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and Natural History
Magazine



Volume 67 1972

Part B: Archaeology and Local History

THE WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

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PART B: ARCHAEOLOGY AND LOCAL HISTORY

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THE EXCAVATION OF A ROUND BARROW ON ROLLESTONE DOWN, WINTERBOURNE STOKE, WILTSHIRE

by PAUL OZANNE

'The next day we opened a small flat
Barrow on Stoke Down' (William Cunnington, 1804?)

SUMMARY

A much-disturbed burial mound at Winterbourne Stoke, Wiltshire, had two concentric ditches, the outer having a benched profile. It is argued that it may have been a bell barrow, which was renovated by the digging of the inner ditch. A plaque in the central grave indicated excavation by William Cunnington in 1804, and several evidences justify identification with a barrow described by him in manuscript. If this is so, knowledge of two burials may contribute a little to our understanding of the Early Bronze Age sequence in central Wessex. The first was a Beaker inhumation in a pit cut into the chalk; the second, above it, was a cremation with a minute cairn and an accessory vessel at the level of the chalk surface. The overlap of the Beaker and Wessex Cultures is briefly discussed.

INTRODUCTION

ON ORDNANCE SURVEY MAPS (sheet 167 of the one-inch series), a pair of barrows is marked on the southern slope of Rollestone Down, shortly within the parish of Winterbourne Stoke, Wiltshire (FIGS. 1, 2). Both have been excavated on behalf of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments of the Department of the Environment because they were threatened with obliteration by the plough. In 1959 Mr. C. Green examined the north-westerly one, which is listed as Winterbourne Stoke 44 by Goddard (1913) and Grinsell (1957, 202); it is scheduled by the Department as Wiltshire 374N and its National Grid reference is SU 09024351.* The present paper is concerned with the south-eastern of the pair, Goddard's and Grinsell's Winterbourne Stoke 43, the Department's Wiltshire 374S, which stood at SU 09094342. It will be referred to by its Goddard-Grinsell number, as WS43. It was investigated in

* Small differences in National Grid references between those given here and those by Grinsell (1957) may be explained by the fact that only recently has the Grid been printed on large-scale maps, to make precision possible.

WINTERBOURNE STOKE

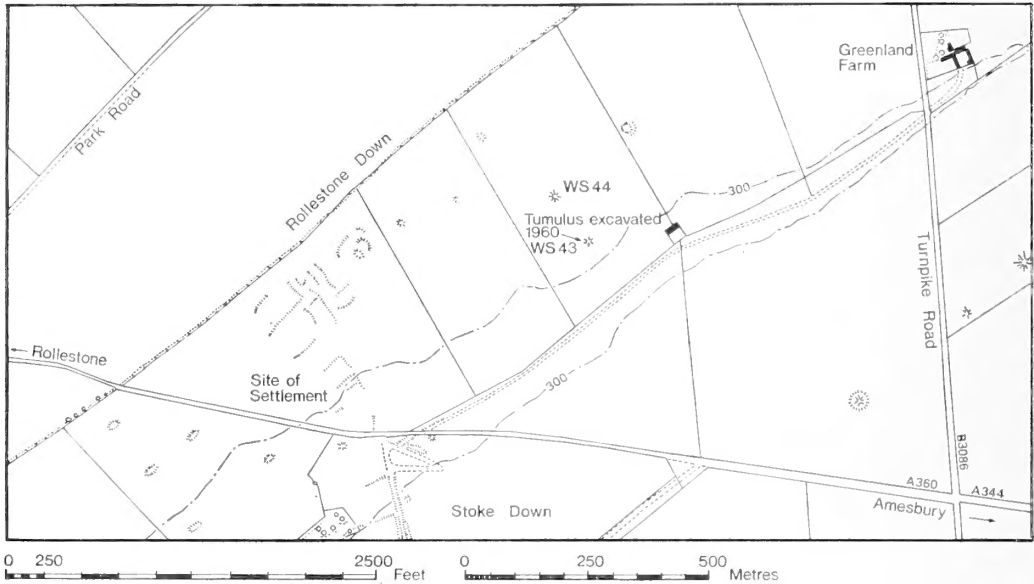


FIG. 1

The position of barrow WS43, Winterbourne Stoke.

November and December 1960 by Miss M. Best (now Mrs. R. Robertson-Mackay) and the writer; Miss Best assumed full responsibility for the second half of the excavation, when the writer was appointed to the University College of Ghana.

Grinsell (1957) described the barrow as being fifteen paces in diameter and one and a half feet high. In 1960, it was in very poor condition indeed. The plough had cut into the chalk rock even near the centre, at the mouth of the only grave that could be seen; and also, over the whole area, tree-roots, burrowing animals, and their acid residues, had penetrated the chalk and had disturbed and adulterated buried soils.

Two concentric ditches were found, of which the outer one appeared to have been dug in two stages (PLS. Ia, b; FIGS. 4, 5a). Neither stratification nor artefacts had survived to indicate the relative ages of these. At the centre, there was a complex of pits (FIGS. 4, 5b). One of these, cut three feet into the chalk, appeared to be the original grave, and the bottom of this had been paved, at least along the greater sides, with flint nodules. Two others, Pits 1 and 3, were cut into its filling. Pit 1 had removed most of the contents of the grave; it was dated by two halfpennies of 1799 and by a lead plaque stamped 'Opend 1804 WC', indicating that the barrow had been dug by William Cunnington. Also in Pit 1 were most parts of an unburnt skeleton, a few small fragments of burnt bone, a sherd from a Necked Beaker (FIG. 3b) and three sherds which seemed to be parts of a small crudely-made vessel shaped like a flower-pot (FIG. 3a). Miss Best postulated a primary inhumation with a Beaker, and a secondary cremation with an accessory vessel.

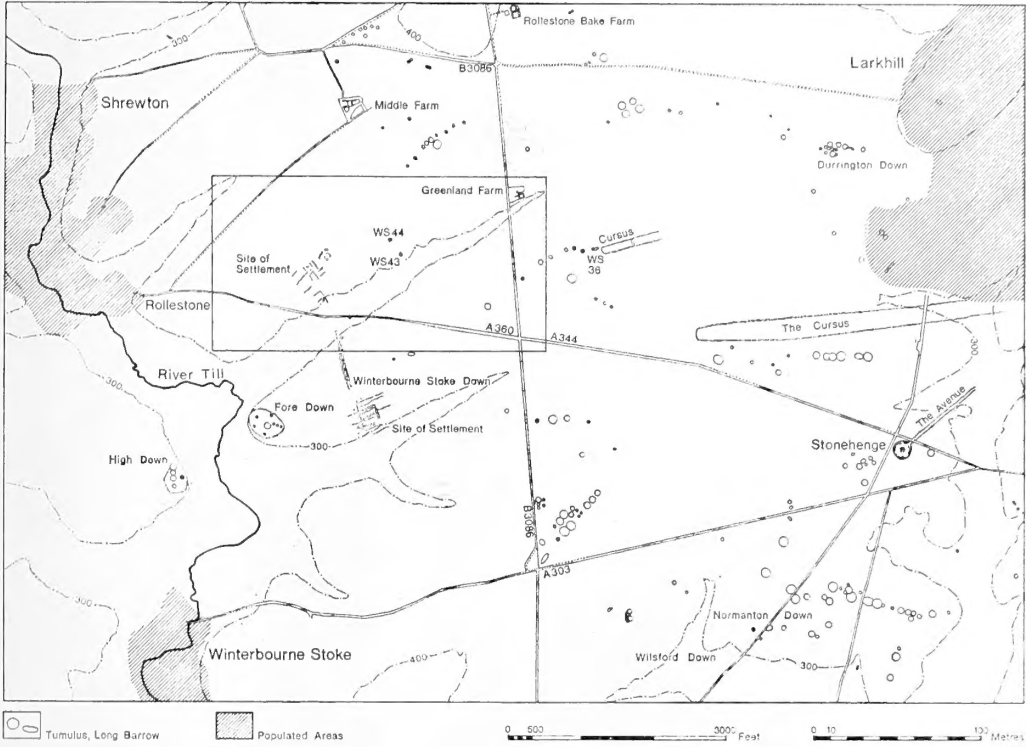


FIG. 2

General map of the area west of Stonehenge; the rectangle encloses the area shown in FIG. 1.
Based on Ordnance Survey maps with the sanction of the Director General. Crown Copyright reserved.

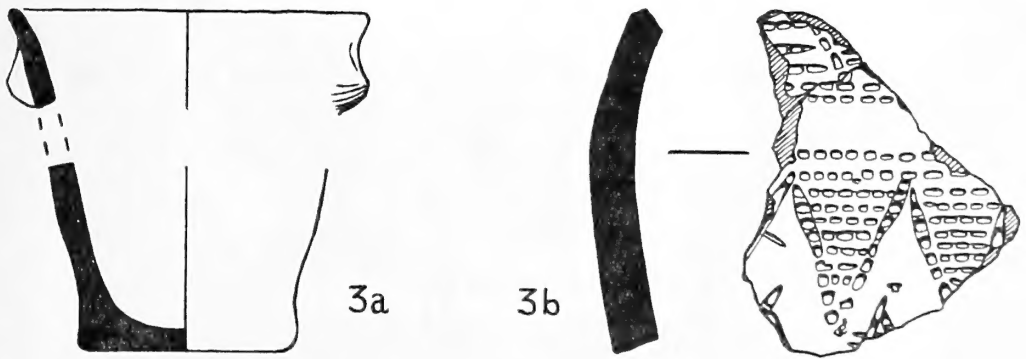


FIG. 3

Winterbourne Stoke, barrow WS43. Pottery from Pit 1. Scales, 3a, 1:2; 3b, 1:1.

WINTERBOURNE STOKE (WS 43)

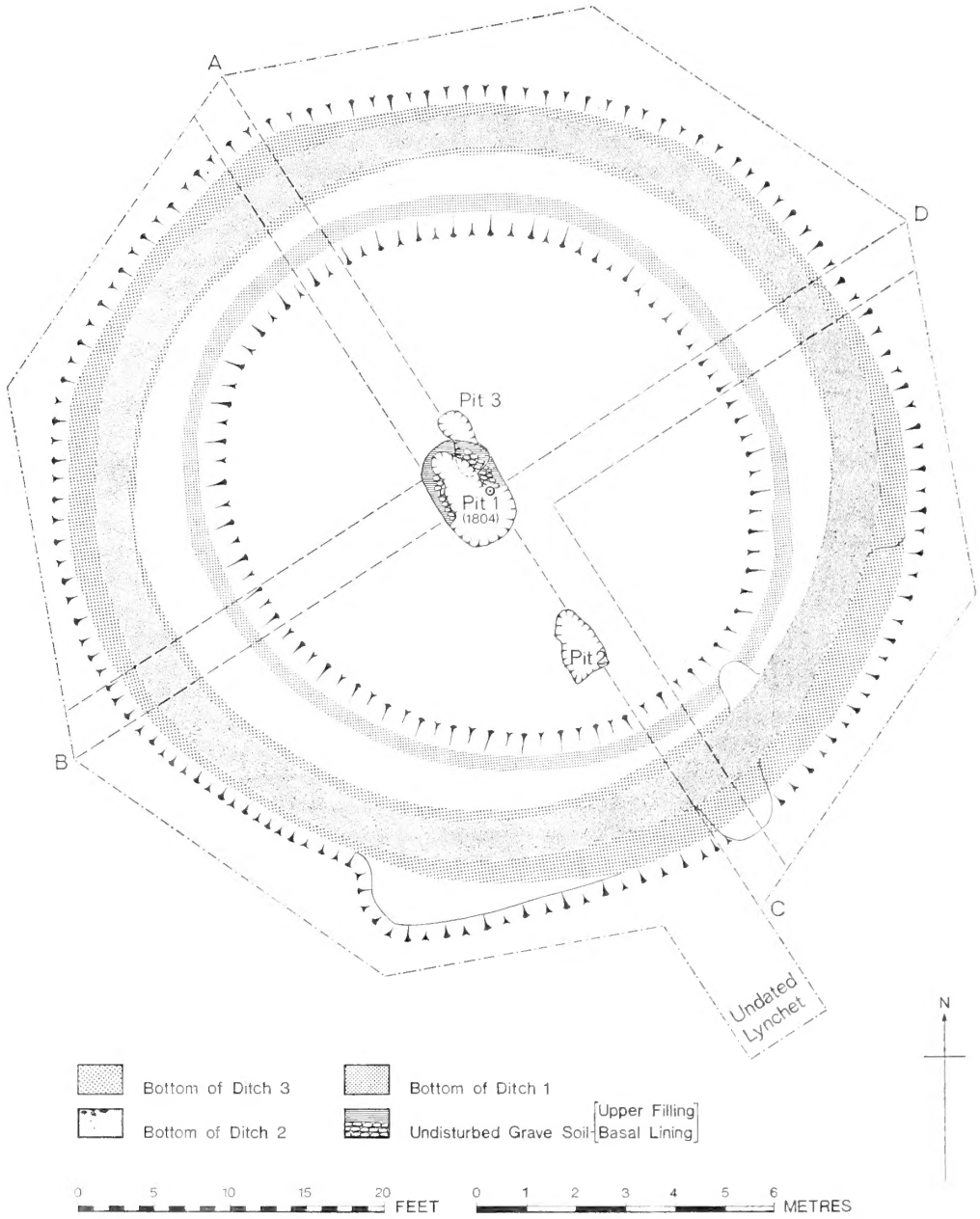


FIG. 4
Winterbourne Stoke. Plan of barrow WS43.

WINTERBOURNE STOKE (WS 43)

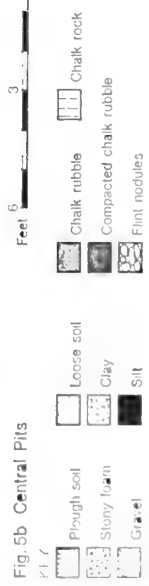
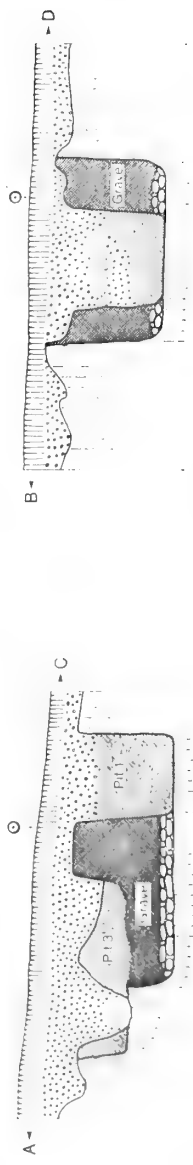
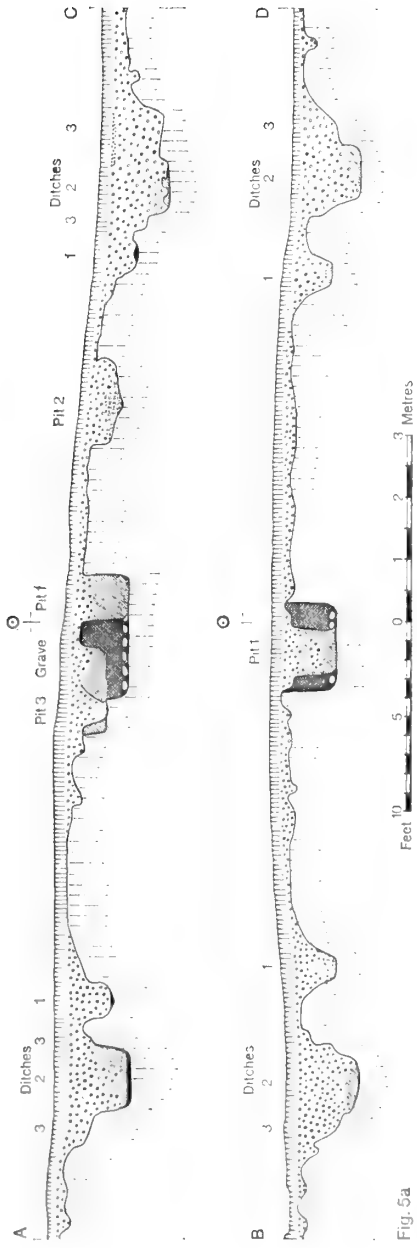


Fig. 5
Winterbourne Stoke. Sections of barrow WS43.

CUNNINGTON'S EXCAVATION

Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1812) appears to record all of Cunnington's work in the area since the turn of the century, and yet he makes no reference to any barrow which could possibly be WS43. His maps 'Amesbury Station V N. District' and 'Stonehenge and its Environs' show no barrow on the slope of Rollestone Down, which is clearly marked. On page 173, his itinerary approaches the down from Rollestone village, and he says of the barrows in this area 'Of these I cannot give so detailed or satisfactory an account as I could wish. Some were opened by Mr. Cunnington, during the early period of his researches, when no very regular account was kept of his discoveries, and not the most distant thought entertained of laying the result of them before the public.' This, however, is not a satisfactory explanation of his ignorance of WS43, because the date of our plaque, 1804, is much too late: Hoare gives plentiful accounts of Cunnington's work in this decade, and the reference must be to his activities in the late eighteenth century. Ashbee (1970, 5) suggests that 'it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that Sir Richard Colt Hoare and William Cunnington began their spate of opening barrows'; but it was the records, designed for publication, from which we may learn of work done, that were not commenced until this time, whereafter they were kept faithfully. Another surprise was that there is no trace of a Beaker, to which the WS43 sherd could have belonged, in the Stourhead collection, which was kindly searched for this purpose by Mr. F. K. Annable and particularly by Mr. D. D. A. Simpson of the Devizes Museum.

A reference by Annable and Simpson (1964, 76) led in 1971 to a manuscript of Cunnington's in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, quoted here through the kindness of the Librarian, Mr. J. H. Hopkins. The use made of it here shows that it certainly should be published, at least by mimeograph, for although Hoare (1812) quotes most of it *verbatim*—apart from corrections in syntax—it contains more evidence than his volume, not only of the discoveries made, but also of archaeological thought at the time, and of Cunnington's personal contribution.

The manuscript was ordered and paginated by Cunnington into four and a quarter volumes. It starts with an introduction, but is mostly built of short sections, each describing work during a particular period, and usually concerning a single type of site in one small area, so that the matter would be easy to re-arrange. Many of the sections are dated, between 1801 and 1809, but others are not. The sections do not follow in exact order of writing; when Cunnington had enough sections to bind into a new volume, he seems to have arranged them according to their matter as one stage in the editing, which was subsequently completed by Hoare. Thus one cannot look up the year 1804, but one can be confident in assuming that sections written in that year, but not bearing dates, will be amongst those of 1803–5. Annable and Simpson (1964, 76) are not concerned with the details of the arrangement when they mention the Society of Antiquaries manuscript in a way that tends to imply that it was not put together in any way until all the parts were completed.

This point is so vital that we must consider it further. The introduction is written with authority, indicating great experience of archaeological research, and even arguing from archaeological evidence that, in our terms, a lengthy Bronze Age

preceded the Iron Age, a brilliant anticipation. One piece of evidence—apart from the rough chronological order of the sections—indicates that this was written first, from experience gained before 1800 and before any records were made. Cunnington describes how ‘to show to future antiquaries the Barrow had had a prior opening’ he buried ‘one or more of Mr. Bolton’s new Copper Coinage’. No copper coins were minted from 1775 until 1797 when Boulton’s Soho Works at Birmingham made twopenny pieces; they minted halfpennies in 1799 and pennies, halfpennies and farthings in 1806–7. No word is said, however, of dated metal plaques, which archaeologists tend to believe were always buried by Cunnington and Hoare. So the introduction was almost certainly written before they chose this form of testimony, and probably between 1799 and 1801. Historians of archaeology may note that this means that Hoare’s ‘science’ in basing interpretations on published facts is not quite as sound as is claimed; substantially, the conclusions were reached before the data presented to us were collected.

