animal bone of medieval date. North of St. Mary's field, a more limited resistivity survey in Great Ground, adjacent to earlier excavations, suggested the presence of further structures beneath the present earthworks.

**Winterbourne Bassett:** Manor Farm (SU 1015 7495); ?Prehistoric

Archaeological observations were made by AC *archaeology* in conjunction with groundworks at Manor Farm, Winterbourne Bassett. This phase of archaeological work was intended to determine the nature, extent and date of features noted during an evaluation in July 1995. Two curvilinear ditches recorded during the current works appear to share the same arc of alignment as ditches identified during 1995, together forming a circular enclosure with an approximate diameter of 50m. Some worked flint and fragments of unidentified, but probably prehistoric, pottery were recovered from these ditches, but the nature of the enclosure was not further defined. Observation of an electricity cable trench identified

an additional two ditches, linear rather than curvilinear. These were undated, although the similarity of the fills of all the ditches recorded during the current works would suggest an association between them.

**Yatton Keynell:** Crown Inn, Giddeahall (ST 863 745); Post-Medieval

A watching brief was undertaken by *AC archaeology*

during groundworks at the Crown Inn, Giddeahall. Three archaeological features were recorded, two undated pits and a post-medieval deposit. A sherd of 18th or 19th century Westerwald pottery was recovered from the deposit. Other, unstratified finds consist of fragments of clay pipe, bone and 18th or 19th-century pottery.

## Reviews

**Alasdair Whittle. Sacred Mound, Holy Rings. Silbury Hill and the West Kennet palisaded enclosures: a Later Neolithic complex in north Wiltshire. By Alasdair Whittle. Oxbow Monograph 74 / Cardiff Studies in Archaeology, 1997. xii + 176 pages; 87 black and white illustrations (line and photographic); 40 colour plates. Price, paperback £24.00. ISBN 1 900188 26 0.**

This is a volume in two highly contrasting parts: the first, the long-awaited publication of four seasons of excavation in the years 1968-1970, under the direction of Professor Richard Atkinson; the second, the much swifter, but still eagerly anticipated, report on Professor Whittle's own excavations at the West Kennet palisaded enclosures between 1987 and 1992 and of related work by Wessex Archaeology in 1989. The two sites and the history of archaeological research at each of them could hardly be more different, but the placing of them together in one report is to be applauded, not least because it draws attention to the importance of the southern part of the Avebury complex of monuments in a way which individual publication would not have done.

The volume opens with a useful summary of pre-1968 investigations into Silbury Hill, so setting the scene for the highly publicised campaign of 1968-70 led by Professor Atkinson. As summarised by Whittle, Atkinson's main aim was 'to establish the composition and date of the mound and to document its environmental setting, bearing in mind the preservation reported by Merewether, and further, to investigate whether the mound covered or contained a sepulchral or other structure.' (p. 11). As brought to completion by Whittle and his team, much of this was achieved: an impressive battery of environmental analysis revealed an extraordinary amount of detail about the environmental context; the dating of the mound is disappointing, but that is largely due to the state of the science at the time, and the construction of the mound was revealed to be much more complex than could have been anticipated.

The volume presents in detail the evidence for construction and for the pre-construction environment, including: the surviving layer descriptions of the mound, the original and more recent work on the soils (Cornwall, Dimbleby & Evans), the pollen (Dimbleby), plant remains (Williams), insects (Robinson), snails (Evans), and

vertebrates and small vertebrates (Gardner). This writer can only agree, on the basis of her work on the Stonehenge excavations, that with a site of this importance it is necessary to produce in full the archive of layer descriptions, mostly gleaned from section drawings, so that readers can appreciate for themselves the nature and scope of the original record, although they are not likely to appeal to the general reader.

The great attraction of this part of the volume, however, is undoubtedly the environmental section, and this aspect is also made much of in the synthesis at the end of the volume (Whittle with Robinson and Dimbleby). Rarely can we have had such a vivid and detailed picture of a pre-monument environment, made possible here by the unusual conditions created under such a huge body of chalk and soil.

It is difficult to imagine a stronger contrast than that between the Silbury Hill section and that devoted to the West Kennet palisaded enclosures, for several reasons: these were enclosures which, until the 1980s, had lain unrecognised presumably since the Early Bronze Age; the investigations were carried out with very little publicity and with a minimum of resources, and the results have been fully published within five years of the last field season. In recent years it has sometimes seemed that Wessex has become 'unfashionable' in archaeological circles because it is so well known as to be dull; this is a striking demonstration that this is not the case.

The discovery of the enclosures is described and the excavations are covered in the expected detail. Interesting questions are raised in the specialist reports, such as Hamilton's suggestion that there is definably 'early' and 'late' Grooved Ware in Wiltshire (p. 116), while Edwardes and Horne in their animal bone report revisit the problem of bracken in the pollen record and argue convincingly against the pig being peculiarly useful in bracken-infested areas (p.124, *contra* Smith 1984).