In the second volume, a section titled ‘Group of Barrows North of Stonehenge’, describing the linear group close to the Greater Cursus, occupies pages 97–103, and is dated to September 1805. Pages 109–111 are titled ‘On Tytherington and Corton Downs’ and are dated 22 August 1804. Between these, pages 105–108, is an undated section upon a ‘Group of Barrows west of Stonehenge’. Most of this concerns the cemetery at the western end of the Lesser Cursus and is quoted by Hoare, page 65. The manuscript account of this cemetery breaks at ‘the end of the day’ of the excavation of Hoare’s barrow 50, which is Goddard’s and Grinsell’s Winterbourne Stoke 36, next to the long barrow, at National Grid reference SU 10304345. The manuscript section continues, and ends, with the following paragraph:

The next day we opened a small flat Barrow on Stoke Down 47 feet in diameter and only 2 feet in elevation. On a level with the floor of the Barrow we found a little pile of burnt bones covered with some large flints, over the latter stood a small rude Urn about the size of a half pint Cup. Beneath this interment in a Cist three feet deep in the native Chalk we found a Skeleton lying from South to North, contrary to the usual manner, at the feet of this Skeleton stood a brown drinking Cup very neatly ornamented, but which unfortunately the Men broke to pieces. The teeth of this Skeleton were very white and beautiful.

This would be a very fair description of WS43 if Cunnington has made a small mistake in the first sentence: if we should read ‘facing Stoke Down’ for ‘on Stoke Down’. His dimensions are very similar indeed to those of Grinsell, who used similar means of estimation. Miss Best found the grave-pit, three feet deep, with evidence of flint lining; and representative evidence of a skeleton (whose teeth are not so white today, but encrusted, perhaps by the acidity of Cunnington’s loose back-fill), a cremation, a Beaker, and a crude vessel very little more than half a pint in volume, and nothing else of pre-1799 date (except, unknown to her, a few fragments of two other individuals, which are described in the Appendix). Her postulated associations—remarkable in the case of the half-pint accessory vessel—are in perfect concordance. The absence of the Beaker in Cunnington’s collections is explained. The date of the record, probably 1805 or 1804, agrees with that of the plaque. Finally, we may understand why Hoare did not publish the account. He arranged Cunnington’s

material into itineraries, in which the precise location of each site is essential; but he could not place WS43 on Stoke Down. Yet, as may be seen from FIG. 2, this barrow is not only within Stoke parish, but also immediately across the Salisbury–Devizes turnpike road, which was Cunnington's route of access from the Lesser Cursus group which he had been working upon, only nine hundred yards from the road and thirteen hundred due west of the barrow dug the day before; and separated from Stoke Down by a gentle coombe which ends within the parish, near the turnpike road.

To the present writer, the identification seems nearly certain.

Since this was written, Dr. Smith has most kindly examined the Devizes Museum manuscripts in the light of the argument. She says: 'that the undated section is likely to date from 1804/5 is not denied by the evidence. Mr. Kenneth Woodbridge, author of *Landscape and Antiquity*, has deposited in the Devizes Museum a chronological table of Colt Hoare's and Cunnington's activities in which he attributes the section in question to 1805.' Also, at the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Hopkins has reviewed the suggestion (Annable and Simpson 1964, 76) that the London MS is a transcript—which could be unreliable in its sequence; and he has kindly advised that it is almost certainly the original made by Cunnington: the President's words of thanks (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, ser. 2, XV, 177), with their reference to Hoare's annotation, can only be read in this sense.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Apart from the sherds illustrated in FIG. 3, only five very small fragments of prehistoric pottery were found, all in the ploughsoil, or in disturbed soils of Ditch 3. They may belong to only two vessels, and are almost certainly not Beaker fragments. A search of the surface of the field produced very few signs of prehistoric activity. There were a few struck flakes, and one very fine chopper core three inches in diameter from near the WS44 barrow. Just within the ditch of WS44, on the southern side, there was one very highly eroded sherd from a Necked Beaker; it has an internally bevelled rim, and a hatched-lozenge style of decoration produced in a similar manner to that of FIG. 3b. Indeed, it could be another fragment of the WS43 vessel broken by Cunnington's men.

South-east of the barrow, a six-foot trench was extended eight feet to cut across a lynchet (FIG. 4). Here, the plough had cut into the chalk, and there was no direct evidence of its date. At least seven Romano-British sherds were found in the ploughsoil and disturbed ditch-fills, and with these we may associate various animal bones from these levels. These are likely to have been spread with farmyard manure in Roman times, and this is the only period in which human activity is plentifully evidenced—probably cultivation by the people of the village five hundred yards to the west, which the Ordnance Survey marks as 'Settlement'.

A number of medieval sherds were found in the disturbed levels. They may all belong to a thirteenth century water-pot, of which the sagging base was represented by a fragment on the chalk floor of Ditch 3, two yards north of section BO, in a collapsed rabbit warren. The vessel would have been very similar indeed to one found

in the Gallows Hill Barrow, Isle of Wight (Alexander *et al.* 1960), which may be related to Henry III's instructions in 1237, that such mounds on the island should be searched for treasure; and one may wonder whether a similar order was made for the rich area of Salisbury Plain.

In the light of the concern about plough damage shown in the last twenty-five years, it is interesting to note how little WS₄₃ changed between 1804 and 1960. Measurement on FIG. 5b of the depth of the grave below the undisturbed chalk surface will show that this has not changed at all; and the height of the mound may have lost about six inches. Cunnington, in his introduction, greatly laments destruction by ploughing, but the damage of recent centuries seems to have been slight compared with that of Romano-British times, from which, after over fifteen hundred years, substantial lynchet systems still testify to the massive displacement of soil.

The decay of the surface of the chalk, probably since the thirteenth century, has one distressing result. The surface was carefully, and repeatedly, searched for stake-holes, but none was found. However, the surface was so rotten that neither of the excavators can be certain of their absence.

THE PITS AND BURIALS (FIG. 5b)

The sides of the central grave were very well preserved. It was large, seven feet four inches by four feet ten inches at the mouth, but this is by no means unusual (Ashbee 1960, 69, *et seq.*); and the floor was very level, three feet below. Cunnington's trench, which is marked as Pit 1 on FIGS. 4 and 5, had completely cleared the south-eastern half, but had left a narrow wall of grave-fill around the rest. This consisted mainly of chalk rubble, but at the bottom such material was compacted with large flint nodules to a depth of about eight inches. These nodules were particularly notable at the south-western side, and were apparently absent at the north-western end. It is difficult to imagine Cunnington's 'cist' in its original condition, but it may have been no more than a line of stones on either side of the body, perhaps supporting a cover. Combining Cunnington's evidence with that of Mrs. Dawes (see Appendix), it seems that the body was laid on its right side, presumably flexed, facing east.

The Beaker sherd (FIG. 3b, PL. IC) was found on the floor of the grave, near the north-western end: fourteen inches from section AO, and thirty-eight inches along this line from point O. This agrees very well with Cunnington's location of the Beaker, at the feet—'contrary to the usual manner'—of the skeleton which was lying south-north. One of the three main broken edges of the sherd—the vertical one, on the left in the figure—is much more ancient than the other two, and it would seem that the vessel was badly cracked before Cunnington's men found it; that then it began to break, and our sherd was dropped. The absence of any other sherd of it, however, shows that the final disintegration occurred elsewhere, perhaps, as we have seen above, near WS₄₄.

The sherd has a sandy paste, which is fired to give roughly equal thicknesses of brick, black and brick coloration. The inner surface is grey with a tinge of brown; the outer light brown, and well burnished. The diameter of the vessel would have been about six inches. The decoration was impressed by a crenated edge, giving shallow ovoid marks, or deeper rectangular ones in a continuous groove (evidence from another Wiltshire barrow, to be published soon, shows that the instrument could have been a cortical flake from a fossil sponge). The central zone consists of hatched pendant triangles; below this there is a plain chevron field, and the apices of two upright triangles, probably hatched. The uppermost zone has a hatched upright triangle, and the hatching overlaps the side of this, by accident or design.

This style of ornament appears in the middle of the Beaker series as proposed by Clarke (1970).^{*} It is found on several typical Necked Beakers from Wiltshire with Early Bronze Age associations (e.g. Cunnington and Goddard 1934, pl. VII; Annable and Simpson 1964, 39, 89), which are probably amongst the latest Beakers of this area.

The grave-fill was also cut into by another pit, Pit 3 (FIG. 5b). This overlaps Cunnington's trench, but the filling of each was very similar and no line of distinction was seen to indicate which was the earlier. Pit 3 was irregular with rotten sides, and its edges could not be defined precisely. It may be a natural formation, although its filling, with chalk rubble and loam, differed from that of the irregular Pit 2, south-east of the grave, which seemed to have been made by tree-roots and animals. If it was artificial, it could be an unfinished robber pit associated with the thirteenth century water-pot; or a prehistoric pit which may have contained the cremated secondary burial. This could not be decided, though we may note that the pit is deeper than the level at which Cunnington found the cremation.

The fragments of the vessel accompanying the cremation were found scattered in the lower half of the fill of Cunnington's pit. The base is complete, and there are two small rim sherds (PL. Ic), one of which has a rough knob. All except one of the prehistoric sherds found in disturbed soils, mentioned above, could have come from the same vessel, but they are too small and worn to be identified with confidence. The breakages look fairly fresh, and two scallops of the wall of the base fragment could have been made with a one-inch conical pick; it would seem that Cunnington's men broke the pot. The fabric is sandy, black with a thin yellow-brown skin inside and out. The shape is irregular, with pinching-in of the wall at the base and under the rim. Close parallels are not easy to find in the collections of Bronze Age pottery; Abercromby (1912, fig. 276) illustrates one, with similar knobs, from near Cambridge. 'Food vessels' of similar size, but a little more sophisticated in design, have been found with cremations in Wiltshire at Durrington, Collingbourne Kingston and Winterbourne Stoke Cross Roads (Annable and Simpson 1964, 62, 117).

Secondary cremations, without cinerary urns of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, have been rather neglected in tracing the changes in burial practice in the Early Bronze Age. We depend very much indeed upon excavations of the nineteenth century for our material; and inexperienced antiquaries may often have collected the grave goods from them without recognizing the burial. The circumstances of the WS43 cremation suggest a date in the fully developed Early Bronze Age of Wessex, though the fact that the accessory vessel lay not with the burial but on top of a diminutive cairn contrasts not only with the inverted cinerary urns of some burials of this period, but also with the normal placing of other types of pot; and, in its typology, it is more likely to be associated with 'Food Vessel' traditions than with those involving 'incense cups'.

Mrs. Dawes (see Appendix) has discovered remains of two other persons in the filling of Cunnington's trench. One of these was represented only by teeth, the final remnant of a buried body; the other by bones which were much more worn than those of the primary skeleton. Both are likely to have been buried as secondaries, relatively high in the mound, and to have been derived from the 1804 topsoil. They certainly do not demand any change in the interpretation of the early phases of the barrow, but only show that our knowledge is incomplete.

THE DITCHES AND THE MOUND

We may be confident that the principal feature of the barrow was a mound. Cunnington's description, with its estimate of height of two feet, suggests this; and, as may be seen from FIG. 5a, the surface of the chalk inside the ditches has been protected from erosion, surviving twelve inches higher than the level outside them. It was, then, a bell, a bowl, or a 'saucer'. The present writer knows no objective evidence that any Bronze Age barrows were

^{*} Because of the statistical basis of this important work, it is unwise to say more about one small sherd without complex discussion of mathematical probability levels.

originally built in the very low and unremarkable 'saucer' form. A bell-barrow in particular may be eroded into a saucer-form without filling the ditch; and, in studying the stratification, negative evidence would have to be very powerful, and the excavator most confident in his ability to distinguish every original differentiation of strata, for the building of a saucer barrow to be certain. Saucers in excellently preserved barrow cemeteries may mark the positions of rabbit warrens and large trees which have eroded particular mounds, but not the majority. Unfortunately, our system of classification is such that the two principal promoters of erosion will tend to segregate tumuli built as bell-barrows into three of our classes. To the plough, the barrow, and especially the ditch, is an obstacle, and erosion will be mostly circumferential, destroying the outer bank if there had been one. To trees and rabbits, the deep loose soil of the mound is a haven, and their greatest erosion will be at the centre, away from the plough. According to the strengths of the two erosive forces, a bell-barrow will be converted by erosion into either an apparently original bowl-barrow, with or without the preservation of an original outer bank, or into a 'saucer'. These factors cannot be weighed by surface inspection unless the activity of trees and rabbits has been relatively high for the site in recent years; many excavation reports indicate that rain, worms, and gravitation easily reduce a much disturbed, and irregularly-surfaced, mound to its natural result, a regular, subcatenary dome. These considerations are so potent that we must demand stratigraphic evidence of the construction of 'saucer' barrows before we write this class into the prehistoric record. If the 'ever shall be' is in doubt, who can ask us to accept as an hypothesis that what 'is now' is the same 'as it was in the beginning'? This—an expression of the geological Principle of Uniformity—is the question raised by the specification of 'saucers' without sufficient evidence.

Three monuments recently excavated near Pewsey are described as saucer barrows (Vatcher 1960), with a clay layer at the base of each mound, which has survived only in depressions in the chalk. However, they can hardly have been built as such, for this would mean that all of the original soil was removed from above the hard chalk. It is more likely that the clay is of natural origin, and that the sites were disc barrows.

The writer has been asked to comment upon the following point. Mr. Grinsell must be assumed to be consistent in his meticulous descriptions of the barrows of Wiltshire (1957) and of Dorset (1959). The relative frequency of saucer-barrows, as a percentage of all round barrows or as a ratio to ones of the bell type, is, in his counts, very much lower in Dorset than in Wiltshire; and this would seem to be the strongest evidence in favour of the recognition of the saucer type as an original form.

Grinsell demands at least a vestige of an outer bank for categorization as a saucer; and he says with proper caution (1957, 136) that 'bowl barrows with outer bank shade imperceptibly into saucer barrows'. His figures show that outer banks are generally much more infrequent in Dorset than in Wiltshire: nineteen bowls in Wiltshire have them, but only one in Dorset; eight bells in Wiltshire, against one very strange one in Dorset; and forty-six saucers—including several doubtful ones—in Wiltshire, against two in Dorset. These ratios are very consistent. They support Ashbee's suggestion (1960, 27) that we should carefully distinguish between banked barrows and unbanked ones; and justify the scant attention which he gives to 'saucers' as a category.

On the plan (FIG. 4) the borders of the bottom of each ditch are marked as accurately as possible; the hachures are added in purely conventional style as a visual aid. The overlapping of Ditch 2 by Ditch 3 would make a normal presentation confusing and misleading unless the slopes were very accurately plotted. Animals and trees had made these slopes so irregular that such a plot would not be easy to understand; and it would draw more attention to erosion than to the prehistoric formation, which is only clearly evidenced by the very bottom parts of the ditches. Even these, it may be seen, had been greatly expanded by erosion in several places, though nowhere did this deepen the floor by more than an inch or so.

The outer ditch, around most of its circumference, had a wide bench on the outer side, a foot or so above the bottom, and also a narrow ledge at a similar depth on the inner slope,

much broken by rabbits and roots but very clear most of the way round. The profile thus resembles the intersection of two ditches, one relatively deep and narrow, and the other wide and shallow; for convenience these have been called respectively Ditch 2 and Ditch 3, though there is no evidence that they were dug separately. The distinction has not been drawn into the sections (FIG. 5a), for the reader would be misled; but when these two ditches are referred to, he should imagine, crossing the filling, a near-horizontal line representing the base of Ditch 3, and two near-vertical ones the sides of Ditch 2.

All of the filling of Ditch 3 seemed to have been disturbed. It consisted mainly of a stony brown loam, with many loose patches, and several rabbit warrens; and it contained both Romano-British and thirteenth century pottery. Most of the filling of Ditches 1 and 2 was the same as that of Ditch 3, though each contained some undisturbed soil in most places. This soil was mainly chalk rubble, with varying amounts of loam, probably eroded from the shoulders of the ditches; but in both, puddles in the freshly-cut ditch were represented by patches of very fine rain-wash up to an inch thick (exaggerated in FIG. 5a), and Ditch 2 contained some deposits of clay, perhaps derived from pockets of naturally-decomposed chalk under the original shoulders. Where they seemed to be best preserved, the sides of each ditch sloped steeply, at about twenty-five degrees from the vertical. The floors of Ditches 1 and 2 were flat, but Ditch 3 had an irregularly sloping floor, which did not seem to have been produced by erosion. Dimensions of the ditches are given in the table below.

TABLE OF DITCH DIMENSIONS

Dimensions in feet	Ditch 1	Ditch 2	Ditch 3
Mean diameter of centre of ditch	36·3	46·0	46·7
Mean width of bottom of ditch	1·37	2·80	5·08
Mean depth below level of undisturbed chalk at centre	2·65	4·05	2·85

A remarkably similar structure only six miles away, Grinsell's barrow 71 on Earl's Farm Down, Amesbury, has been excavated by Mrs. Christie (1967). Here also there were two main ditches, which overlapped in part; and two Early Bronze Age burial phases were represented, one by an inhumation in a central pit, perhaps contemporaneous with two Beaker sherds of like style to the one from WS43, and the other by four inhumations, one with a small Food Vessel, and two or three cremations, one of which was covered by an inverted large Food Vessel. Mrs. Christie correlates the central inhumation (?Beaker) with the inner ditch and a bell-barrow form, the later burials with the outer ditch and a bowl barrow.

One naturally tends to think that a reconstruction of a barrow consisting of the quarrying of fresh chalk implies an enlargement, and that therefore the outer ditch of a pair is most probably the later. This would almost certainly be true of a bowl barrow, but it need not be so of a bell, where a second ditch could be cut into the berm in order to renovate the chalk capping of the central mound. It will be seen from FIG. 4 that Ditches 2 and 3 are very nearly circular, whereas Ditch 1 is an ellipse; and that this ellipse is distended down the slope, in the way that a collapsed conical mound would be distended, coming closest to the outer ditches in the lowest segment. Thus the inner ditch could be the later, representing the refurbishment of a bell-barrow.

Support for this interpretation is provided by estimates of the volumes of the ditches, obtained by adding two and subtracting two conic volumes. We need to know their original depths, and these can be given with some confidence. Cunnington's measurements, and FIG. 5, suggest very strongly indeed that the level of the chalk at the centre has not changed since the Early Bronze Age. Many Bronze Age soils on the chalk, under barrows, are found

to be very shallow—only about six inches at Amesbury 71—but in an area with little sign of land use, as around WS43, about fifteen inches would be a likely value. Considerably more would be needed to alter the present argument significantly. Therefore depths used in the calculations were fifteen inches more than those quoted in the table. Slopes of ditch sides were approximated as averaging twenty-five degrees from vertical. The volume of quarried material was assumed to expand by one third in forming a conical mound.

Ditch 1, by itself, would not provide enough material to build a monument more remarkable than a minute bell-barrow, or a small genuine 'saucer'. Ditches 2 and 3 combined would not yield enough to build an impressive bowl barrow, with a diameter only two or three times the height. But either Ditch 2 or Ditch 3 would be sufficient to build a bell-barrow, with a conical mound of roughly equal height and radius, the radius being that of the smaller axis of Ditch 1. The two outer ditches together would yield somewhat too much for this, for the sides of the conical mound would be very steep. However, a small outer bank is a frequent feature of Wiltshire bell-barrows, and the second stage of the outer ditch may have provided this. Since the inner edge of the bottom of Ditch 3 consists of no more than a very narrow ledge in the side of Ditch 2, it is unlikely that this was cut when Ditch 2 was empty. More likely Ditch 3 was dug first to build the central mound, and then more chalk was quarried from its base to form Ditch 2 and a small white outer bank.

We have seen how very similar WS43 is to Amesbury 71, although the latter occupies twice the area and had many more burials. The ditch sequence suggested for Amesbury 71 is the reverse of that proposed for WS43. Yet the outer ditch was almost perfectly circular, and concentric with the double circle of stake-holes around the primary grave pit. The very shallow inner ditch (two and a half to three feet below the old land surface) was elliptical, as at WS43. Here again calculations of volume indicate that the mound could not have been a moderately high bowl, but the outer ditch would provide enough material for an acceptable bell-barrow, in which case the inner ditch could have been dug later into the berm to renovate the mound.

One element of the stratification of Amesbury 71 needs careful consideration. This is the relationship between the chalk capping of the mound to the filling of the inner ditch, which is the principal evidence of the sequence suggested by the excavator. Over an arc of thirty-five degrees fragments of this capping extend over the inner ditch—and over its eroded inner shoulder in most places—indicating that the ditch was filled when the mound was built in its final stage. However, the fragments of capping occur only under, and even over, disturbed soils, and to accept this argument we must be convinced that they themselves are *in situ*. Nowhere, according to the sections, was the chalk capping adjacent to any of the distinctive soils of the mound, which include an earlier chalk capping; and from the published evidence it is very possible that the fragments of compacted chalk rubble have sludged outwards over the lower filling of the inner ditch. The mound 'had been much disturbed by rabbits', apparently everywhere that this particular capping was found, and these would have promoted such sludging, even from the earlier chalk capping which they had certainly penetrated. Perhaps at Amesbury 71 the inner ditch is later than the outer.

BEAKERS AND THE WESSEX CULTURE

Whatever the order of the ditches at Amesbury 71 and at WS43, both excavators have suggested that a bell-barrow may have been constructed over a Beaker interment. Bell-barrows, however, are a peculiar characteristic of the Wessex Culture. Annable and Simpson (1964, 21) give proper emphasis to this fact when saying that 'Barrow burial was a feature of the preceding Beaker cultures, but new types appear with the immigrants'. Furthermore, bell-barrows usually cover primary cremations; in Grinsell's count (1958, 98), 'of 57 examples in Wessex excavated with known result,

4 contained primary inhumations, 37 contained primary cremations'. The normal associations of the cultures would relate the Amesbury 71 inhumation with a bowl barrow, and the Food Vessel cremations with a bell—the reverse of the correlation favoured by the excavator.

Annable and Simpson (1964, 19–20) remark that 'there appears to be a definite overlap, particularly of Long Necked Beakers, with the succeeding Wessex Culture' but quote no barrow evidence, despite the fact (p. 21) that 'information on the culture is derived almost exclusively from barrows'. The discussion of the overlap by Ashbee (1960, 140–153) shows that it is evidenced first by the presence in some Wessex Culture graves, both in Wessex and elsewhere, of certain types of artefact which are also found in beaker graves; and second by the association of Beakers with Wessex Culture innovations in other parts of Britain, suggesting a cultural lag behind Wessex development. Thus general statements about the overlap are necessarily based upon transitional or compromising definitions of the two cultures, and may be very difficult to relate to local situations precisely. At present we are concerned with a local cultural succession, and nothing more.

A small proportion of bell-barrows in Wessex were, as said above, built to cover primary inhumations. The possible occurrences of Beakers in such circumstances are very few. Barrow Amesbury 15 (Hoare's 164), which, according to Ashbee (1960, 91) 'has been described as the finest bell-barrow near Stonehenge', covered a primary inhumation with a grooved dagger and a 'richly ornamented drinking cup' (Hoare, 1812, 205); Hoare uses this term to describe what we call a Beaker, and exactly, yet Piggott (1938, 106) says that 'it was probably not a Beaker'. Perhaps this probability is based upon the association; but in the same way the burial would be probably a cremation! In other cases we cannot be absolutely sure that a Beaker barrow was a bowl and not an eroded bell, and it is generally assumed to have been a bowl.

When we consider how very few undoubted bell-barrows are known to have covered inhumations, and we remember that inhumation was common in the first stage of the Wessex Culture which many bell-barrows certainly represent, we may see the problem in its proper perspective. If a few of the earliest bell-barrows were built over Beaker graves, our chances of having yet obtained indisputable evidence of this are very small indeed. The absence of this evidence is far from conclusive, and it is possible that Beaker burial custom and Wessex Culture bell-barrow construction did in fact overlap. It has been noted above that the closest Wessex parallels to the WS43 Beaker are late in the local series, and the sherds from Amesbury 71 are similar. The WS43 and Amesbury 71 vessels may indeed represent the very end of the series, and even belong to the same cultural stage as the subsequent unurned cremations and the Food Vessel inhumations. Such problems as that of the overlap of Early Bronze Age cultures need critical and very thorough examination.

Acknowledgements

The writer is most grateful indeed to those who have assisted him in the several ways mentioned in the text. In addition to these, Mr. L. J. Turner, the owner of the land, is thanked not only for the specific permission to excavate, but also for his general support of archaeological research; and a great debt is owed to a number of people in the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Department of the Environment.

Disposal of Finds

By the generosity of Mr. Turner, all finds have been presented to the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, and will be stored in Devizes Museum.

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APPENDIX

Report on Human Skeletal Material

by JEAN D. DAWES

The human bones found in Cunnington's trench probably belonged to four individuals. First, there was the major part of an adult skeleton; second, several bones belonging to a child; third, eleven teeth which belonged to neither; and fourth, a very small quantity of burnt bones which probably represent an adult human. Measurements are as defined by Brothwell (1965) with the addition of femoral measurements selected by Parsons (1914).

1. *Adult Skeleton*

All parts of the body were represented. The face and the base of the skull were damaged and incomplete, especially on the left side. Of the spine, there were the atlas, most of the axis, the arches or parts of them of three cervical, eleven thoracic and five lumbar vertebrae, and four vertebral bodies, of which one was lumbar, one thoracic, and two very fragmentary. The remains of the thorax were pieces of ten right and nine left ribs, a small portion of each clavicle, the major part of the right scapula, and a smaller fragment of the left one. The upper limbs comprised the shafts of all the long bones, three carpals, the right and the left scaphoid and the left lunate. There was a large part of the right ilium and a smaller part of the left. The lower limbs consisted of the right femur, the shafts of the other long bones, the left talus and the left medial cuneiform. Finally, there were four metapodial fragments and one and a half phalanges.

The skull was brachycephalic and of medium height, and the right pterion was sphenoparietal in form. The forehead was slightly receding, the chin rounded and prominent, the supra-orbital ridges moderately well developed, and the palate shallow; the

occiput was square, and not very ridged, and the mastoid processes were of moderate size. Both ilia showed a marked pre-auricular sulcus, and enough of the sciatic notch remained on the right side to show that it had been fairly wide. The ends of all the long bones were eroded to a greater or lesser extent, but where the original dimensions were indicated it was apparent that the joints had been fairly small. Though the arm bones were well developed, most of the bones of the axial skeleton were relatively small and slight. Almost certainly, the skeleton is that of an adult female.

Application of Brothwell's regression formulae to the estimated length of the right femur indicated a living height of 161 cm., or five feet and three inches. The age could not be estimated reliably because the evidence of the teeth conflicted with that of the bones. The attrition of the teeth was slight and would suggest an age of twenty to thirty years, but the rheumatic changes in the vertebrae, described below, and the degree of obliteration of the major skull sutures, indicated a greater age.

No sign of *ante mortem* injury to the skeleton was seen. However, there was bony lipping around the surviving lumbar vertebral body and around the articular facets of the arches of the lower five thoracic and all of the lumbar vertebrae. The articulations between the first two lumbar vertebrae were extended in such a way as to indicate an excessive play at this point when bending. These findings indicate that the individual suffered from osteoarthritis in the spinal column. The skull showed some osteoporosis, which extended over areas of the base and the petrous temporal bones. The skull was markedly deformed by a flattening of the posterior half of the right parietal and by the consequent bulging of the anterior part of the bone; this may have affected the measurement of the width of the skull, but not the description of its overall shape. There were no bone anomalies, nor caries and little calculus and alveolar absorption.

A small hole in the mandible at the roots of the canine and lateral incisor was probably *post mortem*, and not evidence of an abscess. A hole 35 mm. by 20 mm. in the left parietal and occipital, lying across the lambdoid suture, was probably made after burial. Depressions and eroded areas on the outer tables of the skull were consistent with bearing against large stones in the grave. From the markedly better preservation of the bones of the right side throughout the skeleton it is likely that the body lay on its right side in the grave.

Measurements (mms. or degs.)

FEMURS		<i>right</i>	<i>left</i>		
Maximum length		428*	—		
Diameter head		43*	42		
Ant/post. diam.					
below lesser troch.		24·8	27·2	Platymeric index	73 82
				i.e. platymeric.	
Trans. diam. below					
lesser troch.		33·7	33·0		
Length neck		57	60		
Angle neck		123	122		
Max. ant/post. diam. shaft		26·2	27·2		
Min. trans. diam. shaft		24·9	24·5		
TIBIA		<i>right</i>	<i>left</i>		
No lengths possible					
Ant/post. diam. at					
nutrient for.		30·9	30·9	Platycnemic index	72 71
				i.e. eurycnemic	
Trans. diam. at					
nutrient for.		22·2	21·9		

* denotes estimated reading / denotes tooth missing post mortem - denotes area of socket missing

FIBULA, HUMERUS, RADIUS, ULNA: No lengths possible

SKULL

Maximum length	179.5		
Maximum biparietal breadth	149	Cephalic index	83
		i.e. brachycephalic	
Basi-bregmatic height	133*		
Minimum frontal breadth	99.5	Height index	
Frontal chord	111.1		
		$\frac{100 H^2}{B \times L}$	= 66 i.e. medium
Frontal arc	127		
Parietal chord	111.2		
Parietal arc	133		
Occipital chord	91.3		
Occipital arc	104		
Biasterionic breadth	112.4		
Transverse biporial arc	325		
Maximum horizontal perimeter	518		

MANDIBLE

Foramen mentalia breadth	41.9	TEETH
Symphysial height	20.4	right
Minimum breadth right asc. ramus.	32.3	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc} \text{-----} & \beta & \beta & \beta & \beta & \beta & / & \text{-----} \\ \hline & 8 & 7 & 6 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \end{array}$
Maximum projected mandibular length	100	Attrition
Right coronoid height	67.6	M 1. stage 3
Bicondylar width*	112	M 2. stage 3-
		M 3. stage 2+

* denotes estimated reading. / denotes tooth missing post mortem - denotes area of socket missing

2. Child

A number of bones were small and delicate and had a heavily eroded surface quite different from the smooth surface of the skeleton described above. Parts present were: cranial fragments, small long bone shafts of both left and right femurs and tibias, the head of a small right femur not yet united to epiphyses, one fragment of rib, most of right and part of left ilium not united to other pelvic bones. The sciatic notch area was incomplete but obviously shallow. The length of the complete femur was probably about 23 cms. These were the bones of a child under the age of 12 years, probably about 9-10 and probably female.

Measurements. Only tibia diameters can be given

	right	left
Ant/post. diam. at nutrient foramen	18.4 mms.	17.7 mms.
Trans. diam. at nutrient foramen	16.4 "	15.7 "
Platycnemic index	89	88.5 i.e. eurycnemic

3. *Teeth*

Thirteen adult human teeth were found, six molars, four premolars and two canines, and one incisor, possibly all from the same upper jaw. Except for one third molar which had probably never erupted properly all the teeth showed an excessive degree of attrition, consistent with an age of 45 years or more.

Attrition M 1. stage 6
M 2. stage 4+ & 5
M 3. stage 0 & 2+

4. *Cremation*

The small amount of cremated material recovered from this excavation weighed only 25 grams altogether. The fragments were probably human. They consisted mainly of parts of long bone shaft and one probable skull fragment. All were well preserved, grey-white to buff in colour, the larger shaft piece being black inside. Of the nine larger discrete pieces four fell in the 3-5 mm. range and five in the 1½-3 mm. range. It was not possible to draw any conclusion as to age or sex of the body represented beyond its being of adult or near adult size.

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EXCAVATIONS AT CRICKLADE: 1948-1963

by C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

SUMMARY

Cricklade lies on the south bank of the upper Thames, at a place where the wide alluvial valley was crossed by Ermin Street, the Roman road from Silchester to Cirencester. The town figures in the Burghal Hidage, the early 10th century list of fortresses defending the coasts and frontiers of Wessex. The defences of the Saxon borough survive as a low, much spread, mound, sometimes marked by modern hedges, but elsewhere traceable across open pastureland. Extensive excavations were carried out between 1948 and 1963; all four corners of the defences were examined and trenches were cut across the northern extension to the modern cemetery, which covers the centre of the west side.

The sections disclosed two constructional phases. The original rampart was a clay bank about 30 feet wide, revetted in front with timber. Though there is now no evidence that the bank stood to a height of more than 6 feet, analogy suggests that it was originally about 9 feet high, with a palisade set back from the revetment. In the second phase the timber revetment was replaced with a wall of mortared masonry. A ditch, set in front of a berm 20 feet wide, was certainly in use in the later phase and probably replaces an older ditch on the same line.

The original bank was thrown up on long-cultivated ploughland, which in places incorporated large quantities of much-abraded Romano-British pottery, including types datable to the late 4th century. A few pieces of unabraded middle Saxon pottery were found in the same context. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the traditional connection with the borough system organized in the last years of King Alfred. The wall was dated by a piece of painted pottery of the early 11th century found embedded in the mortar at the base of the masonry. Technically the wall bears a close resemblance to the wall at South Cadbury, which was erected c. 1010.

The excavations also provided useful information about the distribution within Cricklade of Romano-British wares and the nature of the occupation of that date.

PART I. INTRODUCTION

CRICKLADE LIES ON the south bank of the Upper Thames, at the point which was formerly the head of the navigation.¹ Barely one half mile away the Roman road from *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester) to *Corinium Dobunorum* (Cirencester) crossed the broad alluvial valley. The position must always have been of strategic importance and was the natural choice for one of the chain of fortified boroughs organized at the end of the 9th century to defend the frontiers of Wessex.

The remains of the fortifications of this period are not impressive and prior to these excavations the actual course of their line was not fully established. It was felt after the Second World War that the site would repay excavation directed toward

tracing the exact line, extent and nature of the defences of pre-Conquest Cricklade. The medieval town lay along the lines of High Street and Calcutt Street, where the boundaries of the burgage tenements can be plainly seen on the modern map. Behind these were open fields and closes. In 1945 modern Cricklade within the defended area had grown little beyond the extent of the medieval town. But the fields covering the lines of the defences lay adjacent to the inhabited areas and were clearly threatened by expansion.

The energy of the Cricklade Historical Society led to the organization of a series of excavations, which have provided an extensive picture of the Saxon borough and thrown some light on the earlier and later history of the site. Work started in 1948, when, under the direction of Mr. R. J. C. (now Professor) Atkinson, Mr. F. R. Maddison cut a trench across the east defences. The trench was sited in Paul's Croft (field no. 111), near the south-east corner of the fortified settlement. In 1950 the modern cemetery on the west side of town, north of Bath Road, required extension; the obvious site was to the north, where it was suspected that a low, broad and much-spread bank marked the line of the west rampart. This bank, which must also have crossed the main cemetery, had been disguised by recent levelling, but the Ministry of Public Building and Works decided that a trial excavation should be undertaken before the area was laid out. A section, cut in 1952 by the late Group Captain G. M. Knocker, disclosed an ancient clay bank with traces of a mortared structure to the west. This had been completely removed, leaving only small stones and debris. At a later date, when Wainwright's first season had brought to light a wall revetting the front of the clay bank, further trenches were dug in the extension to the cemetery. A long stretch of the wall was laid bare and remained open for a number of years. It has now been filled in and the ground levelled; a notice board indicates the position and direction of the wall. More extensive excavations were begun in 1953, under the direction of the late F. T. Wainwright of University College, Dundee, who explored all four corners of the site. Wainwright's work, which had the support of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, was used as a training school for students from Dundee and other universities. The work, begun in 1953, was continued on a larger scale in the following year, which also saw the investigation of the Roman road, where it crossed the Thames. In 1960 Wainwright returned to Cricklade in an endeavour to solve certain questions raised by the earlier work; his excavations in that year were on a small scale and were inadequately recorded. In 1963, after Wainwright's death, a proposal to develop Parsonage Farm as a building site involved the entire destruction of the south-west corner of the site, which had been least fully examined. An emergency excavation, under my direction, was organized by the Ministry of Public Building and Works, bringing the series to an end.

Mr. Maddison and Group Captain Knocker both prepared written reports, which have been made available to me. Neither was published at the time, as it was felt that the very tentative conclusions based on limited excavations might need revision in the light of the fuller results expected from Wainwright's investigations. When I accepted the invitation to direct the work in 1963, it was on the understanding that my report would cover the whole series of excavations at Cricklade. The materials left by Wainwright and sent to me in 1964 proved on investigation to

be incomplete. The drawn sections, which I had seen in 1954, were missing. No account of these sections had been written up and it was only possible on the basis of the field note-books and finds lists to prepare a very summary account. In 1968, when this, together with the report on my own work, was nearly complete, the missing sections were found. It then became necessary to rewrite the whole report; even the account of the 1963 excavations needed revision in order to take account of Wainwright's discoveries in this area.

It is always difficult to prepare an account of another director's excavations. Wainwright's records are very full, but he left no report, not even a rough draft. His interpretation of many points changed during the course of the work and earlier deductions still stand in the note-books and on the sections. My own direct knowledge of the work was limited to two short visits, when I saw some of the trenches. But I had long discussions with Wainwright both during and after his earlier excavations. I have endeavoured to present the facts which he recorded and trust that they have not been distorted by the inevitable need for revision and editing. I have also tried to present the firm conclusions which he reached and which were recorded in the written material available to me. In one important respect I feel bound to disagree with his conclusions. In doing so I have felt it desirable to present his own view, expressed as far as possible in his own words, even though these were not set down in a form intended for publication. These remarks refer to the account of the excavation, which forms Part II of this report. Wainwright left no discussion of the parallels to his discoveries at Cricklade; Part IV of the report therefore represents my own conclusions based on the results of the whole series of excavations.

A full report on the Roman road was published by Wainwright immediately after the excavation.² It therefore forms no part of the present report. A detailed study of the Romano-British and later medieval pottery is also omitted for reasons explained at the appropriate places. But it has been thought desirable to record and comment on the Romano-British discoveries arising out of the excavations on the line of the ramparts.