The final part of the volume is synthesis, considering the monuments not only in their regional context but also in terms of analogy (and Whittle argues forcefully that use of analogy in interpretation is virtually universal, whether acknowledged or not, and that therefore it is better to be open about it). These range, for Silbury Hill, from the Mississippian of the South east USA, to a Nuer prophet's mound in the Sudan and medieval cathedrals (but omit perhaps the geographically and physically closest

analogies, the nineteenth and twentieth century Kosciuszko and Marshall Jozef Pilsudski mounds near Cracow in Poland (C. Gingell pers. comm.). For those without access to the literature, or disinclined to study it, this is an impressive and useful summary of societies which have produced monumental mounds, and certainly some threads are common to most if not all (such as population increase, increasing nucleation of settlement and hierarchy of settlement). The use Whittle makes of these analogies, however, is not to search for universal features, but to emphasise the very diversity of the situations which may produce such behaviour and to suggest that there are many uses to which Silbury Hill could have been put, from astronomical observation point, to burial mound to simply a marker of some natural and sacred place. It might even, as in the case of the Nuer mound (or indeed the modern Polish ones) commemorate a person or an event. Even if he were to have been looking for universal features such as population increase or increasing hierarchy of settlement the present state of knowledge of the non-monumental context of the Avebury area would have precluded it.

Similarly, for the palisaded enclosures, Whittle provides a broad overview for such sites, not in this case in looking for analogies, but in looking at other occurrences in archaeological contexts in the British Isles. Such enclosures are increasingly being recognised, and Whittle's review of them is a most welcome one.

There are of course minor inconveniences, such as there being no list of Tables in the contents (or indeed of figures or plates; for those still searching, as I did, for the radiocarbon dates, they are on p.12) nor are the very useful sub-sections such as (for the enclosures) 'Quantities of bone, wood, woodland and labour' given in the contents, although these are sections many readers might want to refer to on more than one occasion. On a more serious note, in the discussion of dating in the synthesis (p.138) Whittle writes: 'In calibrated terms this [the radiocarbon evidence] offers a broad range, somewhat at odds with the event-like character of the constructions, of 2600/2500-2200/2100 BC, setting aside the earliest determination, CAR-1295, and the latest four determinations [listed]'. At a time when on the whole the profession is becoming more rigorous in its use of radiocarbon dating, it is hardly acceptable to reject five out of only twelve dates on the grounds that they do not 'fit' rather than for technical reasons.

This volume undoubtedly will have (and has indeed already had) a considerable impact on how the Avebury area is viewed, and future work will need to draw heavily on it. In this reviewer's opinion at least it has to be acknowledged as the most important

publication relating to the Avebury area since that of the Keiller excavations thirty and more years ago (Smith 1965).

ROSAMUND CLEAL

#### REFERENCES

- SMITH, I. F., 1965 *Windmill Hill and Avebury*. Oxford: Clarendon Press  
 SMITH, R.W., 1984 'The ecology of Neolithic farming systems as exemplified by the Avebury region of Wiltshire', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 50, 99-120

T.C.B. Timmins (ed.). *The Register of John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury 1388-1395*. The Canterbury and York Society. Boydell Press, 1994. xxiv + 331 pages, hardback. ISBN 0 907239 49 8.

The progress of the publication of the registers of the medieval bishops of Salisbury is inevitably slow but, happily, continuing, and receives a most welcome boost with the appearance of this volume. Mr. Timmins brings to it his considerable editorial skills, already known to Wiltshire historians through the superb edition of Dean Chandler's register, 1404-17, published by the Wiltshire Record Society in 1984.

John Waltham was a clerk who pursued a career in royal service in the Chancery, rising to become Master of the Rolls and Keeper of the Privy Seal. He looked for a position of ecclesiastical authority and received the bishopric of Salisbury in 1385. He continued to have an important role in central government and was appointed treasurer of England in 1391. In death he achieved the notable distinction of being the first commoner to be buried in St Edward's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

His continuing governmental responsibilities ensured that he was rarely totally pre-occupied with diocesan affairs, for which he relied heavily on administrators. Many of the instruments arising from the routine work which makes up the majority of the register, such as institutions to benefices, licences for non-residence, and other licences and dispensations, were issued from London.

However, for the most unusual feature of the register his attention was firmly on his see. He conducted two parochial visitations, in 1391 and 1394, which are most revealing about religious and moral life at local level. Sadly the records of both are incomplete. The first covers only the three Berkshire deaneries of Newbury, Wallingford and Abingdon; the second the deaneries of Wilton, Wylye, Chalke and Amesbury in Wiltshire, and Shaftesbury in Dorset. The catalogue of fornication, adultery, declaration of

scolds, lack of observance of holy days, non-attendance at church, together with reports on the upkeep of the fabric of the churches will enliven the researches of the local historian fortunate to have his or her patch covered, as well as providing much of interest to the medieval ecclesiastical historian.

Another significant document in the register is the confession of the Lollard preacher William Remmesbury in 1389, which provides a detailed record of the practices and itinerary of an obviously very active preacher in the diocese. The degree of support for his ideas, however, may in part be gauged by the widespread reporting at the visitations of sexual licence which Remmesbury advocated and practised.

Waltham exercised the right to prove the wills of rectors and noblemen dying or having goods within his jurisdiction, and the texts of seven wills appear in the register. Most notable are the annulled will of Joan Formage, abbess of Shaftesbury, and the will of Sir John Dauntsey which is in English.

The volume has a series of most useful appendices comprising relevant material not included in the register. These include an agreement between bishop and chapter concerning their respective jurisdictions, an incomplete visitation of the city of Salisbury, and Waltham's will. Further appendices cover his itinerary and a list of *magistri* and degrees unrecorded in Emden's biographical register. The text is well supported both by an informative introduction and a comprehensive index. Mr. Timmins has fulfilled his role of bringing a significant text to a wider audience with considerable success.

STEVEN HOBBS

**Marjorie Reeves. Pursuing the Muses - Female Education and Nonconformist Culture 1700-1900.** Leicester University Press, 1997; 216 pages. Price £45.00, hardback. ISBN 0 7185 0105 5.

It is of interest that this study has been published by Leicester University Press. It was in 1948 at the University College of Leicester that Dr Hoskins founded the first department of English Local History. This Department under the direction of Dr Harold Fox still retains its unique character among present day Universities, studying English local history, comparing and correlating research from various parts of the country.

Marjorie Reeves has used two sets of Baptist family archives to examine in depth a group of Baptists in Hampshire and Wiltshire in the 18th and 19th centuries. The first set came into her possession through her own family, the Whittakers of Bratton,

Wilts. The second set was in the possession of Hugh Steele Smith at Ilkley, Yorkshire, and related to the Steele family of Broughton in Hampshire. This set has been deposited at the Regent's Park Baptist College at Oxford. The first set is still in the possession of Marjorie Reeves, though some of it has been deposited with the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office. These two sets of archives relate to the same group of Baptist families, linked by birth and marriage. The central family is the Steeles of Broughton. Around them are the Froudes of Edington; the Catours of Trowbridge; the Gays of Haycombe, Bath; the Attwaters of Britford and Bodenham; the Heads of Bradford on Avon; and the Whittakers of Bratton.

Marjorie Reeves's principal research has centred around the literary circle surrounding the Baptist hymnwriter, Anne Steele of Broughton. This reveals 'an unexpected breadth of culture and interests'. The literary group is mainly composed of women. The extent and nature of their education and reading are examined, as is also their letters, poetry, diaries and common-place books. They wrote to each other under a series of classical pseudonyms. Marjorie Reeves has included much of their poetry and their letters in her book. She reveals a circle of friends who combine 'a spiritual piety with contemporary classical/pastoral romance'.

It is interesting that the results of this research are 'unexpected'. It reveals how little accurate knowledge there is about Particular Baptist society in the 17th and 18th centuries. If they are judged by the social caste of John Bunyan, the tinker, then no doubt it comes as a surprise to find a very prosperous group of families, wealthy farmers, rich clothiers, timber merchants contracting with the Navy, Anne Steele's brother even possessing his own ship to trade with Europe. Equally it is of interest to find their daughters being sent to school in Trowbridge and Salisbury, having wide reading interests, writing quite excellent poetry, having literary contacts and good libraries, and living in splendid 18th century houses at Broughton, Bodenham, Haycombe, Bratton and Trowbridge; one (Edward Froude (1645-1714), Baptist minister and grandfather of Anne Steele) even having his tomb in Edington Priory, with a beautiful Portland stone slab, in the main nave, and the inscription in Latin. He was reputed to have been an excellent Hebrew scholar. One can imagine the lovely furniture in their homes and still see the oil paintings of themselves and their children. Their ministers had been trained in their Baptist Academies at Trowbridge and Bristol in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and had also studied English Language, Geography, History and French (*The Birth of Modern Education 1660-1800*, J.W. Ashley Smith).

This is an excellent piece of research (fully referenced) done by an eminent scholar. It is to be hoped that it will inspire more research of a similar nature in other parts of the country, so that an accurate picture can be built up of this Particular Baptist community of people, who developed as they did because of the religious persecution which they had endured in the 17th century and the religious discrimination which barred them from Oxford and Cambridge Universities until well into the 19th century. They did not succumb to their political and social disabilities but within the confines of their Protestant work ethic educated themselves and their children and prospered in their business life. They were highly intelligent and industrious men and women. Marjorie Reeves brings the story into the 19th century with an account of four generations of her own Baptist family, the Whittakers, at Bratton, revealing the extension of the literary interest and culture which had developed in the 18th century. It is of considerable interest that the author is herself directly connected with the line of the Whittakers, the Attwaters, the Cators and the Gays through her own mother, and was herself Vice-Principal of St Anne's College Oxford for twenty years. This study should be read in conjunction with Marjorie Reeves book, *Sheep Bell and Ploughshare* (Moonraker Press, 1978), and with her article on 'Protestant Nonconformity', in the *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* Volume 3.

J.R. BROOME

**C.Y. Ferdinand.** *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century.* Oxford University Press, 1997; 272 pages, illustrations. Price £40.00, hardback. ISBN 0 198206 52 6.

The title of this book is accurately worded; it is a study of the eighteenth century provincial newspaper press as revealed by a detailed examination of one paper, Benjamin Collins's *Salisbury Journal*. Thus the modestly-named introduction, running to 26 pages, is in fact a succinct and learned account of the origins of the local newspaper in the early years of the 18th century. It is followed by an account of Collins, who came to Salisbury about 1729 to join his brother William in the book trade there. The brothers revived the *Salisbury Journal* (there had been an earlier start by Charles Hooten in 1729) in 1736, and Benjamin became the only owner about 1740. By the time of his death in 1785 he had amassed a great fortune as newspaper proprietor, book publisher and seller, inventor and seller of patent medicines, and banker.