PART II. THE EXCAVATIONS

I. THE NORTH-WEST CORNER

Field no. 57,³ about $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres in extent, covers the north-west⁴ corner of the pre-Conquest borough, the hedges on the north and west sides each following the line of the early bank. The field is divided by modern fences, which do not appear on the map and are ignored in this report. To the east the scarp marking the line of the north bank can be traced across the edge of field no. 59 until it merges with the boundary between the churchyard and the garden of the former St. Mary's Rectory. The excavations in 1953 were concentrated in field no. 57, with one trench in no. 56 and other extensions in nos. 56 and 58, outside the west and north ramparts respectively. The west bank follows an artificial line, but the north bank, following in part the natural scarp above the river flats, is slightly concave.

The map shows the northern scarp continuing west from the corner along the north end of field no. 56, known as 'Long Close', and then running south along the west side of this field, parallel to and about 40 yards away from the bank of the pre-Conquest borough.

This feature, marked 'Intrenchment' in Gothic characters, could be traced further south in the extension to the town cemetery, but not as far as Bath Road. The 1952 excavations had shown that Long Close and its extension to the south lay outside the pre-Conquest defences.

While there is a detailed record of the trenches in the north-west corner and of the objects found and their stratification, no general account of the work was written. The report that follows is reconstructed from the field note-books and from marginalia on the drawn sections, collated with the finds lists. In a discussion with the writer at the end of the season Wainwright expressed the view, though with some hesitation, that bank and wall were contemporary. Strong dissent was expressed both by the writer and by others on the basis of the drawn sections, but without seeing the trenches open.

The line of the hedge between fields nos. 57 and 56, representing the front of the wall, was taken as a base line. Measurements were recorded in feet east (E) and west (W) of that line. Subsequently the north side of W.IV was taken as 70 feet south (S.70) of a hypothetical zero and trenches laid out on a grid,⁵ measurements being recorded east (E) of the base line and south (S) or north (N) of this line.

A trial hole was dug in field no. 57 about 90 feet from the west bank and about 400 feet from the north, at a point where the spread rampart appeared to have petered out. This hole showed 8 inches of topsoil overlying 7 inches of mixed clay and earth, forming a heavy soil, which, in turn, rested on the undisturbed subsoil. A sample of the subsoil, taken at a depth of 2 feet 3 inches from the modern surface, was submitted to the Geological Survey and identified as 'undisturbed Oxford Clay with race. Race is a concretionary form of calcium carbonate, which is common in many clays.'⁶

Three trenches were cut across the west rampart (W. I, II and IV) and two across the north (W. V and VI). Two small areas were opened to explore the front and back of the rampart (W. VII and VIII), near the corner. The remaining trench (W. III) was cut across the 'Intrenchment' on the west side of field no. 56.

Section W. I. Cut across the west rampart, 450 feet south of the north-west corner. Laid out 170 feet long by 4 feet wide. Dug: W 70-65, W 15-E 60, E 65-70 and E 74-80.⁷ FIGS. 1 and 2. The main part opened provided a complete section across the bank.

Immediately overlying the subsoil, a layer of soil extended from E 3 as far as the end of this part of the trench (E 60). Up to E 40 the depth was about 1 foot, but beyond this point it gradually decreased to 6 inches or even less. The soil was heavy, with some admixture of clay, and had been cultivated. On this soil was piled a bank of Oxford Clay reaching from E 7 to E 36; the clay included very little humus. The bank remained to a height of about 2 feet, but the upper 6 inches was much cracked and disturbed by subsequent cultivation. The back of the clay had a sharp, almost vertical, profile, behind which was a pile of dark soil or turf 4 feet wide, with a slight setting of stones, which had probably formed part of a rear revetment. A further rough setting of stones, parallel to the bank and 3 feet wide, was located 15 feet in from the revetment. This may have formed the base of a wall bounding the intramural roadway. The front of the clay had a steep concave profile, as though it had been deliberately cut back. For a space of 8 feet in front of the clay the section was much disturbed by a modern hedge and its roots. Overlying the natural clay was a thin layer of dark soil indistinguishable from that under the bank. Covering this a mixed layer of clay, mortar and soil spread out for several feet. Mortar was most noticeable between E 1 and E 6, where it stood in a mound to a height of 1 foot 6 inches. This mixed layer was covered by a layer of dark soil and clay with little mortar, which formed a bank 2 feet high facing west. A comparison with other sections shows that these layers represent the destruction of the wall. The stone was taken away and the wall trench first filled with the mortar and debris and then levelled over with clay and soil from the top of the bank. The wall had stood between E 1 and E 6, where the concentration of mortar was thickest. A lens of clay at the bottom of the layer probably represents the base of the original bank. No remains of the wall were found in position. Sealing these layers and merging into the modern humus was a layer of mixed soil and clay representing the gradual degradation and spread of the bank in the course of cultivation. Outside the modern hedge was a shallow contemporary ditch cut

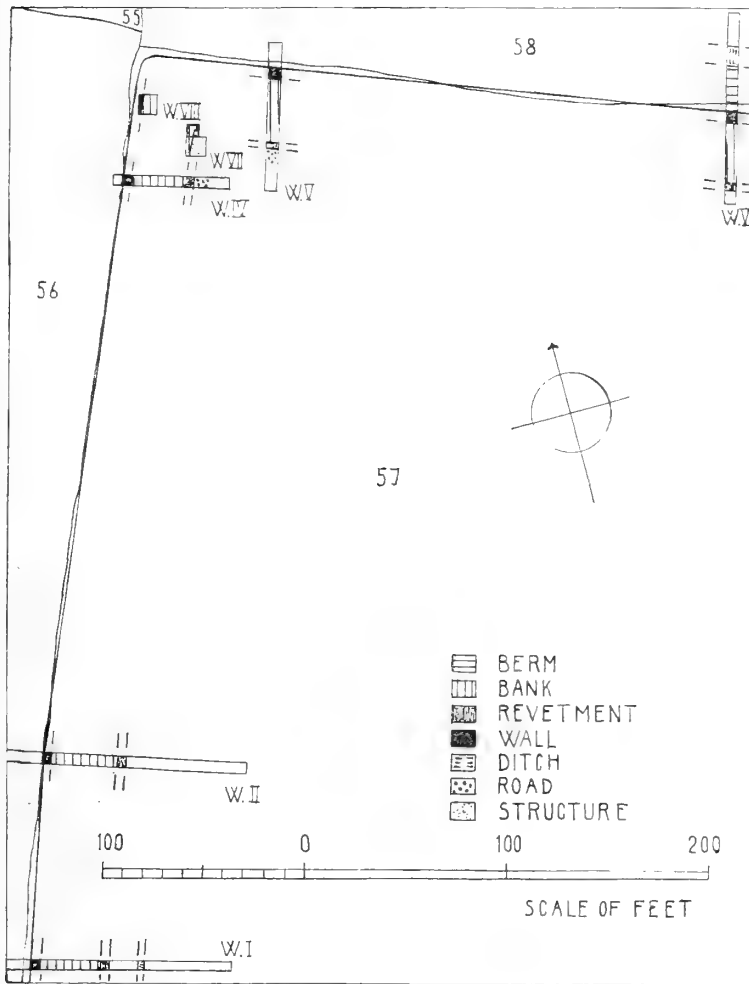


FIG. 1
Cricklade: NW corner. Plan of excavations.

down as far as the surface of the subsoil. At W 9, beyond the lip of the ditch, the clay was covered with a thin layer of soil, on which lay a band of stones, a feature found on the berm in a number of other sections (p. 105). The ploughing which followed the degradation of the bank was clearly earlier than the modern hedge, but could not be more closely dated.

About fifty sherds of much-abraded Romano-British pottery were found in the soil under the clay bank. Late wares included one fragment of cooking pot of 4th century type and two of bowls with flanged rim. The only recognizably early pieces were three scraps of *terra sigillata*. There were also a few pieces of Romano-British glass. Similar pottery came from the same layer inside the bank. Two sherds of middle Saxon character (FIG. 11: 1, 2) were found on the surface of this layer, under the bank. Very little pottery was found in the clay of the bank; it was of the same character as that below. Medieval pottery, predominantly of the 12th and 13th centuries, occurred in the mixed clay and soil overlying the bank and extending into the interior of the town. Similar sherds were found penetrating

into the top part of the clay bank, where there was evidence of shrinkage and cracking; they afford no evidence of the date of construction, only of the gradual degradation in the course of cultivation. The fill of the robbed wall trench included sherds that could be as late as the 17th century, but not at significant depths.

Section W. II. Cut across the west rampart, parallel to W. I and 90 feet to the north. 175 feet by 4 feet. Dug: W 75-70, W 15-E 20 and E 30-45. FIGS. 1 and 2.

The subsoil—Oxford Clay—was overlaid between E 4 and E 20 with a thin layer of gravel. On this, within and under the bank, was the old surface soil. A sample from under the bank was described by the Geological Survey as ‘a resorted Oxford Clay, which could well be an original turf’. Under the bank this layer reached a maximum depth of 14 or 15 inches; elsewhere it was much thinner. The clay bank was found between E 5 and E 35. In front it still remained to a height of about 2 feet, tailing off towards the interior. The clay included occasional patches of darker soil. At the back the clay showed a steep almost vertical profile 18 inches high. A sample of soil taken 2 feet behind this edge and 9 inches above the old surface soil, was ‘similar to that below the clay bank’ and ‘could well be (an) original turf soil’. The evidence suggested that the back of the bank had been revetted with turf and that a layer of stones between E 37 and E 41 could have formed part of this revetment.

The front of the bank was faced with a wall of mortared masonry, of which the lowest courses remained in part. At the back the stones still stood a height of over 1 foot, but the front of the wall had been entirely removed. The base of the wall had been set in a trench 4 feet wide cut through the surface soil into the top of the subsoil. A slight groove 1 foot 3 inches wide and cut nearly 1 foot deep into the subsoil suggested that the missing front had been finished with a plinth as in other places (e.g., p. 87). Above the remaining stones the face of the clay bank had been cut back 2 feet from the rear face of the wall. This represents the excavation for the building of the wall. At the base of the cut the filling was of clay, but at a higher level was a layer of mixed soil and clay, which extended forward above the remaining stones of the wall.

At one point between E 10 and E 20 the clay had been disturbed in recent times; here the filling included some medieval pottery and one modern sherd; the whole was probably caused by the removal of a tree. The upper few inches of the clay bank were much disturbed by cultivation. This layer spread forward over the filling of the robbed wall trench forming a steep bank facing west.

In front of the wall the turf and a few inches of topsoil had been stripped at an early date for a width of some 8 feet. Soil had accumulated in the hollow and was covered by a layer of mixed soil and clay, which included many stones from the wall; over this lay humus carrying the modern turf. A modern ditch beside the hedge had silted up. Before the hedge and ditch were formed the rampart would have showed as a low, much-spread mound like that formerly visible further south, in the extension to the cemetery (p. 84).

Except in the disturbance caused by the uprooted tree the material recovered from under the clay bank was all Romano-British. It included about fifty fragments of pottery and a few pieces of tile. Of the pottery some four-fifths consisted of abraded, undatable scraps. Recognizable sherds included three scraps of *terra sigillata*, parts of two fine red ware bowls and of two jars, two cooking pots, one flat-rimmed bowl and one late flanged bowl, together with the base of a small late beaker. The mixed soil and clay over the bank and the similar stratum at the back of the bank contained predominantly Romano-British material with occasional medieval and later sherds; the medieval pottery was almost all of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Section W. IV. Parallel to W. I and II, and about 60 feet south of the corner. 55 by 4 feet. Dug: W 5-E 15 and E 30-50. FIG. 1.

The main features resemble those of the two sections already described. The bank had more numerous inclusions of soil and of different coloured clays. The back of the clay stood with a vertical face 1 foot high at E 32. Behind this, for a width of 3 feet a scatter of stones is marked on the section as ‘rear wall: no mortar’; it appears to be in every way similar to

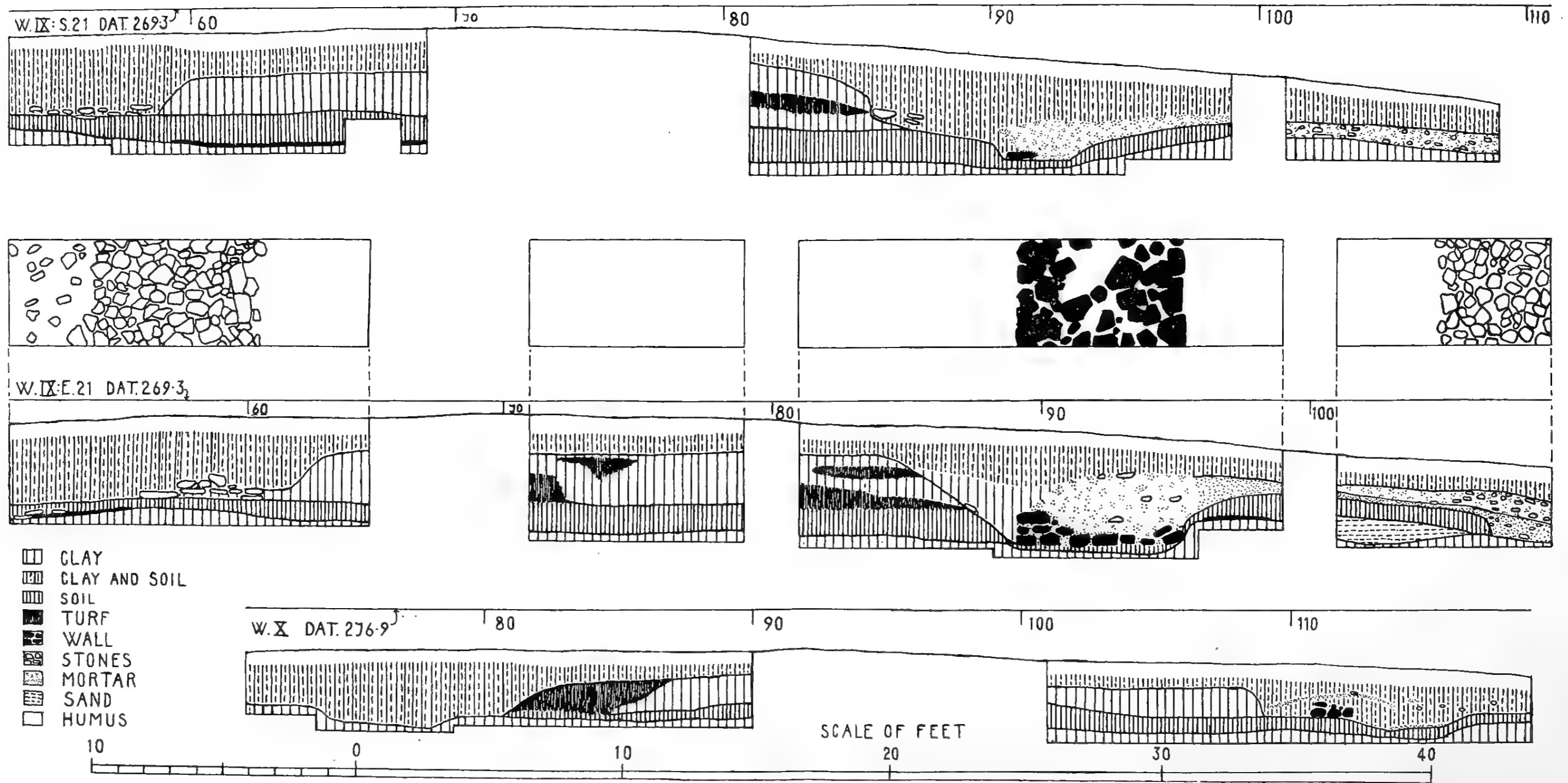
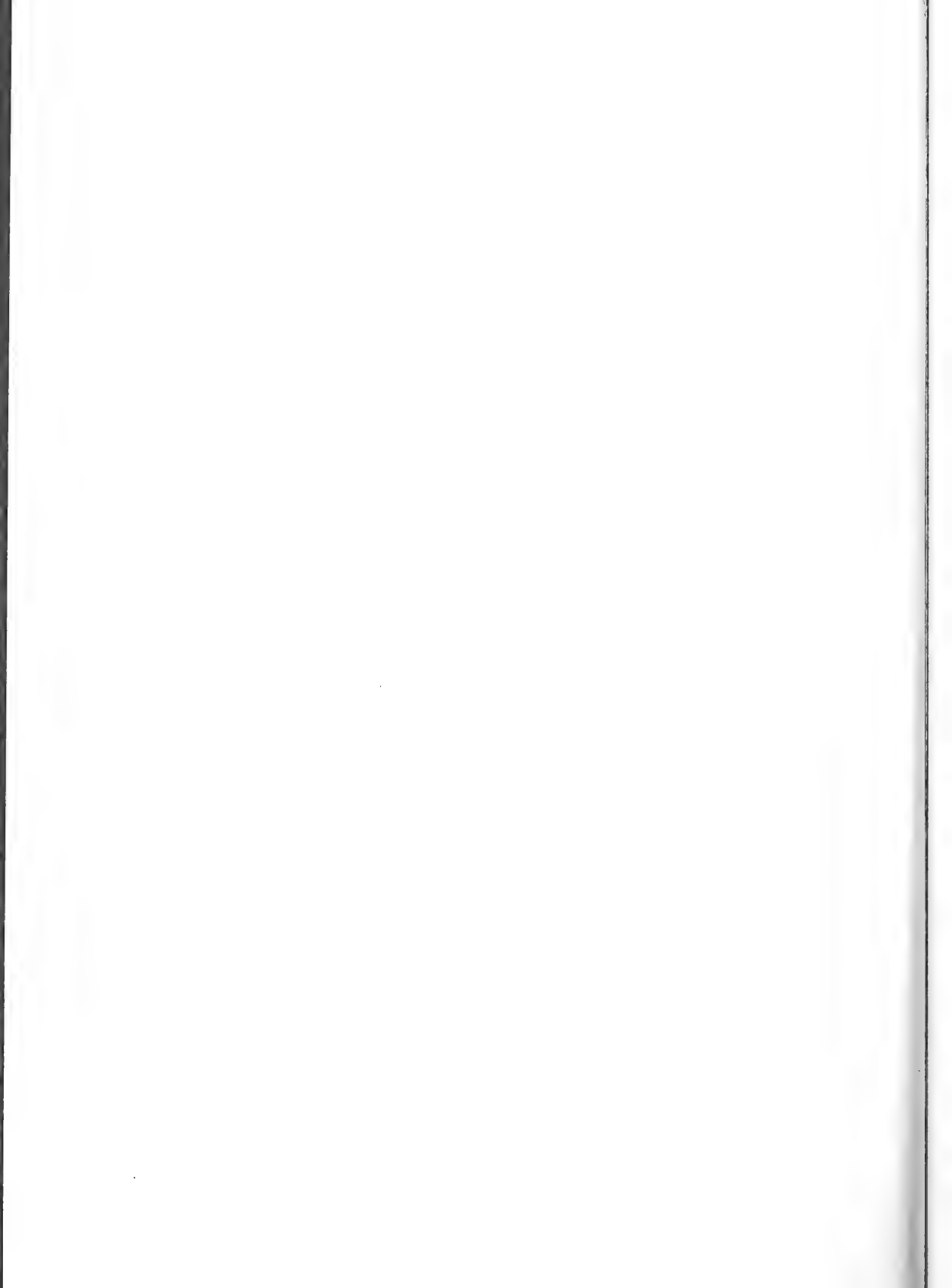


FIG. 6
 Cricklade: SE corner. Sections.



the turf revetments with stone settings found elsewhere in this position. Beyond this as far as the end of the section (E 50) there is a scatter of stones over the surface of the old soil. This is tentatively explained as spread from the wall, but is more probably the rough make-up of the intramural roadway as noted on an internal road at the south-west corner (p. 000). The wall had entirely gone. It lay between E 0 and E 5 and had been built on the old surface soil. Between E 8 inches and E 18 inches a layer of mortar 2 inches thick was found about 10 inches below the old surface with 6 inches of black soil beneath.⁸ A marginal note on the section questions whether a stone had been removed from under the mortar; this does not seem possible as the feature extended across the whole width of the trench. A more likely explanation is that it was the older gully noted on a number of sections (p. 101).