All this is charted in great detail in Chapter I. After this we have studies of the commercial structure in management and distribution, the readership, the production of the paper, and the contents in news and in advertisements. All are rich in comparisons with other publications, readable, and at the same time learned to a degree. For what is truly impressive about this book is the breadth of sources used. No true archives of the *Journal*, such as account books, survive: sadly, they were destroyed in the present century. But the files of the newspaper provide a vast body of information which has been combed meticulously for telling references. This is backed by a wide range of bibliographical and biographical books and articles which make the footnotes an encyclopaedia of sources for the subject. We are lucky that this study, the first of its kind, deals with a Wiltshire newspaper.

K.H. ROGERS

**John Chandler.** *The Day Returns: Excursions in Wiltshire's History.* Ex Libris Press, 1998; 252 pages, illustrations. Price £9.95, paperback. ISBN 0948578 95 5.

Around four hundred books and pamphlets with a Wiltshire theme are published each year and most will fall into the categories of official 'grey literature', trivia or 'worthy but dull'. For me, as with most people, the gems of purest ray serene are the few books which can be classed as 'worthy and interesting' or entertaining, well written and full of good research. Needless to say not many books enter the latter category but 1998 has provided this splendid example. It is a compilation of the author's more light-hearted works, much of which has been published elsewhere in various forms although there is also a collection of material which has previously lain in the deep unfathomed caves of the ocean.

Half of the book comprises *Small Talk in Wiltshire*, first published in 1992 and out of print for some years. This is great fun; an anthology of interesting pieces rescued from the obscurity of yellowing newspaper files and unread books. Such a flower, plucked from the desert air of the *Memoirs of Henry Hunt*, is the story of the brief career of a young curate of Enford who died from excesses of damsels and drink. As we all know many interesting pieces can be gleaned from newspapers by serendipity; how much more fascinating are those little paragraphs that catch the corner of your eye than the report for which you are searching. Some time later you will have found your report but, unless you are very strong-willed, you will

have read all manner of interesting snippets beforehand. Most of us are momentarily amused but quickly forget. Not so John, who not only records them but makes them available to the rest of us.

Life in the Bus Lane was a series which appeared in the journal, *Wiltshire Life*. Here the original articles have been increased by welcome new journeys. As with the earlier ones there is an acute observation of contemporary events coupled with a deep historical knowledge. One example will give the flavour. In the west Wiltshire hamlet of Yarnbrook the traveller notices that the motto on *The Long's Arms* translates from Latin as 'a long girdle'. Knowing that this must be incorrect he checks and finds that it should be 'Pious though Valiant' but as much of the building now goes under the name of the Hungry Horse suggests that a future motto could be 'Ravenus Equus'.

So far I have alluded to the book in phrases from Gray's *Elegy*, indicating that our county, which had but small parts in the great affairs of state, was full of life and bubbling with locally well known events, which have been brought back from oblivion and presented to a modern audience. Now to be a little more daring. There is an excellent piece on John Aubrey, written in the style of Aubrey's own *Brief Lives*. I would submit that, if one believed in it, one could fancy that the modern John was a reincarnation of the earlier one in the fields of industrious research, diligent delvings in dusty archives and in the observation of modern manners and people. Fortunately, with the publishing industry much different now from the seventeenth century, we can enjoy the fruits of these labours without waiting a century and a half.

M.J. MARSHMAN

#### BOOKS ALSO NOTED

Full reviews for some of the books noticed here may be published in future.

**Alexander-Jones, Colin.** *Frederick the English Giant*. Bath Industrial Heritage Museum, 1998; 20 pages, illustrations. Price £4.95, paperback. ISBN 09528841 1 9 Draws together all the threads of the life of Fred Kempster whose Wiltshire connections are with Avebury and Seend.

**Bender, Barbara.** *Stonehenge: Making Space*. Berg, 1998; 254 pages, illustrations. Price , hardback. ISBN 1 85973 903 2. Explorations of the historical, psychological and perceptive landscapes of this landscape.

**Bradford, Anne.** *Royal Enfield: the story of the*

*company and the people who made it great*. Amulree Publications, 1996; 167 pages, illustrations. Price £14.99, paperback. ISBN 0 9521126 7 1. Includes good interviews with workers from Number 2 Factory at Westwood and photographs in and around the underground quarry site.

**Carr, Rosemary F.** *Storied Urns: an illustrated record of monuments in Holy Trinity Church, Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire*. Rosemary F. Carr, 1998; 138 pages illustrations. Price £5.00, paperback. ISBN 0 9521355 1 5. Definitive description of all memorials in the church with good photographs of many.

**Chandler, John.** *A Sense of Belonging: History, Community, and the New Wiltshire*. Ex Libris Press, 1998; 119 pages, maps, illustrations. Price £5.95, paperback. ISBN 0 948578 93 9. Describes how Wiltshire has been divided in the past, how and why distinct regions have emerged, and to what extent such considerations are relevant to present day allegiances and local government.

**Cunliffe, Barry and Renfrew, Colin.** *Science and Stonehenge*. OUP for The British Academy, 1997; 362 pages, illustrations. Price £29.50, hardback. ISBN 0 19 726174 4. Current thinking from all scientific disciplines plus proposals for new programmes of research.

**Gibson, Alex.** *Stonehenge and the Timber Circles of Britain and Europe*. Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1998; 176 pages, illustrations. Price £18.99, hardback. ISBN 0 75241 402 X. Descriptive work on these circles which charts their influence upon the building of Stonehenge.

**Herbert, Stephen.** *Theodore Brown's Magic Pictures: the art and inventions of a multi-media pioneer*. The Projection Box, 1997; 130 pages, illustrations. Price £31.00, hardback. ISBN 0 9523941 4 6. The story of a many talented Salisbury man who worked in the fields of image projection, stereoscopic photography and three dimensional films.

**Hird, Ernest.** *A History of the Lady Margaret Hungerford Almshouse and Free School, Corsham, Wiltshire 1668 - 1968*. E. Hird, 1997; 223 pages, illustrations. Price £9.00, paperback. ISBN 0 9532168 0 2. Detailed account of all aspects of the institution with most interesting accounts of day to day affairs.

**Howell, Danny.** *Remember Warminster: Volume 5*. Bedeguar Books, 1998; 144 pages, illustrations. Price £12.00, paperback. ISBN 1 872818 33 1. Edited transcripts from taped memories of local people in a series which is building up into a wide ranging social and economic history of the twentieth century town.

**Jones, Roger.** *Where Wiltshire Meets Somerset:*

**20 best walks in the country around Bath, Bradford on Avon, Trowbridge, Westbury, Warminster and Frome.** Ex Libris Press, 1998 revised edition; 125 pages, illustrations. Price £5.95 paperback. ISBN 0948578 94 7. A welcome new edition of this excellent and extremely practical book with clear maps and directions which ensure trouble free walking.

**Longbourne, David and Tighe, M. F. The Doctors of Mere and Mere Chemists and the Edmunds Family.** The Friends of the Church of St Michael the Archangel, (Mere Papers No. 6), 1998; 32 pages, illustrations. Price £2.00, paperback. Two good papers on medical provision in, what was, an isolated community.

**Marsh, John. The John Marsh Journals; the life and times of a Georgian gentleman composer (1752-1828).** Edited, introduced and annotated by Brian Robins. Pendragon Press, New York, 1998; 793 pages. Price \$76.00, hardback. Definitive account of the composer who lived in Salisbury between 1776 and 1781, leading the local band and deputising for the cathedral and church organists.

**Meaden, Terence. Stonehenge: the secret of the solstice.** Souvenir Press, 1997; 168 pages illustrations. Price £12.99, paperback. ISBN 028563 364 3. Updated version of *The Stonehenge Solution* with more intriguing theories from a local scientist who has researched and written extensively on both natural phenomena and early civilisations.

**Morland, T. E. A Capital Town: a history of Wilton.** T.E. Morland, 1998; 54 pages, illustrations. Price £3.50, paperback. A short but comprehensive history of the town including an assessment on the effects of changes in the textile industries.

**Mowl, Timothy. William Beckford: composing for Mozart.** John Murray, 1998; 324 pages, illustrations. Price £22.00, hardback. ISBN 0 71955 829 8. A provocative biography mixing the sensational real life of the Caliph of Fonthill with his elegant self constructed fantasy life in the way that Beckford himself did in later life.

**Parker, Norman. Salisbury Plain Pyrotechnics.** South Wiltshire Industrial Archaeological Society, 1997; 14 pages, illustrations. Price £2.50, paperback. ISBN 0 906195 14 4. A good monograph on the company, Pains-Wessex, which made fireworks and civil and military signals, smoke bombs and rockets at High Post.

**Pollard, David. The Astronomical Clockmaker Edward Cockey and Other Warminster Horologists.** Bedeguar Books, 1998; 320 pages, illustrations. Price £19.95, paperback. ISBN 1 872818 34 X. Meticulously researched book on the man, his clocks and the restoration of surviving examples. Also included are a further forty three short biographies

of other clock and watchmakers, repairers and jewellers who worked in the town.

**Scammell, Stephen. East Knoyle: the history of a Wessex village.** David A.H. Grayling, 1996; 43 pages. Price £5.00, paperback. Useful little history with some interesting dramatised passages depicting recent local events.

**Selth, Jefferson P. Firm Heart and Capacious Mind: the life and friends of Etienne Dumont.** University Press of America, 1997; 323 pages, illustrations. Price £27.50 (in the U.K.), hardback. Dumont succeeded Joseph Priestley as tutor, librarian and secretary at Bowood and remained there for twenty five years. This exhaustive work paints an appealing picture of an enlightened man and his European circle.

**Souden, David. Mysteries of the Stones and Landscape.** Collins and Brown, 1998; 160 pages illustrations. Price £10.99, hardback. ISBN 1 85585 291 8. A modern interpretation of Stonehenge as we now see it, based on all recent research.

**Stead, I.M. The Salisbury Hoard.** Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1998; 176 pages, illustrations. Price £17.99, paperback. ISBN 0 75241 404 6. Detective-like story of the finding, dispersal and reunification of a huge hoard of bronze artefacts which were found in a field near Salisbury in the 1980s.