Lying well sealed at the base of the clay bank three feet behind the wall was a coin of the house of Valentinian (probably Valens (364-78)) with the reverse GLORIA ROMANORVM. Material in and under the bank was Romano-British and included some sixty pieces of pottery and three or four fragments of tile. One storage jar and one jar of fine grey ware, together with a bowl rim and a corrugated beaker belonged to early types, but there were also rim fragments of two late cooking pots.

Section W. V. Cut across the north bank, about 60 feet east of the corner. 75 feet by 4 feet. Dug: S 15-30 and S 50-60. FIG. 1.

The layer of dark soil under the bank was thicker in this section, reaching as much as 18 inches in depth. At the back of the bank mixed soil to a width of 3 feet probably represents the rear revetment of turf, in this case without a stone setting. Beyond this for a width of 5 feet to the end of the trench (E 60) the make-up of the intramural road is indicated by a scattered layer of stones lying directly on the old surface soil. A sample from this layer, where it underlay the back of the bank was diagnosed by the Geological Survey as a 'resorted and dumped Oxford Clay'. Even the undisturbed subsoil was thought by the Survey to be Oxford Clay, which 'seems . . . to have suffered some disturbance'; it may be noted that this sample was taken from near the surface of the subsoil only a few feet from the edge of the river flats. The upper part of the black layer was identified as a 'comparatively recent soil. It contains small fragments of brick and other material.' The greater depth of the old surface soil is a feature that does not recur in Section W. VI; it is probably connected with post-Roman ploughing, the section being cut along the line of a ridge. The clay bank, of which a sample was identified as 'Oxford Clay which has been moved', was 31 feet wide (S 21-52). The front part was formed of layers of gravel, clay and earth, a variation from the normal profile that could not be explained within the short length opened. A hollow visible on the north side of the modern hedge appeared to be a modern ditch. It was carefully scrutinized as a possible defensive ditch of early date contemporary with the pre-Conquest bank, but no evidence to support such a conclusion was found.

Romano-British material only was found in the make-up of the bank and the soil beneath. It included about sixty pieces of pottery, mostly much-abraded, and three pieces of tile. In addition to single pieces of *terra sigillata* and Castor ware there were an abraded scrap of a late flanged bowl and two other late pieces. Pottery on the lowest level on the flat outside the scarp in front of the bank was predominantly Romano-British with a range from the 2nd to the 4th century; some pieces were encrusted with a water-borne deposit. The total quantity was slight.

Section W. VI. Cut across the north rampart parallel to W. V and about 300 feet east of the corner. 95 feet by 4 feet. Dug: N 20-0, S 0-19, S 20-45 and S 65-75. FIGS. 1 and 2.

The clay bank was 30 feet wide (S 66-36) and at its highest (S 52) showed a maximum rise of 2 feet above the level in the interior of the borough. Between S 46 and S 26, where the line of the section crossed the modern hedge, the surface level dropped by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet; beyond this the surface of the river flats showed a very gradual fall of about 1 in 50. This scarp, which is in places even more pronounced, represents the edge of the river flats and marks the extreme margin of floods. The section was opened only at the back and front of the bank and across the flood plain.

The back of the bank showed a pocket of gravel set against the face of the clay and covered in turn with a red-flecked gravelly clay, probably the remains of a turf revetment. The black soil underlying the bank was here about 1 foot thick. It sealed a small pit under the revetment. This had been dug into the clay and refilled with clay and some stones; it must belong to an earlier occupation, presumably Romano-British.

At the front of the bank, from S 41 as far as S 36, the black soil was replaced by an 'old turf line' covering the clay and indicating that cultivation had stopped short at the head of the scarp above the river flats. The bank lay directly on this surface and included layers of soil and gravel, with inclusions of different coloured clays. This clay bank had been cut away at S 38. In its place was a two foot wide fill with clay above a packing of stones and rubble, described as 'large stones and rubble behind wall'. The wall had run from S 36 to S 31½, the front edge being marked by a soil-filled gully 16 inches across. The base of the robbed wall trench showed a concentration of mortar in the mixed filling. At some time the filling behind had slid forward into this trench so that the line marking the back of the wall was not vertical. The whole of this area, including the space immediately in front of the wall had been much disturbed and the bank showed a number of tip lines, which probably represent a succession of uses. Immediately north of the hedge a surface hollow indicated the presence of a small V-shaped ditch, cut into a larger flat-bottomed hollow which was later than the robbing of the wall.

Beyond these ditches the surface of the subsoil showed a thin layer of gravel, on which the old turf line rested. A thick layer of stones capping this turf line should represent the layer of stones and mortar found elsewhere on the berm (p. 105), but the stratification is not clear. These stones continued as far as S 10. A slight hollow, barely visible on the surface, indicated a ditch with rounded profile, over 8 feet wide and probably 3 feet deep. It is noted on the section without comment. In view of the profile and the position, 23 feet in front of the wall face, the writer accepts it as an original ditch like that recorded at the south-west corner in 1963.

Romano-British sherds found in and under the bank numbered about eighty. All recognizable sherds were late, including fragments of three colour-coated bowls, two colour-coated beakers and three coarse vessels. Lying on or just above the gravel subsoil outside the scarp were three 4th century coins, one of Theodora (c. 307) and two of the house of Valentinian (364-78), together with much pottery, predominantly of late Roman date, including three colour-coated bowls, one mortarium and one painted sherd.

Trenches W. VII and W. VIII. These two small areas, each 10 feet square, were dug near the corner of the rampart. The line of the back of the wall was established in Trench VII. Though the northern face lay barely 12 feet from the hypothetical position of the corner, there was no sign of a curve. In Trench VIII a scattered layer of stones and mortar was found lying on or just above the soil forming the old ground surface. This feature was bounded on the west by the back of the clay bank, on the line E 32½, filling the whole of the rest of the trench. A small extension of the trench showed that the north edge, also bounded by the clay bank, ran along the line S 47½. The feature was set in the corner of the rampart, which may have been slightly cut back to receive the structure. Both this fact and the material used indicate that it belonged to the second period and was contemporary with the wall. The small size of the area explored and the complete destruction of the building, if such it was, make it impossible to explain its purpose.

Section W. III. Cut across the 'Intrenchment' on the west side of 'Long Close', parallel to W. I and W. II, about 550 feet south of the corner. Distances measured west (W) of base line. Dug: W 110-20 and W 122-60. FIGS. 2 and 12.

A clay bank, originally about 20 feet wide (W 114-33) and still up to 2 feet high, lay on top of the surface soil. To the west was an irregular depression about 20 feet wide and up to 3 feet deep.

Most of the pottery found in this trench was abraded and of Romano-British date; the absence of any pottery from the surface soil under the bank and from the clay composing it is not statistically significant. Two sherds of late Saxon ware (FIG. 11: 6, 8) were found at the

base of the depression; a number of sherds dating from the 12th and 13th centuries were found at higher levels, showing that it must have remained open to a depth of at least three feet as late as *c.* 1200. A narrower recutting to a depth of between four and five feet is suggested by the stratification; the later fill included one or two modern artifacts and should probably be associated with the hedge now forming the western boundary of the field.

Summary. The excavations in the north-west corner of the town are important as this is the only area examined in which Romano-British pottery is very common. The surface soil under the bank contained much material of this date and also yielded a coin of the house of Valentinian (probably Valens, 364-78); the pottery included many sherds of late flanged bowls. This collection provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the clay bank. Romano-British pottery was also found in the disturbed soil in the interior of the town and on the gravel flats to the north. Pottery of the 11th to 13th centuries was also comparatively common. It penetrated into the upper levels of the bank where this had been disturbed by cultivation, but was never found in the solid lower part or in the underlying soil.

The clay bank showed consistently as a rampart over 30 feet wide, with a sharp rear face, probably revetted with turf, and a facing of mortared masonry in front. The masonry had been very largely robbed. The bank generally remained to a height of over 2 feet. In most of the sections the evidence that the wall was secondary is, in the writer's view, conclusive. Moreover in more than one section there was evidence under the front of the wall of the gully, which is elsewhere seen to have been the bedding trench for an earlier revetment of timber (p. 101). No contemporary ditch was noted in 1953, but the profile recorded in Section W. VI must be accepted as such; it is the only section in this corner opened at the relevant distance from the wall. It is clear from the notes made at the time that search was made on the hypothesis that the ditch would lie immediately outside the wall or at most with only a very narrow berm. The hollows discovered in this position were recognized as not being ancient and are consistent with scoops made to provide soil for the modern hedge-banks.

The quantity of Romano-British pottery found, including wares of late 4th century date, and the abraded character of most of the sherds, including those of late Roman date, proves that the bank was not only post-Roman, but that it had been thrown up a considerable time after the date of the latest pottery and that for a part at least of this interval the land had been under cultivation. The single sherd of middle Saxon character, though well stratified under the bank, is not by itself sufficient to prove that the bank dates from after *c.* A.D. 750.

2. THE NORTH-EAST CORNER

The north-east corner of the borough was investigated by Wainwright in 1954 and 1960. A trench (W. XI) was first cut across the east rampart about 450 feet south of the corner. Two intersecting series of plots (W. XIII) were then laid out at right angles to cross the north and east ramparts near the corner. In 1960 small trenches (W. XX) were cut into the outer face of the bank parallel to the main sections in order to define more accurately the relationship between the clay bank and the wall. The corner was found to have been disturbed in recent times by a drain intended to take away water held up by the bank, which here slopes down to the lowest point within the settlement.

The north-east corner and a long stretch of the eastern defences lie within field no. 95. They are marked on the map by a line of hachures and show on the ground as a slight scarp with a barely perceptible fall to the interior. Beyond the corner the scarp becomes more prominent, where the ground falls to the river flats. The line crosses the lane leading to the ford by Hatchetts and can be traced, again as a north-facing scarp, across an orchard, to a point where it merges in a modern boundary running out to High Street. South of field no. 95 the bank can be traced across an adjacent enclosure, beyond which it is lost in the closes and buildings on the north side of Calcutt Street. The excavations lay almost entirely within field no. 95, with slight extensions into no. 94, beyond the defences to the east.

Section *W. XI*. Laid out across the east rampart about 450 feet south of the corner. 225 feet by 4 feet. Measured in feet east (E) of an arbitrary point within the settlement, it cut the boundary between fields nos. 95 and 94 as follows: hedge E 198-202, ditch E 203-5 and fence E 206. Dug: E 61-79, E 81-119, E 181-96 and E 210-25. FIGS. 3, 4 and PL. IIa.

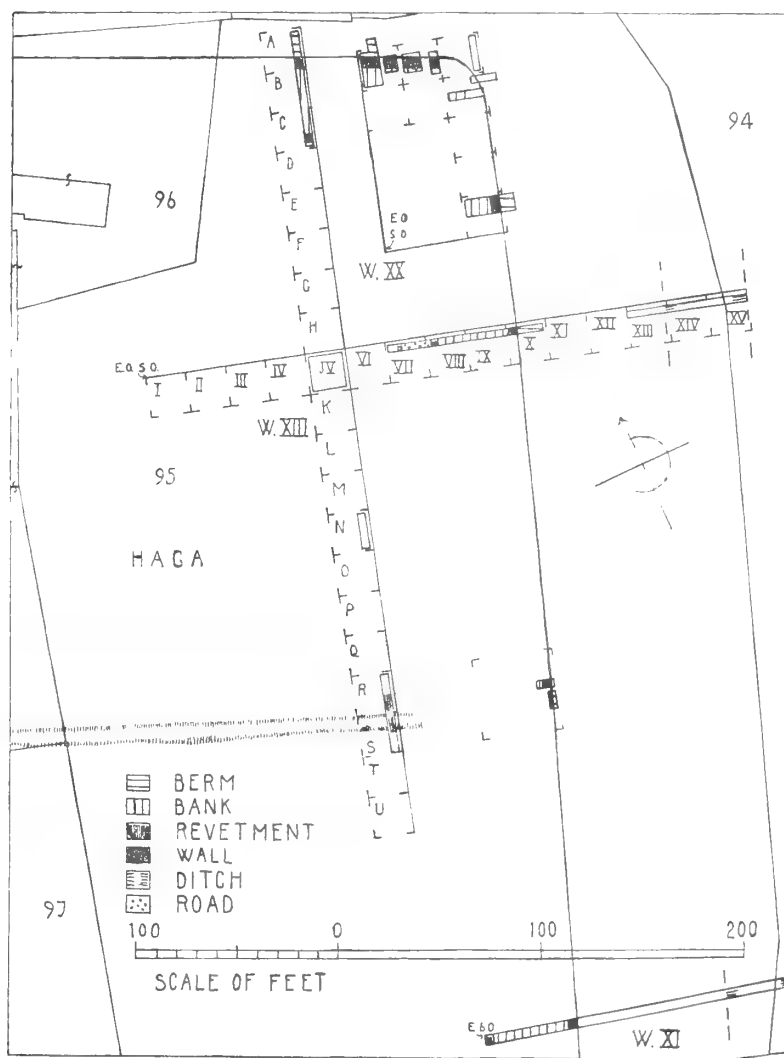


FIG. 3
Cricklade: NE corner. Plan of excavations.

The subsoil, which has a slight natural fall to the east, was covered by a dark layer between 6 inches and 1 foot deep. This variation is probably due to cultivation. On this surface the clay bank 38 feet wide (E 64-102) was thrown up. The bank stood to a maximum height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Included lenses of dark soil were noted towards the front. Capping the bank was a layer of mixed soil, clay and humus, the result of cultivation. The foundation trench for the wall was cut with sides sloping back at an angle of about 30 degrees and a

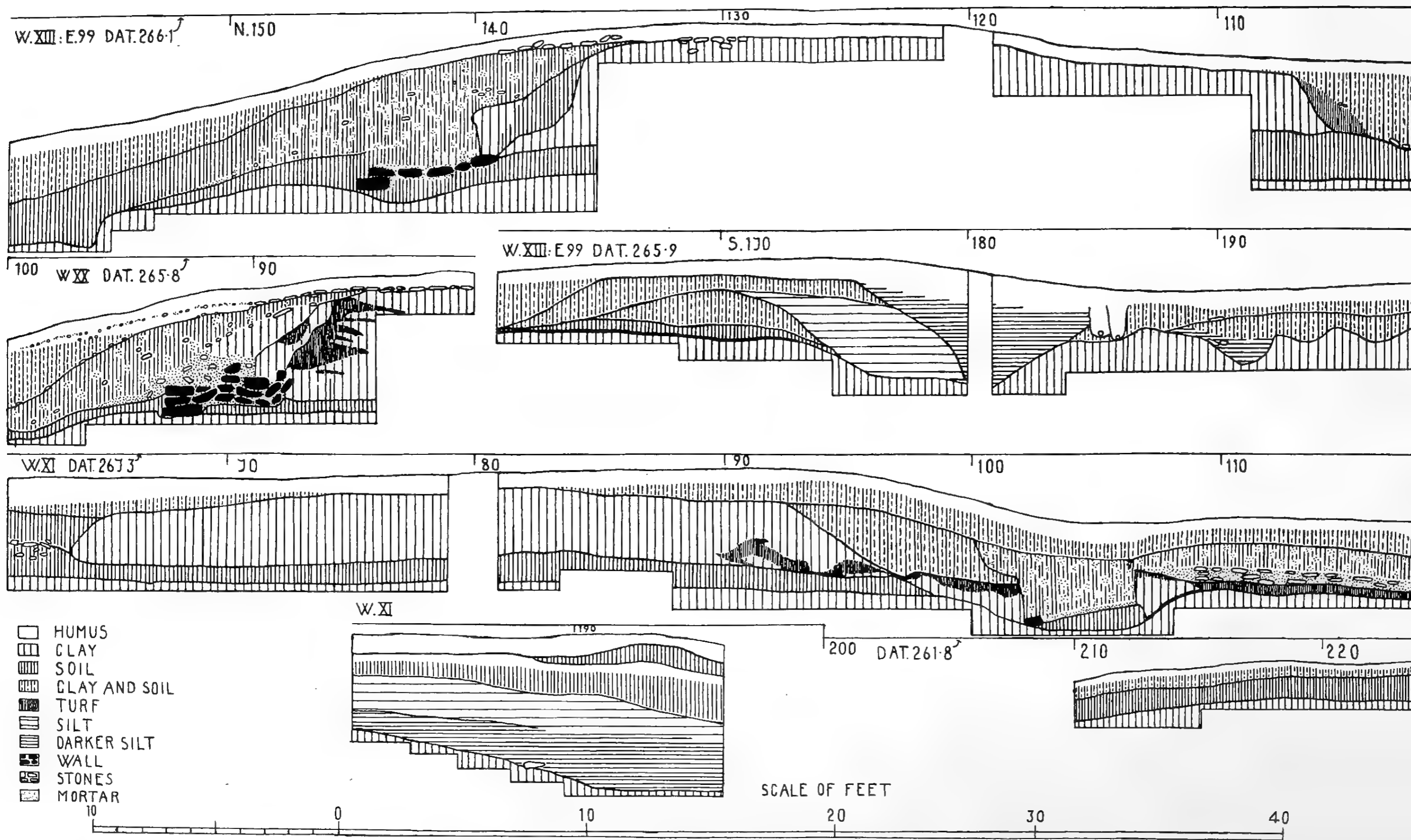
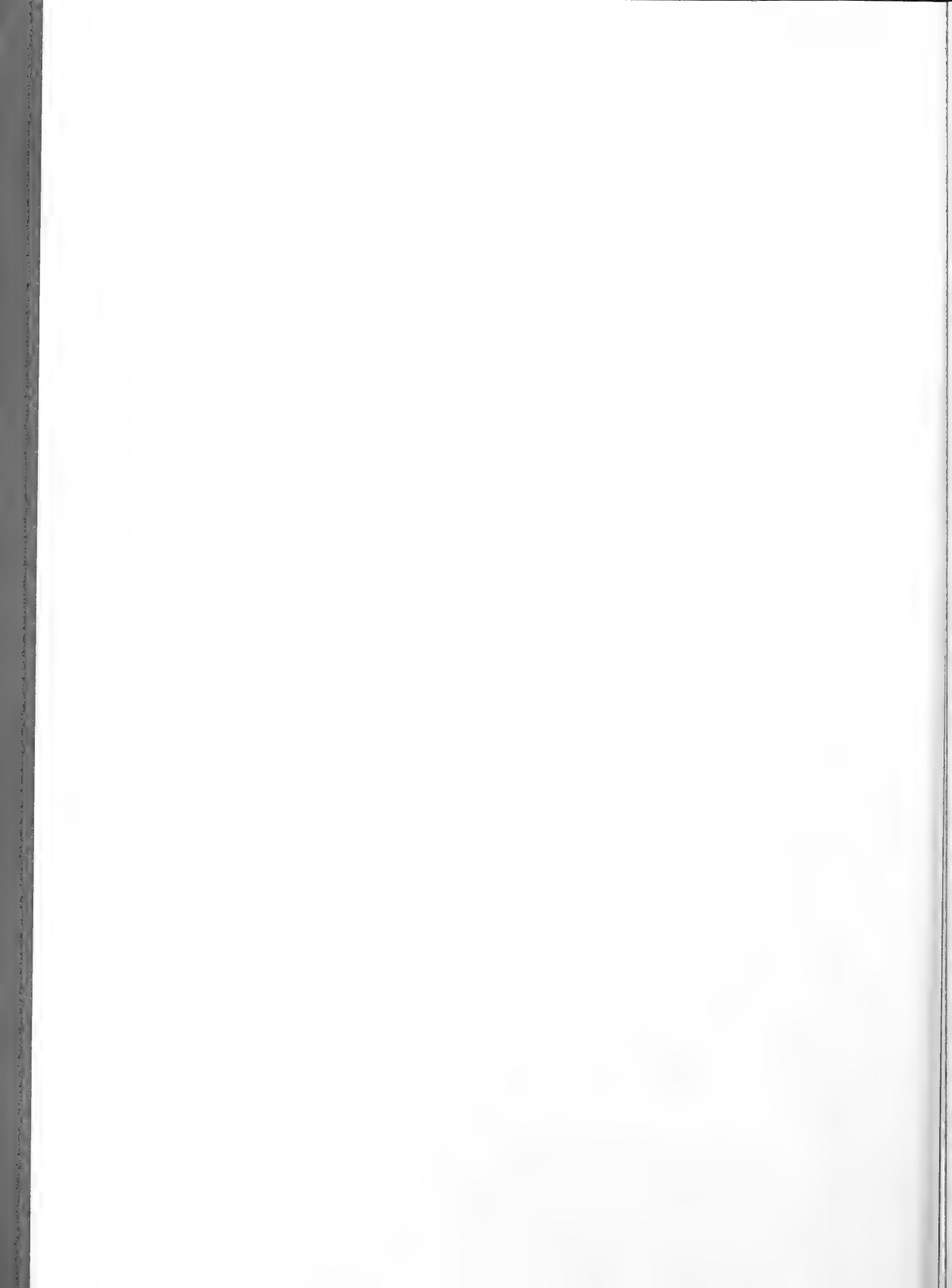


FIG. 4
 Cricklade: NE corner. Sections.



flat bottom 4 feet wide. The bottom, about 18 inches below the surface of the subsoil, appears to have remained open for some time, during which black soil accumulated to a depth of several inches. On this soil a mortar raft 2 inches thick formed a base for the masonry of the wall. When this reached the old ground level, clean clay was packed against each face; subsequently the space at the back of the wall was filled with reddish discoloured clay, which probably included much turf. In front of the wall a layer of stones laid flat and covered with mortar extended as far as the end of the trench (E 119), a distance of 12½ feet.