**Thomsett, Alan (editor). The Book of Keevil: Volume 2.** The Keevil Society, 1998; 134 pages, illustrations. Price £11.00, paperback. Divided into two sections with short articles on village history in the first, while the second is mainly an extensive history of the airfield and its operation in the Second World War.

**Tighe, M.F. Silver Threads: a study of the textile industries of Mere.** The Friends of the Church of St Michael the Archangel, (Mere Papers No. 3), 1997; 24 pages, illustrations. Price £2.00, paperback. Interesting monograph on the woollen, flax and silk industries of Mere.

**Watts, Ken. Exploring Historic Wiltshire: Volume 2, South.** Ex Libris Press, 1998; 175 pages, illustrations. Price £7.95, paperback. ISBN 0948578 92 0. An appealing and well written book by an enthusiastic walker, country lover and historian. A companion volume to the work on the north of the county which was reviewed in *WAM Vol. 91*; the comments expressed in that review apply equally well to Volume 2.

**Weller, Ralph B. The Strange Case of John Gordon (1544-1619) Double Agent and Dean of Salisbury.** R.B. Weller, 1997; 71 pages. Price £6.95, paperback. ISBN 0 95295 410 9. Well researched biography of an intelligent and adventurous clergyman who became Dean of Salisbury at the age of 58 after undertaking

various missions in Europe.

**Willoughby, Rosamund. Sherrington: a Wiltshire Village.** R. Willoughby, 1998; 112 pages, illustrated. Price £9.99, paperback. ISBN 0 95298 790 2. An interesting study of this small, attractive village in the

Upper Wylde Valley. Apart from research into archaeology, history and architecture there is much material gathered from local people which provides a valuable primary resource for the community.

## Obituaries

**Bonar H.C. Sykes** The death of Bonar Sykes on 1 April 1998 has deprived the Society not only of its longest serving President, but also of a rare personality whose contribution to the improvement and expansion of the Society's museum and library had not been equalled during its earlier years.

He was born on 20 December 1922 into a distinguished family — his grandfather Bonar Law was then serving out a brief period as Prime Minister. Bonar's father, Sir Frederick Sykes, a Parliamentarian and later Chief of the Air Staff, was in 1928 appointed Governor of Bombay. It was a post which he hugely enjoyed, describing his official residence, Government House, with its lovely panorama of palms and sapphire sea, as one of the most fascinating spots in the world. Bonar was with his parents in Bombay until he was eight, but from 1931 he attended Hawtreys and then Eton, and for the summer vacation would make the journey by sea to join them in their official residence. For an impressionable youth life in the palace or amongst the streets of Bombay could only have been fascinating and enjoyable. He became a godson of Rudyard Kipling; and on one occasion he was able to watch through a keyhole as the remarkable Gandhi talked in Government House with his father.

Bonar's years at Eton ended in 1940, to be followed with the outbreak of hostilities by six years spent in the Royal Navy. He crossed the Atlantic on numerous occasions protecting North Atlantic convoys. Later he was in action at the D-day landings assisting with E-boats engaged in defending landing parties against forays from U-boats.

On his return to civilian life he entered Oxford to read politics, philosophy, and economics. After gaining a good degree he entered the Foreign Office, serving in Bonn and Prague during the 1950s, and later in the 1960s in Tehran where his happiest years were spent. In 1969 when head of the policy and planning department he returned from the Foreign Office and settled in Wiltshire to manage his own estate.

It was very shortly following Bonar's election to the Society's presidency that I became aware of his considerable respect and admiration for the Society's distinguished museum and library. No archaeologist himself, he was nevertheless aware of the archaeological achievements of earlier Society officers, the Cunnington family especially; the first William, who investigated the prehistoric barrow cemeteries of north and south Wiltshire; later the excavations of Maud and Benjamin Cunnington, which resulted in the acquisition by the Society of comprehensive collections of artefacts of the prehistoric and later eras.

Bonar's major achievement lay in his extension of the Society's premises, to create within both library and museum galleries for scholarly display and greater storage space — the latter with humidity and temperature control for special collections. At the same time, improved working space and easier access to collections and references became available to visiting students and researchers.

On the first floor of the museum a small picture gallery (a new venture) was added. Its inclusion, I believe, gave Bonar a particular pleasure, inspired by his own passion for collecting contemporary oil paintings, which began in early youth and continued up to his death. His love of paintings undoubtedly played a part in his friendship with the distinguished artist John Piper, followed later by the Piper oil painting which now occupies the art gallery window.

One further addition to the library was the provision of basement storage space. This is now occupied by the Society's extensive runs of national and county archaeological journals, which have been acquired over many years through the exchange of its own annual proceedings. As a result of its reorganisation the Society in 1984 gained the runners-up prize in the National Museum of the Year Award competition organized by the *Illustrated London News*.

The ten years of Bonar's presidency must rank as

one of the most productive within the history of the Society. I recall, in particular, his energy — there was hardly a day on which he failed to sidle into my office with fresh ideas for the improvement of museum and library. Few members would deny him, when appealed to for help; such as the lady member who, on impulse, organized an auction sale which raised £7,500. Two other members (one had earlier been a section leader in the BBC Symphony Orchestra), with Bonar's encouragement gave music recitals on the Society's behalf. These took place in the Devizes Town Hall assembly rooms and were a considerable success, continuing with the inclusion of other professional artistes (who gave their services) until Bonar's resignation ten years later. Such occasions, in addition, did much to bring the Society and its museum to the wider notice of the town and its inhabitants.