Some 75 feet in front of the wall a broad shallow depression was found on either side of the boundary ditch. It could not be fully examined, but the dimensions were about 30 feet wide by 5 feet deep (6 feet from modern turf level). The hollow had slowly silted up.

Two or three sherds of 12th and 13th century date had penetrated a few inches into the clay of the bank, but none was found at a significant depth. No medieval pottery was found in the lower part of the clay, where all artifacts were very scarce, or in the underlying soil, in which abraded Romano-British sherds were fairly common. A buckle and two sherds probably of the 11th century were found in the mixed filling at the back of the robbed wall trench. The trench itself contained 12th and 13th century sherds, but nothing later in an area where more modern wares were virtually absent. The pottery at the base of the depression east of the defences was predominantly Romano-British, but a group of early wares, perhaps of the 10th or 11th century, was found near the bottom, while the upper silt included material of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Area W. XIII. Laid out as two intersecting series of 20 foot squares. The squares from north to south were lettered from A to U; those from east to west were numbered from I to XV. Square J (V) formed the intersection. The north wall was found in trench A and the east wall in trench X. The north-west corner of square I was zero and measurements were given north (N), east (E) or south (S) from this point.

The main east-west section was set out 4 feet wide, between S 1 and S 5. Dug: E 121-153 (VII/VIII), E 161-99 (IX/X), E 240-78 (XIII/XIV) and E 290-300 (XV). The main north-south trench was set out, 4 feet wide, between E 95 and E 99. Dug: N 159-21 (A/B), N 119-101 (C), S 81-95 (N) and S 161-200 (R/S). In addition the whole of square J (V), with the exception of a one foot margin, was dug. Two small areas in the south-eastern quadrant of the main intersection were also opened in order to establish the position of the wall some 180 feet south of the main section. FIGS. 3 and 4.

The trench at the south end of the main north-south section (square R/S) extended across a small hollow which ran in from the east bank parallel to and between 300 and 350 feet south of the north rampart. A flat-bottomed ditch with sloping sides and 6 feet wide at the base had been cut into the subsoil to a depth of about 2 feet. The upcast was formed into a slight bank on the north side. There were also disturbances, apparently contemporary, to the south. The clean clay sealing these disturbances, representing the ground level of the next phase, included, exceptionally, a fragment of a small night-cover of the late 11th or 12th century, trodden into the surface (FIG. 11: 7). After an interval, when the bank had become degraded and the ditch silted nearly level, the ditch was recut about 6 feet wide, with a V-shaped profile. At the same time a much larger bank was formed on the north side. This ditch in turn silted up and ploughing reduced the later ditch to the shallow hollow still apparent. The later silt contained pottery of the 12th or 13th century; the older silt was clean.

Elsewhere stratification in the interior of the town showed a normal sequence of between six and nine inches of humus carrying the modern turf over a rather greater depth of dark cultivated soil, which in turn lay on the undisturbed Oxford Clay.

The section across the north rampart showed a clay bank 34 feet wide (N 139-05); only the back and front of the bank were exposed down to the undisturbed subsoil. This Oxford Clay was covered with a soil that had been cultivated; the layer reached a depth of 2 feet at the back of the bank. On this soil was piled the clay of the bank, which stood to a maximum height of about 4 feet. A dark mass of soil lying against the back of the bank suggested a revetment of turf holding the very steep slope of the clay. The front was more

complex and, in the absence of detailed notes, difficult to interpret. The four foot wide wall had been set on a band of dark soil, filling a wide shallow depression in the subsoil. Two courses—the lower an offset of four inches—survived in front on the east side of the trench. At the back a vertical face of clay marked the position of the rear face of the masonry; this clay formed a blunt wedge between the vanished wall and a dark facing of the clay bank, which could represent a cut-back revetment of turf. The filling of the wall trench was of stones, soil and much mortar debris, which had spilled forward for several feet. Ten feet in front of the wall a broad shallow depression was filled with soil; it was later than the robbing of the wall and the fill included modern pottery and other debris. Romano-British pottery was comparatively scarce in this section; its position calls for no comment. A single fragment of medieval pottery, probably of the 11th or 12th century, was found four inches below the surface of the clay bank—too high to be significant.

The trench across the east defences was also taken down to the undisturbed subsoil only at the back and front of the bank; from E 151 to 170 only the upper layers, down to and including the top of the clay bank were excavated and for a distance of eight feet in the centre a baulk was left entirely undug. Along the whole length of the section a layer barely two inches deep is shown overlying the subsoil; it is labelled 'turf' and distinguished from the main layer of the old surface soil. This layer is too thin to represent the whole of the pre-bank surface soil, as suggested by notes written on the section (not reproduced on FIG. 4); it should rather be explained as the lowest stratum of this soil, not reached by the plough. At both ends of the undug section the old surface soil reached a depth of one foot six inches; further out it diminished to a little over six inches. The distance between the two depressions—about 30 feet (E 147-77)—suggests a plough ridge cut obliquely and would conform to the pattern of ridge and furrow visible east of the borough (PL. Va). A note on the section suggests that the greater part of the black soil is upcast, but this does not explain the section as drawn. The clay bank was 34 feet wide (E 146-80) with its rear profile at about 45 degrees. A concentration of stones lying on the layer of black soil immediately behind the bank was tentatively explained as a 'rear wall', but the fairly even spread extending 10 feet from the clay to E 137 rather suggests the base of a ramp or stairs leading up to the walk along the bank. A ditch cut into the surface of the black soil 20 feet from the bank may mark the edge of the intramural roadway. This suggestion is borne out by the occurrence at a level about one foot higher of a sparse pebbly make-up, much dispersed by later ploughing.

The wall, which lay between E 180½ and E 185½, had been entirely destroyed. In front of the robbed wall trench, starting at E 185½ and extending 13½ feet to the end of the trench, a 'mortar spill' between 6 inches and 1 foot deep lay over the old ground surface (cf. p. 105).

The pottery found at the base of or beneath the clay bank was all Romano-British, with the exception of a single sherd that might be pagan Saxon.

The sections dug on either side of the modern hedge and ditch to the east showed a broad shallow depression about 80 feet in front of the wall (from E 260 to E 300). The maximum depth reached was about five feet below the old surface at E 275 and the profile suggests that it may have penetrated another foot or more beneath the modern boundary, where excavation could not be carried out. The filling of mixed clay and soil was probably a gradual accumulation. Most of the sherds found in the lower levels were Romano-British, but occasional fragments of the 12th and 13th centuries occurred at the same depths.

The two small trenches dug in the south-east quadrant of the main sections cut the line of the wall and established its exact position in this area, supplementing the unsatisfactory result obtained in the main east section.

Area W. XX. In 1960 a series of small trenches was dug into the front of the bank in order to establish its relationship with the wall. These trenches were measured in feet north (N) and east (E) of a zero point, which corresponds to N 44 E 126 of the main grid. The only detailed records that have survived are the drawn sections with their marginalia, which are in places very detailed. Wainwright considered that they proved the contemporaneity of the bank and wall. This is clear both from the notes on the section drawings and

from a considered assessment in the field note-book, made in 1960 immediately after the completion of the sections. The assessment reads as follows:

1. Definitely no later 'insertion trench'. Note that clay bank backs up against wall wherever it is in position (e.g. Sections . . . (*sic*) in Area XX). If there had been an insertion trench cut into the bank it must have shown in section, especially for example in Section . . . (*sic*), where interleaving as bank was built up would have definitely shown it up. Therefore definitely *no* insertion trench. (It) could not have been cut away by later robber trench.
2. Robber trench very definitely a robber trench: note how it comes down only to top of surviving wall in all cases.

The best preserved of these sections is E 10 (FIG. 4); it was probably that intended in the spaces left blank in the assessment and is that most fully annotated. The notes written on that section are here recorded:

N.B. Bank consists of yellow clay interleaves (robber trench shows where they were sliced off).

Slip also has patches of dark soil, but not same shape as interleaves. (The diagram makes it clear that 'robber trench' and 'slip' refer to the same feature. C.A.R.R.)

Def. bank contemporary with wall.

Note: 1. Bank *backs* right up to wall, except where cut away by Robber Trench: i.e. no later insertion here.

2. Note spade marks in Robber Trench and straight cut through dark soil interleaving.
3. Note interleaves show that there is no second cut behind Robber Trench.

The writer is entirely unconvinced by these arguments; there follows his own interpretation of the most important section.

Section E 10. The old soil lies directly on the undisturbed Oxford Clay of the subsoil and is interrupted only by a slot 2 feet wide (N 94-2) and cutting two inches into the subsoil. The yellow clay of the bank stands to a height of 2 feet 3 inches with interleaving of darker soil towards the front of the bank. This has been cut back in a series of irregular scoops, probably spade marks. The wall is set in front of this cut. The front offset was placed in the slot and the total width of laid stones on the east side of the trench was 4 feet 4 inches. The gap, 8 inches wide, between the back of the wall and the face of the cut was filled with pitched stones, which had been rammed into the face of the bank. The front of the wall rose two courses above the offset; the back three courses above the humus. These measurements were taken on the east side of the trench, where the masonry was best preserved.⁹ Above the pitched stones a wedge-shaped filling of clay lay between the edge of the cut and the vertical rear face of the wall; this extended upwards with a vertical face for another 10 inches from which the masonry had been removed. The preservation of this vertical face is alone sufficient to show that this filling (the 'robber trench' or 'slip' of Wainwright's notes) was contemporary with or immediately subsequent to the building of the wall. Above this vertical face the clay filling slopes back at an angle of about 45 degrees, marking the slip forward at the time when the masonry was robbed. This clay filling, like the clay bank itself, has patches of darker soil, but their shape and disposition varies; they are irregular, often with a vertical or sloping axis and indicate odd patches of heterogeneous material thrown in when the space between the newly-built wall and the sloping face of the cut was filled with the nearest material to hand: they contrast with the horizontal interleaving characteristic of the face of the original clay bank, which rather suggests a turf revetment. Above the standing remains of the wall the fill is of stones, soil and clay, with much mortar debris, a layer which tails off about 3 feet in front of the wall face. It is in turn overlaid by a slip of clay and soil from the bank, the whole being sealed by soil and turf.

It is unnecessary to describe the rest of these short sections in detail. The features, to which attention has been drawn in the foregoing description, appear in most of them. The clay fill in front of the cut-back bank still standing with a vertical face from which the

masonry has been removed appeared in more than one section; it often overlapped the base of the wall or the pitched stones at the back. The slot cut through the old surface soil and into the natural subsoil was also a normal feature, often used for the setting of the stones forming the offset. It could have been made for this purpose, but other evidence (p. 101) suggests that it may have been the slot for the timber revetment of the original clay bank.

There is no record of any pottery from these small trenches. When I discussed the results with Wainwright in 1960 he said that the only pottery found under the bank was Romano-British and that nothing was found in the 'robber trench'.¹⁰

Summary. The excavations in the north-east corner established the line of the wall and bank in this area. After a full consideration of Wainwright's evidence and of his conclusions written at the time (p. 73), the writer remains convinced that the front of the bank was cut back for the insertion of the wall and not for its robbing. The wall was built free and the space between its back and the cut-back face subsequently filled with material dug away from the front of the wall. The bank measured between 30 and 35 feet wide. The wall was generally robbed; it measured about four feet in width with an offset of about four inches at the foot of the outer face. Romano-British pottery was less common than at the north-west corner of the town. Evidence emerged of a long period of cultivation antedating the raising of the bank and containing much-abraded Romano-British pottery in the plough soil. Fragments of pottery probably of the 11th century were found in the fill behind the wall. Of the three sections carried outside the line of the defences none was fully excavated across the line of the Saxon ditch identified in the south-west corner.

3. SOUTH-EAST CORNER

The south-east corner of the defences lies within a large field known as Paul's Croft (O.S. no. 111 of over 16 acres). The field reaches as far as High Street and includes the south defences as far as the south gate. The bank shows as a slight, much-spread, mound, marked in Gothic characters as 'Intrenchment'. Beyond the corner the east bank can be traced, as a similar mound, as far as the north edge of the field. Beyond it continues, disguised by the modern hedge separating fields nos. 112 and 113, within the borough, from no. 114, which lies outside. The line is then lost among the houses and gardens on the south side of Calcutt Street, which marks the line of the road passing through the east gate. The mound within Paul's Croft reaches a maximum height of 4 feet.¹¹

The first modern excavation at Cricklade was carried out by Mr. F. R. Maddison in 1948; he cut a section across the east bank within Paul's Croft. Maddison's drawn section (M) and finds are in Cricklade Museum, but no account of his work was published. In 1954 Wainwright investigated the area covering the corner of the town (W. IX) and cut a section across the south bank about 600 feet west of the corner (W. X). With the exception of a small extension into field no. 164, to the east, the work lay wholly within Paul's Croft.

Section M. Laid out from the eastern hedge of Paul's Croft and stretching for 185 feet into the field, so as to cross the east bank. A plan among Wainwright's papers shows this section about one hundred feet north of the corner (FIG. 5), but the exact location does not appear to be recorded. The schematic section drawing is difficult to correlate with the more detailed records obtained later and not all the finds can be accurately plotted in relation to these records. It is however clear that only Romano-British pottery was found at a low level in the area of the bank. The summary account that follows is based on the schematic section and key.

The surface level of the field began to rise about 60 feet west of the hedge and reached a maximum height of about 5 feet between 130 and 140 feet from the same point. From this point the fall to the interior of the town was slight.

A clay bank over 2 feet high was found between about 110 feet and 140 feet from the hedge. The bank, which was piled on the older surface, consisted of a lower layer of yellow clay with soil and flints, about one foot thick and an upper layer of blue and yellow clay

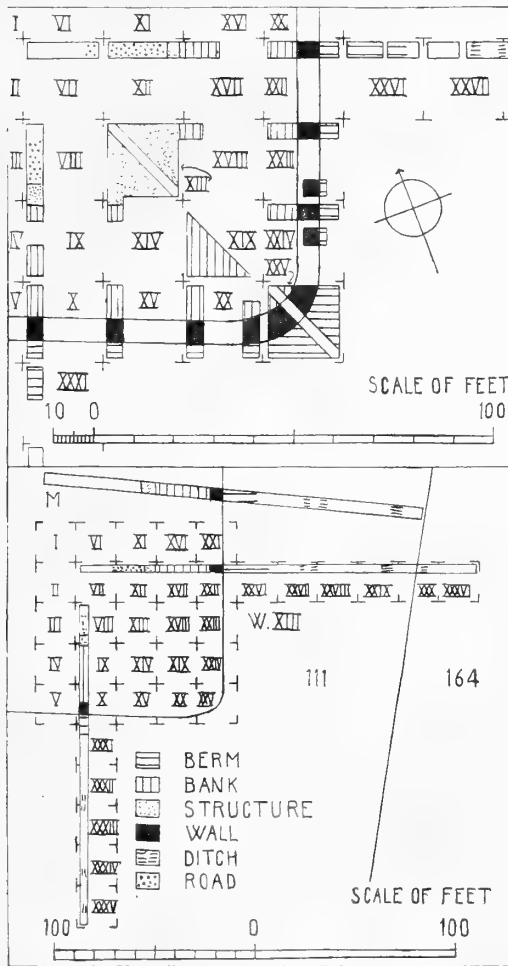


FIG. 5
Cricklade: SE corner. Plan of excavations.

with chalk; the two tended to merge, so that in places the dividing line was barely distinguishable. The whole was covered with a layer of mixed clay and soil, overlaid in turn by modern humus; both of these extended beyond the line of the bank. The western edge of the bank sloped gradually down. The eastern face was sharp with a slight base of built stone. Beyond this a stony layer 2 feet thick towards the bank gradually tailed off to nothing at a distance of 20 feet from the front of the bank. There was evidence of disturbance, perhaps a ditch, descending some three or four feet into the natural subsoil, at a distance of between 40 and 50 feet in front of the bank, but this was not fully explored.

Area W. IX. An area 100 feet square, covering the south-east corner, was laid out and divided into 25 20-foot squares. The squares were numbered in Roman figures. I to V formed the first file from north to south; subsequent files from north to south ran consecutively in groups of five up to no. XXV. The system was later extended to the east, where six squares continuing the series II-XXII were numbered XXVI to XXX and XXXVI and to the south where five squares continuing the series VI-X were numbered XXI to XXV.

Measurements were in feet (E) or south (S) of the north-west corner. Only small parts of each square were dug. The main section across the east defences ran along S 21 and that across the south defences along E 21. A further section was cut obliquely across the bank and wall at the corner. Intermediate trenches were also dug to establish the line of the wall; these are plotted on FIG. 5. The three main sections will be described in topographical order, starting with that across the east defences. Details disclosed in the smaller trenches will be noted in a final summary. FIGS. 5 and 6; PL. II b-c.

Section across the East Defences. A series of trenches 4 feet wide (S 21-5); dug: E 21-39 (VII), E 41-69 (XII/XVII), E 81-99 (XXII), E 101-9 and 111-20 (XXVI), E 121-9 and 131-49 (XXVII/XXVIII), E 161-79 (XXIX), E 181-99 (XXX) and E 201-19 (XXXVI).

The undisturbed subsoil—Oxford Clay—dropped 3 feet 6 inches in the length of 200 feet. It was overlaid by a layer of dark soil and clay, which varied from a few inches to well over one foot in thickness. The greatest depth occurred under the bank, where the lowest two or three inches was distinguished on the section as 'turf', covered with 'dark layer up-cast'. As at the north-east corner (p. 72), this interpretation does not explain the continuance behind the bank of this same dark layer lying directly on the subsoil. The differential thickness must be the result of pre-bank activities, probably in both cases ploughing; the ridges of a ridge and furrow pattern would be protected under the bank, but elsewhere degraded by later cultivation. The clay bank was 26 feet 6 inches wide (E 59-85½) with a maximum surviving height of 2 feet; it showed on the surface rising 4 feet from the land outside with a barely perceptible fall to the interior of the town. The front of the bank, which had been cut back, showed prominent dark interleaving as though of a turf revetment. The back sloped down at an angle of 45 degrees, with a layer of stones some 6 inches thick extending for some 4 feet and then gradually thinning out at 8 feet and a further band between 20 and 24 feet from the bank. The mixed clay and soil covering the bank was rather over one foot deep above the clay and spread out at the back, obliterating the original fall of level; it was noticeably lighter in colour and had a higher proportion of clay at the base. No trace of the wall remained in position; it probably lay between E 88 and E 94. In front a thick mortar spread with stones overlay the dark soil gradually tailing off at about 30 feet from the front of the wall. About 40 feet outside the wall face a shallow depression with a noticeably steeper outer slope measured about 10 feet across with a maximum depth of 2½ feet; there was an accumulation of stones near the base of the inner slope. There was no indication of the age of this feature. Seventy-five feet in front of the wall a shallow depression with a rounded bottom was found; it measured about 25 feet across and penetrated to a depth of about 5 feet into the old plough-soil and subsoil. Its maximum depth coincided with the modern boundary between fields nos. 111 and 164 and the modern ditch was cut into the filling. The depression was filled with an accumulation of soil containing nothing later than the 13th century.

Diagonal Section across the South-east Corner. A baulk 2 feet wide was reserved diagonally across squares XIII, XIX and XXV. The section, drawn on the south-west side of the baulk, was close to, but not actually on the corner. FIG. 5.

The section (not reproduced) was badly disturbed and the results unrevealing. The normal layer of dark soil, with 'turf' at the base, was found covering the subsoil. The clay of the bank showed unusually thick interleavings of turf; their occurrence not only on the edges of the bank, but nearer the centre, suggest the existence of a wooden structure, possibly a turret, but this was not detected in the small areas opened. No stones of the wall remained in position. But the stone and mortar spread, which has been noted in many sections across the berm, had not been disturbed and established the line of the outer face of the wall. It showed that the corner was almost angular, with a very slight flattening. The stone spread inside the bank was thicker and more extensive than normal and covered the greater part of the area opened in square XIII.

Section across the South Defences. Laid out 4 feet wide (E 21-5). Dug: S 41-65 (VIII/IX), S 71-9 (IX), S 81-99 (X), S 101-9 (XXXI), S 121-39 (XXXII), S 140-59 (XXXIII), S 171-9 (XXXIV) and S 181-99 (XXXV).

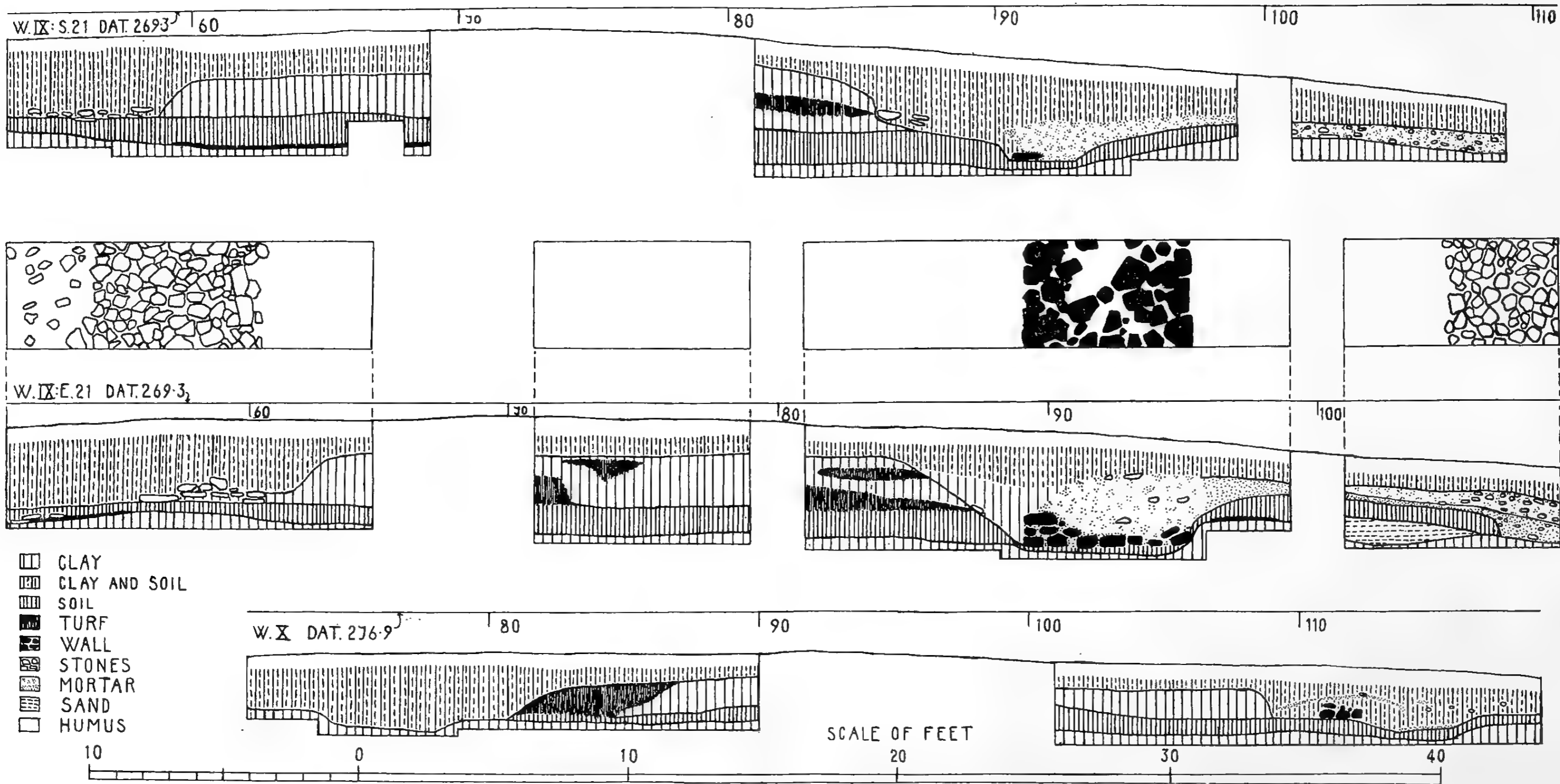


FIG. 6
Cricklade: SE corner. Sections.

The surface of the subsoil was level as far as the wall and then dropped about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the 100 feet opened in front of the wall. The subsoil was covered in places by a thin layer of dark soil described as 'turf' (p. 76). The layer dark above this, on which the clay of the bank was piled, was about one foot thick; it continued within the bank, but the thickness was rather less where it had not been protected by the overlying clay. Between S 48 and S 54 a considerable spread of stones was found at the base of this layer and between S 100 and S 106 a shallow depression (labelled 'sandpit') had been cut into the surface of the subsoil; both these features were sealed by the dark layer and must have formed part of an earlier occupation (p. 95). The clay bank, about 2 feet high, extended between S 61 and S 89. At the back a 'wall' 5 feet wide stood to a height of two courses against the vertical rear face of the clay; it was covered with a considerable spread of loose stones, which extended to the end of the section opened, 20 feet in from the bank; there was no trace of darker interleaving or any other indication of a turf revetment. In view of the proximity of the corner of the defences—only 60 feet away—it is tempting to interpret the 'wall', which is contemporary with the bank, as the base of a stone stair leading up to the wall walk along the top of the bank and to a possible wooden corner tower. The front of the bank showed a normal dark interleaving, where it was cut back to a slope of 30 degrees for the insertion of the wall. The stones still in position showed in section to a width of 6 feet (S 89–95), the lowest course having an offset of 4 inches beyond the front face of the wall. The whole width was set in a trench cut to a depth of about one foot into the surface of the subsoil. Over the remains of the wall was a fill of stones, soil and mortar. Between the sloping face of the cut-back bank and the back of the wall, the filling was of clay. The wall stood to a height of 3 courses and the fact that this clay filling continued downwards against the face of the masonry shows that the clay is an original packing and not the fill of a robber trench. For 14 feet in front of the wall a thin mortar spread was traced capping the layer of dark soil; the mortar became thicker with numerous stones at the outer end of the trench. Above this spread the stones, mortar and debris with soil that had been thrown back into the robbed wall trench spilled forward on to the berm. Between S 135 and S 144—its nearer edge 40 feet in front of the wall—a ditch with a rounded profile and a setting of stones was cut to a depth of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet into the subsoil. In form it resembles that noted in the section across the east defences. Between S 171 and S 195 was another depression with a rounded bottom reaching to about 4 feet below the old land surface. Both these depressions are sealed by the layer of mixed soil and clay, representing the medieval plough soil and both probably represent attempts, not necessarily contemporary, to drain this very flat field with its subsoil of impervious Oxford Clay.

The South-east Corner. The smaller trenches were designed to complete the plan of the defences in this corner; they disclosed a few additional features, which are shown on the plan and need not be described in detail; a summary in chronological order will suffice. At the lowest level, beneath the pre-bank plough soil, a number of shallow depressions were noted. A typical example is shown on a drawn section (not reproduced); it measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet across and is rather over 1 foot deep in the centre. These depressions filled with dark soil could be traced across the bottoms of the trenches in which they were recognized. The resulting plan provides no recognizable pattern, but it is possible that other depressions had either been destroyed by later ploughing or remained unrecognized. The pottery found at this lowest level was all Romano-British and was very common; wares of the 4th century were included. Several groups of pottery were unabraded and lay at levels not reached by the later plough. At the same level were fragments of burnt daub. These features point to a Romano-British building on the site, probably a hut of native type with flimsy walls of wattle and daub and sill beams set in a wall trench; too little remained to indicate the plan or establish the function of the occupation.

The pre-bank plough soil yielded many sherds of abraded Romano-British pottery, including late wares, but nothing of post-Roman date. The irregularity of this layer is probably due to the pattern of ridge and furrow, but it may also have been affected by accumulations of rubbish from the Romano-British occupation.

The clay bank was a consistent feature rather over 25 feet wide from the back of the added wall face; it survived to a maximum height of about 2 feet. Dark interleaving was noted both at the front and back of the clay, indicating an original revetment of turves; this feature was particularly prominent on the outer corner. No trace of the timber of a wooden turret was found, but this could well have been erected on sill beams embedded on the surface of the earlier ploughland. Traces of stonework at the back of the bank about 30 feet south of the corner may indicate steps leading up to the wall walk. A stone spread at the back of the bank indicates rough metalling of an intramural roadway. The added wall was nowhere well preserved and the sections added nothing to the evidence from other parts of the town. A spread of stones and mortar extending everywhere for several feet in front of the wall appears to have been a contemporary feature.

Post-Conquest pottery was found only in the superficial layers and the uppermost few inches of the bank, where the clay had shrunk and cracked. Most of this pottery dated from the 12th or 13th centuries.

Section W. X. Cut across the south defences 600 feet west of the corner. 210 by 4 feet. Measured in feet from an arbitrary point within the settlement. Dug: S 71-9, S 81-99, S 101-19, S 155-60 and S 190-210. FIGS. 6 and 12.

The normal layer of plough soil between 6 inches and 1 foot deep covered the subsoil except at the back of the bank, where a disturbance cut into the Oxford Clay. The clay bank remained to a maximum height of a little over one foot; it was 24 feet wide (S 85-109) behind the back of the added wall. Immediately behind the bank a band of dark soil, probably turf, measuring about 4 feet wide, was noted; it could not be distinguished from the soil under the bank. The wall was badly robbed; on the line of the section only the lowest course of the front part remained in position, the back having been entirely removed, thus destroying all evidence of the relationship between wall and bank. There is, however, no reason to doubt that, as elsewhere, the wall was secondary. The trench above the robbed wall was filled with stony soil and mortar debris, which spread out over the older plough-soil for 7 feet, as far as the end of the trench. At the back of the bank, starting 2 feet from the turf revetment, a depression 5 feet wide was cut to a depth of between 6 and 9 inches into the subsoil. The filling was indistinguishable from the layer of mixed soil and clay overlying the bank.

The plough-soil under the bank contained very few sherds of Romano-British pottery. On removing the wall four pieces of painted ware of the 11th century were found under the stones (FIG. 11: 10). They can only have reached this position when the wall was built; all belong to one vessel. A fragment of late Saxon pottery (FIG. 11: 3) was found at the base of the depression behind the bank. Another (FIG. 11: 4) occurred in the same area, but at a higher level, which also yielded a sherd of *c.* 1200. The destruction levels of the wall produced a few pieces of pottery dating from the 12th and 13th centuries.

Summary. The south-east corner of the town is interesting for the evidence in position of Romano-British occupation of a native type. The bank and wall were not well preserved in this area and the sections were in poor condition. The most important discovery was the four fragments of painted ware at the base of the wall, indicating that this cannot have been built before the 11th century. The ditches recorded about 40 feet in front of the east and south walls are both rather smaller than the pre-Conquest ditches recorded 20 feet in front of the wall at the south-west and north-west corners (p. 80). This part of the section across the south defences was not opened. In the section across the east defences no disturbance was noted in this position. Maddison, who clearly indicated the ditch recorded by Wainwright, also noted a 'disturbance' nearer the wall, but no details are given on the section drawing.

4. THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER

The south-west corner of the defences (FIG. 7) lay wholly within field no. 222, which extended south from Bath Road to the west of Parsonage Farm.¹² The field had an area of almost 5 acres. Hachures on the 25 inch O.S. show the south rampart; its line passes

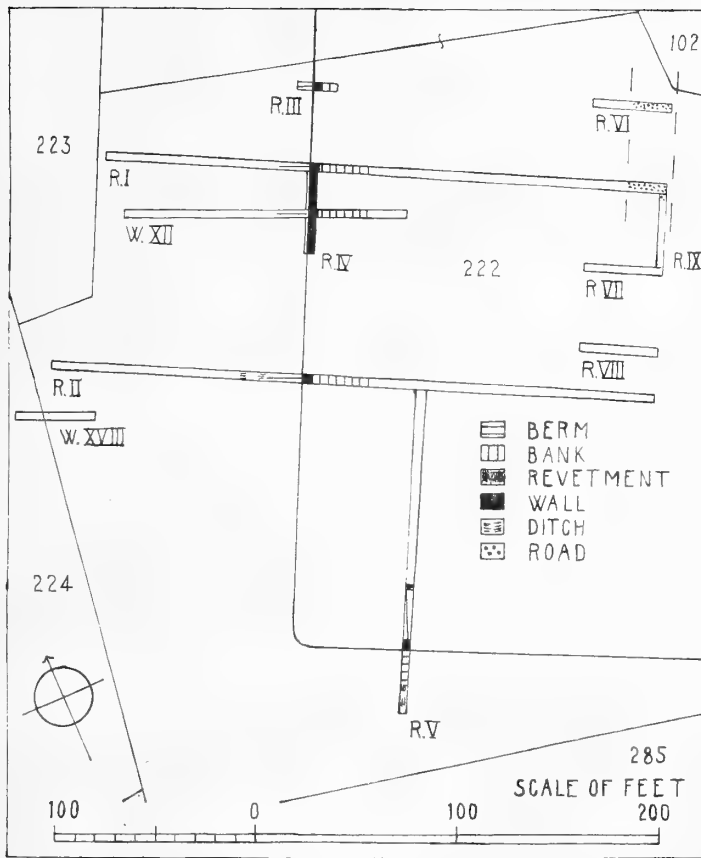


FIG. 7
Cricklade: SW corner. Plan of excavations.

obliquely across the southern boundary of the field into the adjacent property of the railway (now disused). The map gives no indication of the west rampart.

In 1954 Wainwright cut a trench (W. XII) across the west defences about 100 feet north of the corner. The wall was found near the inner end of the trench with the clay bank to the east. In 1960 a small trench (W. XVIII) was cut across the west hedge and into field no. 224 in order to see whether the 'Intrenchment' examined near the north-west corner (p. 68) extended as far south as this. In 1963 a series of trenches was cut in field no. 222 under my direction. They were designed to locate more exactly the line of the defences and to study the relationship between the wall and the bank. These trenches were dug continuously down to the old turf line or to the undisturbed subsoil and extended well into the interior of the borough, to test the nature of the occupation.¹³

Section R. V. Cut across the south rampart about 50 feet east of the corner. 160 feet by 4 feet. FIGS. 7 and 8; PL. IIIa, b. The scarp of the bank was well marked at this point and a hollow between 20 feet and 30 feet to the south suggested the possibility of a ditch; it was the furthest place from the corner where the section could conveniently be cut. The south end lay on the outer lip of the hollow and close to the modern fence. Measurements were taken from the south side of R. II, at 120 feet from the east end as laid out.

There was a slight natural fall from north to south along the line of this trench. The only accurate measurement shows a fall of one in twenty, i.e. 2 feet in the level of the old turf line in the 40 feet where this is preserved under the bank and on the surface of the berm. This fall does not conform to the general slope on the west side of Cricklade, which rises slowly to the south from the edge of the alluvial flats of the upper Thames. It suggests that a small dry valley, afterwards occupied by the disused railway track, ran in from the east and that those responsible for the siting of the defences took advantage of this natural feature.

The top part of the trench showed a constant sequence. Nine inches of modern humus covered a stratum of mixed soil and clay, which lay directly on the natural subsoil; there was no old turf line. The depth of this mixed stratum gradually increased, reaching a maximum of about 2 feet just inside the bank; the proportion of clay also became higher as the bank was approached.

The clay bank was 25 feet wide (S 99-124). It was set directly on the old turf line, capping the clay subsoil; this surface had not been ploughed. Where examined there was about 6 inches of humus, with rootlets discolouring the top of the Oxford Clay. For a distance of about 2 feet inside the clay bank occasional stones were found set on the old surface and capped with about 6 inches of dark soil, probably laid turf; these had formed the base of the rear revetment, giving a total surviving width of 27 feet. At 124 feet the base of the clay stood with a vertical face 2 feet high. The front part of this bank, starting at 122 feet on the old turf line and sloping back to 120½ feet at the present surface of the clay, was noticeably darker in colour and more loosely packed than the main part of the bank. The contrast and the sloping line between the two parts was very clear in certain lights, after the section had dried out. There was no doubt in the mind of the excavator and of other archaeologists who visited the site that this section proved that the original front of the bank had here been cut back, so that the wall might be built free, the space at the back being subsequently filled with the material excavated, which had meanwhile become contaminated with soil.