Bonar was a member of the Museums and Galleries Commission, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. In the late-1980s he became High Sheriff of Wiltshire; and during his term of office as Society President he was appointed a member of the Area Museum Council for the South-West. As I served on the same body we would drive down together to Taunton to attend council meetings. How admirable a travelling companion Bonar was, scrupulously objective when discussing either the wider world, or the idiosyncrasies and oddities of human nature. On the return journey there was always a stopping-point at a well-remembered pub for a glass of beer. Over the last few miles, if on occasion conversation palled a little, he would slip a music cassette into the car radio. His choice of composer to our mutual enjoyment was frequently Beethoven.

O rare Bonar Sykes!

F.K. ANNABLE

**Peter Arundel Jewell**, zoologist and archaeologist, died on 23 May 1998. He was born on 16 June 1925.

When Peter Jewell first came to archaeology, via the early settlement at Mawgan Porth in 1951-2, he was already established as a member of faculty at London's Royal Veterinary College. After Wandsworth School, he had read agriculture at the University of Reading and Physiology at the University of Cambridge, obtaining two first-class degrees, which led to his doctorate regarding dogs. He became a valued friend and we often discussed early environments and domestic animals. Peter, fascinated by the change and decay common to archaeological sites, subsequently joined Nicholas Thomas at Snail

Down in 1955, and often visited the present writer at Amesbury in 1956 and Fussell's Lodge in 1957. At Snail Down, where a number of the damaged barrows of the great cemetery were excavated, he observed, with unexampled clarity, sectioned denuded mounds, silted ditches and the nature of differential weathering, for buried ancient soils are mostly higher than adjacent present-day surfaces. Well-preserved animal bones were considered, as were those of small mammals. These last he saw as regurgitated by Raptores, which had perched upon the stakes of a barrow's circle, a novel notion in those distant days.

The idea of an experimental earthwork, designed for the study of weathering, denudation and ditch silting, was proposed in a lecture given by Peter to the 1958 Darwin Centenary Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In his talk, *Natural History and Experiment in Archaeology*, he recalled Darwin's observations on earthworms which emphasised that through their action even some stones at Stonehenge would gradually sink. Ditch siltings, teracettes on steep grassy slopes, and lynchets, all provided evidence of soil movement. He also suggested that an experimental earthwork should be built and studied to document the processes of weathering, denudation and ditch silting. Section H's recorder took up the idea with enthusiasm and the British Association's Committee for Field Experiments, with Peter as its secretary, came into being.

An extended meeting, held at the University of London's Institute of Archaeology, on 25 October 1959, led to more intimate meetings from which emerged the notion of a simple bank and ditch together with a geometric time-scale for its investigation. By the end of July 1960, the first Experimental Earthwork, constructed under Peter's supervision, stood on Overton Down's chalk. A length of the earthwork was dug with *primitive* tools, antler picks and shoulder-blade shovels, the debris being removed in wicker carrying baskets. Their efficiency was impressive and work with them proceeded at about two-thirds the rate of modern tools. At Peter's instigation, for the primitive tools were a particular interest, an all-out endeavour was made with them. This Stakhanovitic operation (Stakhanov was a war-time worker hero honoured by Stalin) as it was termed, led by Peter, achieved an output of 8.3 cwt/head/ hour. Thereafter, he planned and edited the *Basic Manual*, a joint comprehensive account of the experiment and its objectives, which appeared early in 1963. As the author of the introductory essay, the present writer saw much of Peter's exact and efficient

scholarship. From the first it was manifest that the earthwork's construction, and the early stages of its weathering and denudation, had wide applications, although he was critical of extravagant extrapolations. A further Experimental Earthwork was raised on the acid-soil of Morden Heath, near Wareham, in Dorset, while Peter was visiting Africa. Despite his absence, and unexpected difficulties, his ordinances and examples carried the day.

The monitoring of the earthworks under Peter's supervision was executed to a relentless timetable as he had the necessity of adhering as closely as possible to the geometrical progression of years, 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc., much in mind. After 32 years, in 1992, the Overton Down Earthwork was grassed and it was established that dramatic changes could take place within a life-span. It gave him great pleasure when it was observed that a barrow with, initially, a raw, chalk-cut, encircling ditch, could have attained, in that time, much the same form as is seen today.

When the Overton Down Experimental Earthwork was completed in 1960, Peter became a Research Fellow of the Zoological Society of London. A short secondment to the University of Biafra, where he directed their Biological Sciences, immersed him in bizarre and, probably, dangerous experiences when that institution was assailed during the Nigerian Civil War. In 1967 he returned to University College, London, where he directed a new wildlife conservation course, a by-product being his work on the Isles of Scilly. In 1972 he became Professor of Zoology at London's Royal Holloway College, and then moved to Cambridge in 1977, when he returned as Mary Marshall and Arthur Watson Professor of the Physiology of Reproduction and Professorial Fellow of St. John's College. Peter had in 1958 married Juliet Clutton-Brock who, after working with Frederick Zeuner at London's Institute of Archaeology, was concerned with the archaeology of domestic animals at the British Museum (Natural History).

Few, except those of Peter's friends who worked with him, were aware of the breadth of his interests. Indeed, he must have been one of the century's most effective interdisciplinary scholars. In prehistoric archaeology he was deeply appreciative of the many publications of Gordon Childe and those archaeological interpretations which employed the principles of historical materialism and evolutionary thinking. The complementary nature of many of the notions of Karl Marx and Charles Darwin, his hero, were ever a stimulus. Another hero was William Morris, with his unique combination of art and socialism. He was also keenly interested in ceramics

and their endless permutations of form, functional and inutile, which he collected. Although conversant with organised religion he had an antipathy for its constraints, and friends would receive a Yule rather than a Christmas card. His knowledge of the biology of brewing led him to support, with enthusiasm, the campaign for real ale.

Peter was popular with his students, because he continually stimulated their thinking processes, and fellow academics because he brilliantly discharged the duties inherent in councils and committees. In every dimension of his life he was possessed of a generosity of spirit, and he was always entertaining and spontaneous. It was often said that a day in his company equalled in value a month with many. His rigorous scholarly standards have been attained by few and his passing leaves a measurable gap in our ranks. He is remembered with the greatest of affection by all his friends and associates.

PAUL ASHBEE

**Anthony (Tony) Clark**, pioneer geophysicist, died on 3 June 1997. He was born on 22 March 1930.

The death of Tony Clark has robbed both the Society and archaeology at large of one of its most important post-war practitioners and innovators. A man with a deep passion and commitment to archaeology, Tony was largely responsible for developing geophysical prospection into the accessible archaeological science we know today. His introduction to this field in 1948 was, in his own words, 'one of those chances that shape lives' (Clark 1990, 12). Having seen an exhibition of the pioneering resistivity survey undertaken by Richard Atkinson, Tony's interest was aroused and he began to develop the science and methodology whilst working for the Distillers Company Instrumentation Section. By 1956, in partnership with John Martin, he had developed a resistivity meter - the Martin-Clark - designed specifically with archaeology in mind. The success of this equipment was first graphically demonstrated in Wiltshire. The survey of the plough-levelled stone defences of the Roman town of *Cunetio* (Mildenhall) produced superb results. Publication of the work in the *Illustrated London News* (the nearest thing to *Current Archaeology* of its day) created great excitement in archaeological circles. This led to a campaign of excavations on the site, conducted under the joint direction of Tony and Ken Annable, the Society's former Museum Curator.

Tony remained at the forefront of research and development into geophysics and its application to archaeology, gaining an international reputation. The creation in 1967, by the then Ministry of Works, of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, and the appointment of Tony to head it, was a milestone in the history of archaeological investigation in this country. It is without doubt one of his greatest legacies. Whilst with the AML Tony continued to be an innovator as well as a field worker. He gained a PhD through Southampton University in 1980 (in 'Archaeological Detection by Resistivity') and collaborated in the development of archaeomagnetic dating methods. Ultimately Tony left the AML to pursue an independent career as a consultant in geophysics and related fields. He published many papers on geophysics and related topics and in 1990 published *Seeing beneath the soil*, a work which was desperately needed to make geophysics accessible to the growing number of people, both lay and professional, who wanted to know more about this fascinating subject.

In spite of his growing commitments on the national and international circuit, Tony always found time to pursue his interests in the archaeology of Wiltshire. He was a long-standing and highly valued member of the Society's Archaeology Committee, attending meetings as often as his busy schedule would allow. He gave sound advice, exuded great enthusiasm and would always find the time to discuss matters at length with individuals. His long interest in the Wansdyke led to a series of investigations into the feature and shortly before his death, he felt confident that he was close to unravelling many of the problems surrounding the date and function of this great monument. Sadly he did not live to publish these results, although a summary of them was passed, with characteristic generosity, to Bruce Eagles to include in a stimulating paper on Wessex in the fifth and sixth centuries AD (Eagles 1994).

Tony was always prepared to assist in Society matters and in 1991 collaborated in kick-starting

research into the Bath to London Roman Road along its approach to *Cunetio*, linking this work with providing the Society's Field Group with training in geophysical survey. This work continued until 1998 and the first report will be published shortly as a tribute to Tony's commitment to the Society.

At a national level Tony's contribution to archaeological sciences was recognised in 1995 with the inauguration of the Clark Laboratory at the Museum of London. A posthumous memorial in the form of the Tony Clark Memorial Trust Fund for Archaeological Sciences was established in 1998. Administered by the Royal Archaeological Institute, it is designed to assist both professional and amateur archaeologists in developing field methodologies, data analysis and interpretation.

As a vital member of the local archaeological scene and as a lead promoter of the archaeological sciences, Tony was involved with the Avebury World Heritage Site Research Agenda and with the Experimental Earthworks Committee. For the latter he endured nothing less than a monsoon in 1992 when he visited the 32-year section of the Overton Down Earthwork for his input to the project.

Tony was a man of many talents coupled with good humour, immense modesty, total lack of self interest and an ever-present capacity to offer advice and assistance when needed, often qualified by 'I'm only a scientist'. He was always looking to push the boundaries of knowledge within his own speciality for the benefit of the entire discipline. His contribution to archaeology, at both a national and local level, is immense. He will be sorely missed.

MARK CORNEY and GILLIAN SWANTON

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