Of the wall there remained in position only a few large stones forming part of the lower course at the back. It had been 4 feet 3 inches wide, set on a level base cut at the back to a depth of 8 inches into the old turf line. Under the front edge, between 127 and 128¼ feet on the section line, a slot was cut 3 inches deep into the subsoil. It ran irregularly across the trench, parallel to the line of wall. The hollow was filled with soil and, though under the front of the wall, is unlikely to have been a marker trench; it was more probably the setting for the timber revetment of the original clay bank. The robbed wall trench was filled with a mixture of debris, mortar and soil to a height of 2 feet above the bottom of the foundation trench and capped with a spread of mixed clay and soil from the ploughing of the bank. These strata spread forward over the berm. On the berm the old turf line was found undisturbed for a distance of 10 feet in front of the wall face. Beyond this it was covered for a further distance of 6 feet, with a rough setting of stones. Beyond this the surface had been destroyed by the gradual erosion of the inner lip of the ditch.

The ditch extended from 148 feet to 158 feet and had a rounded bottom about 3 feet below the original ground surface. Both lips were eroded and the bottom was filled with about one foot of clean quick silt. Above this the filling was a mixture of clay and soil, which had accumulated under wet conditions. Occasional lines of stones and soil suggested spasmodic tipping of rubbish, not a deliberate filling.

A few fragments of Romano-British and medieval pottery were found in the upper levels, but no pottery was associated with the bank; the ditch filling was also sterile.

Trench R. II. Laid out across the west rampart, about 125 feet north of the corner. 300 by 4 feet. FIGS. 7 and 8. The trench was practically level throughout. Measurements were from 0 ft., an arbitrary point within the settlement chosen so as to provide the greatest length of undisturbed section. The eastern part of the trench (0-116 feet) was subsequently abandoned in favour of R. I.

Inside the bank, from 116 feet to 140 feet, the strata were consistent. Between 6 inches

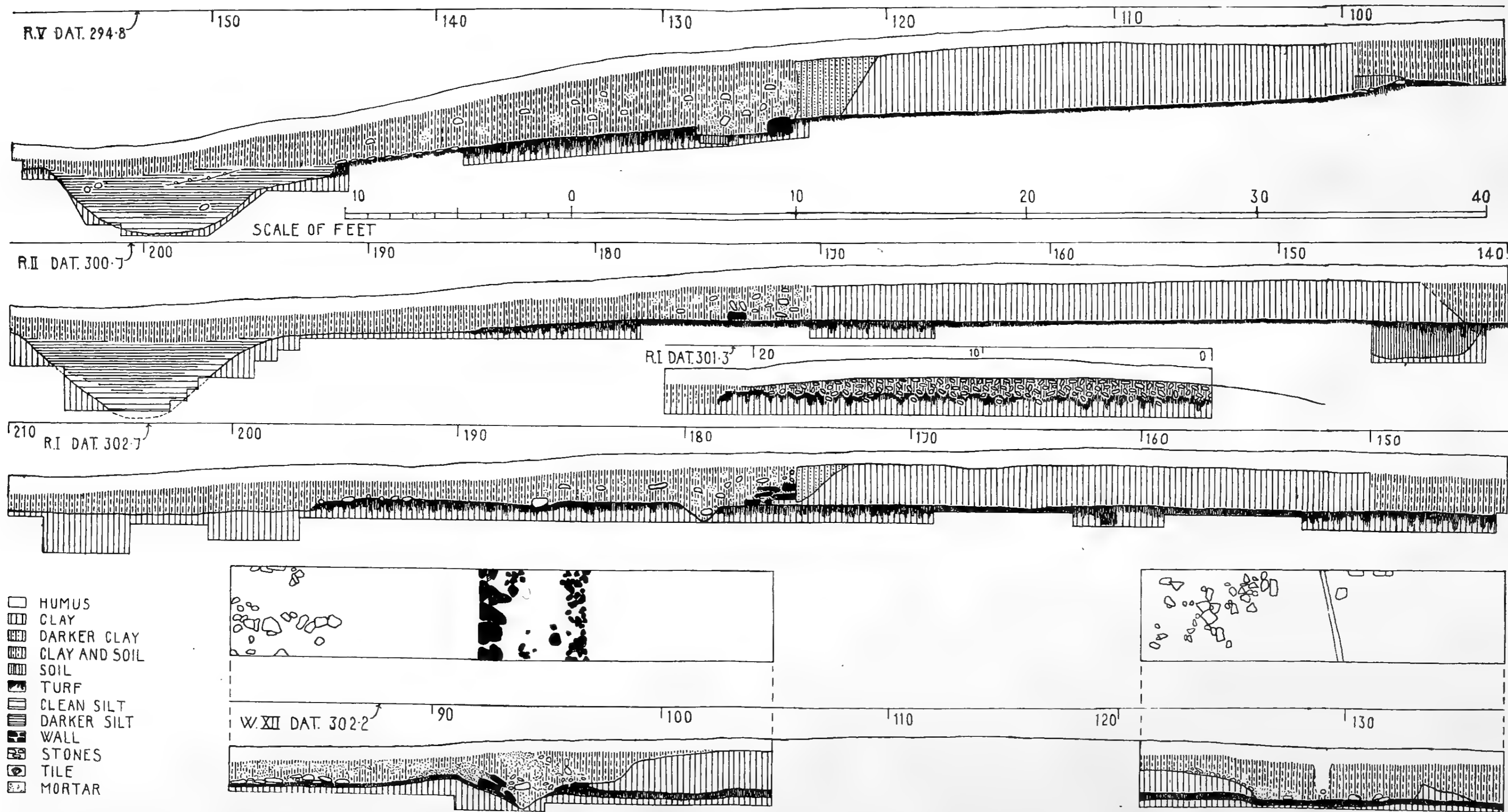


FIG. 8
Cricklade: SW corner. Sections.



and 9 inches of humus covered a layer of mixed soil and clay, which lay directly on the natural subsoil; there was no old turf line. The depth of the mixed layer gradually increased to a maximum of nearly 2 feet on the inner side of the bank; the proportion of clay also increased as the bank was approached. The absence of disturbance on the surface of the exposed subsoil indicated that there had been no intensive occupation of the area.

The clay bank was $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide at the base, extending from 142 feet to $170\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was piled directly on the old turf line. This consisted of 6 to 8 inches of humus penetrating irregularly into the top layer of the clay subsoil; there was no indication of ploughing. In one place at the back of the bank the old turf line covered a hollow extending for more than 5 feet along the line of the section and reaching at its greatest extent as far as the middle of the trench; the maximum depth was 18 inches and the filling of disturbed soil was entirely sterile. It probably represents a fallen tree. The back of the bank, resting on the old turf line at 142 feet sloped up at an angle of 45 degrees with no trace of revetment. The clay remained to a height of about 2 feet and was entirely sterile. No trace of a cut for the insertion of the wall could be traced at the front of the bank, which stood with a vertical face to a height of about one foot. A single stone 4 inches high projected from the face of the trench between $173\frac{1}{4}$ feet and $174\frac{1}{4}$ feet. Only one other stone was found in position and the trench was filled, to a depth of one foot, with loose stones, generally of small size, mortar, clay and soil. This filling spread out in front of the wall trench and gradually merged into a layer of soil and clay.

The bottom of the trench and the base of each face were carefully searched for traces of timber revetments; the result was unrewarding. Disturbances of the old turf line in the neighbourhood of the wall were insufficiently marked to draw any conclusions. In more than one place under the wall mortar had sunk into small depressions in the surface of the turf, but no post holes could be identified. The old turf line was traced for about 10 feet across the berm, beyond which the subsoil lay directly under the mixed stratum of soil and clay.

Between 194 feet and 206 feet the clay exposed on the bottom of the trench appeared looser and dried rather darker in colour. It was not possible while digging to distinguish between this clay and the normal subsoil, but as the looser clay was removed in steps the profile of a ditch began to show. Bad weather made it impossible to reach the bottom, but sufficient was done to expose an outline with sides sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. The bottom was probably rounded as in section R. V. The surface width—12 feet—as drawn had probably been enlarged by the erosion of the lips. The original dimensions were probably about 11 feet wide by 4 feet deep. A very slight wide depression marked the line of ditch on the surface of the field; it was picked up only on the levelled section.

Beyond the ditch, between 6 inches and 9 inches of modern humus covered a layer of mixed soil and clay, which lay directly on the surface of the subsoil. At the far end of the trench a farm track covered the hollow formed by a filled-in ditch, containing modern material.

One sherd of Romano-British pottery and a second, indeterminate but probably Romano-British, were found under the bank. A few abraded Romano-British sherds were found on the berm. The lowest fragment of pottery found in the ditch was Romano-British, at a depth of 3 feet 3 inches from the surface. Medieval sherds of the 12th and 13th centuries appeared sparsely in the upper filling.

Trench R. I. Parallel to and about 100 feet north of R. II. 280 by 4 feet. FIGS. 7 and 8. Measurements were taken from 0 feet, an arbitrary point within the settlement. The trench was completely dug down to the surface of the old turf line or on to the apparent surface of the subsoil. Test sections were cut into the subsoil at points likely to produce further evidence. No ditch was found and it was impossible to re-examine the area indicated by that subsequently detected in R. II as that part of the trench had already been filled in.

Consideration of the track found at the east end of the trench (0–20 feet) may conveniently be deferred (p. 83). Its west edge ran parallel to and 130 feet away from the inner edge of the bank. In this part of the trench conditions were as in R. II and call for no additional comment.

The clay bank, as in R. II, was thrown up directly on to the old surface soil, which had not been ploughed. The front of the bank, at 175 feet stood with a vertical face to a height of $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet; elsewhere it reached a maximum of 2 feet. A line of cleavage, starting on the old turf line at 175 feet and sloping up to the surface of the clay at 173 feet, separated the normal consolidated clay of the bank from a slightly discoloured wedge of clay, the division marking the edge of the trench cut for the insertion of the wall. The back of the bank was difficult to detect; the clean clay extended as far back as 150 feet giving a width of 25 feet. Beyond this point the clay gradually became discoloured and shaded into a layer of mixed clay and soil.

At the back of the wall two courses of masonry set in mortar remained in position for the whole width of the trench. The masonry had an average height of 11 inches and reached up to 3 feet along the trench; no part of the front face was found. Between $178\frac{1}{2}$ feet and 180 feet, and therefore partly underlying the front of the wall, a V-shaped gully 1 foot 8 inches wide and 9 inches deep had been cut into the surface of the subsoil. It was traced irregularly across the trench; the filling consisted of small stones and gravel, with no mortar. While this could be a marker trench for the wall, the size and irregularity rather suggest that it was the setting for an older revetment of timber.

The rubble and mortar fill of the wall trench calls for no comment. The old turf line was traced across the berm for a width of about 16 feet, the outer four feet being covered with a thin layer of set stones. Beyond this line the layer of mixed soil and clay lay directly on the surface of the subsoil. As Continental parallels suggested a ditch beyond a berm some 6 metres wide, the clay was dug to varying depths between 197 feet and 211 feet. The lower levels appeared everywhere to be undisturbed and it was concluded that no ditch existed. Comparison with Trench R. II would suggest that the ditch lay between 200 feet and 210 feet.

Two Romano-British sherds were found on the old turf line under the bank and others, including a 4th century jar fragment, lay on the berm. A few medieval sherds, including one green-glazed fragment of the 13th century, had penetrated the top of the clay bank, but none was found at a significant depth.

Trench R. III. Parallel to and 36 feet north of R. I. 20 by 4 feet. Cut in order to establish the exact line of the wall as near as possible to the north edge of the field.

No remains of the wall were found in position. The front of the bank stood with a vertical face $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 12 feet from the west end of the trench. No cut for the insertion of the wall was noted, but lighting was poor in the restricted area with the spoil heap on the south side of the trench.

*Trench W. XII.*¹⁴ About 20 feet south of R. I. 140 by 4 feet. Measurements taken from the west end of the trench. Dug: 71-105 and 121-39. The notes on this trench are scanty, but there is a carefully drawn section (FIG. 8) and a full record of the objects found.

From the start of the section, 11 feet inside the bank, to a point 16 feet across the berm, the subsoil is shown covered by a turf line up to 6 inches thick. This is drawn as a solid layer separated from the clay. It is in striking contrast to the much thicker and less regular layer of soil shown on Wainwright's sections in the other three corners and there can be little doubt that it represents an unploughed surface as found in R. II and R. I.¹⁵

Inside the clay bank the turf line was covered for a width of 7 feet with loose stones and much mortar. Behind this a mound of clay 3 feet wide sloped up towards the robbed masonry. This is marked on the section as a 'wall', a conjecture that cannot be accepted, in view of the absence of any trace of a similar feature in the sections on either side. It may possibly be explained as a stairway or ramp leading up to the wall walk (p. 78). Some stones and mortar debris lying on the surface of the clay bank bear out this suggestion.

The clay bank was 29 feet wide (126-97) and stood to a maximum height of $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet. The back shows no trace of any revetment, which would be unnecessary if there were a stair in this position. The front of the bank had been cut back in a shallow scoop filled with mixed soil, which had spilled forward across the top of the robbed wall trench. At the back of the wall a few stones were set tight against the vertical face of the clay which stood a few inches high. The front of the wall was two courses high across the whole width of the trench,

the lower course forming a plinth projecting 6 inches in front of the face. In the core of the wall only small stones remained, with several pieces of re-used Roman tile still in position. Above the remaining stones the wall trench was filled with loose stones, mortar debris and soil which spread forward on to the berm. A section of this type could legitimately be interpreted as indicating a contemporary wall robbed by digging a wide trench along the line, removing the stones and then refilling; it is equally consistent with a trench cut to insert a later wall, the fill at the back of which failed to stand when the stones were robbed. In front of the wall, between 1 foot and 3 feet behind the face of the plinth, was a V-shaped gully, cut 2 feet wide and 9 inches deep into the subsoil. It was marked 'black pit or trench' and it is not recorded whether it extended across the trench. The correspondence with R. I. is close but the position varies slightly in relation to the wall. The evidence of these two sections, lying only 20 feet apart, makes it clear that this was not a marker trench, but a feature associated with the earlier revetment. This is borne out by the fact that the front of the wall, including the plinth, had sunk into the gully, the filling of which must have been insufficiently consolidated when the wall was built.

The strata on the berm call for no comment. The stone spread on the old turf line started 6 feet in front of the wall face and was sealed by the mortar and soil spread from the robbing of the wall.

Only nine Romano-British sherds were recorded in the 50 feet of trench opened. Medieval fragments were rather more common. None occurred in a significant position.

Trench R. IV. Cut along the line of the wall, running south from R. II and crossing W. XII. 40 feet by 5 feet. The front of the wall was indicated by an irregular line, where the surface of the turf had been cut away. Only a few stones of the plinth were found still in position. Careful clearance of the subsoil failed to reveal post holes and the gully noted in sections R. I. and W. XII proved impossible to follow in plan in bad weather.

Trench W. XVIII. Cut across the west boundary of the field and into no. 224. No plan survives and the trench is marked on FIG. 7 from traces still visible in 1963. 40 feet by 4 feet. Dug: 1-19 and 21-9, measuring from the west end.

Wainwright's recorded conclusion that 'there is only a modern ditch here: no sign of a wide ancient ditch' is borne out by the section. This also shows that the apparent bank just inside the hedge in no. 222 is a ridge of natural clay between the modern ditch and a modern farm track, which has worn for itself a hollow-way. If the 'Intrenchment' (p. 68) continued its line it would lie further west in field no. 224; there is no surface indication.

Trenches R. I (east end), R. VI-R. IX. The east end of R. I sectioned a low mound running parallel to and 130 feet inside the west rampart of the town. It was barely perceptible on the ground and showed as a rise of about 6 inches on the levelled sections. This mound was shown to cover a stony layer with a cambered surface, rising at the centre to a height of about 9 inches. The layer lay directly on the natural surface, but the turf line could not be detected as the stones had penetrated. The cambered surface filled the last 20 feet of the trench and the curve suggests that it was originally about 25 feet wide. The stones, which were not frequent, lay at random in the soil and rose to the camber, of which the line was clearly visible in a favourable light. The surface was covered by modern humus. Though not a metalled road the cambered surface seems to represent a roughly made up trackway, belonging to an early occupation. No dating evidence was found. The surface had not been ploughed and probably survived as the line of a property boundary. FIGS. 7 and 8; PL. IVc.

North of R. I the surface feature disappeared under modern disturbances, but the track was picked up again in R. VI, 36 feet to the north. R. VII, 36 feet to the south of R. I, disclosed neither the slight mound nor the cambered surface, and R. VIII, a further 36 feet to the south, was therefore abandoned. An attempt to trace the trackway in R. IX, linking R. I and R. VII along the eastern side of the trackway, proved unavailing as the cambered surface could not be distinguished in the longitudinal section.

Summary. No significant stratified pottery was found in any of these trenches and the absolute quantity found in this area was very small in comparison with the amounts recovered at the other corners of the town. W. XII, in which greater care was taken to note

every fragment found, produced only ten pieces of Romano-British pottery, far fewer than in any other trench of comparable size recorded in Wainwright's very full analyses.

Unlike the other areas explored, the south-west corner of the defences showed no sign of cultivation prior to the throwing up of clay bank. The old turf line covering the subsoil was everywhere undisturbed. In W. XII the drawn section shows this old soil as a constant layer about 6 inches thick. This represents the average measurement recorded in the other sections. But in fact the darker soil layer was irregular with pockets and rootlets penetrating irregularly into the surface of the subsoil and no hard line of demarcation. The unsealed destruction layers contained pottery mainly of the 11th to 13th centuries, but a few modern sherds had penetrated below the recent humus.

5. THE CENTRE OF THE WEST SIDE

The central part of the west rampart of pre-Conquest Cricklade (FIG. 9) lies north of Bath Road in field no. 100a, of which the western boundary continues the line of the 'Intrenchment' in Long Close (p. 68). At some time before 1914 the south-west corner of this area had become the town cemetery; about 1950 the area to the north, forming the rest of field no. 100a, was acquired by the Burial Board as an extension. The line of the pre-Conquest defences within this part of the field was marked by no modern boundary, but showed as a broad much-spread bank about 2 feet high.

In 1952 trial excavations within this extension were carried out by the late Group Captain G. M. Knocker. His main trench disclosed the existence of a clay bank, in front of which mortar and debris indicated the former existence of a masonry structure. Subsequently additional trenches, also dug under the direction of Knocker, brought to light a stone wall facing the clay bank on the west side. A stretch about 30 feet in length was uncovered and left exposed. In 1954 Wainwright laid out a trench parallel to the wall within the ground of St. Sampson's Church of England Junior School, east of the cemetery (W. XIV), but there is no record of any work on this trench and it does not seem to have been opened.¹⁶ In 1960 Wainwright laid out two trenches parallel to the east boundary of the cemetery. The northern lay within the extension, but the southern was placed within the school grounds as this part of the cemetery was already occupied by burials. At the same time small trenches further west were opened in order to explore the line of the 'Intrenchment' (W. XIX).

Trenches K.A-K.N. A report on the work carried out by Knocker was submitted to the Ministry of Public Building and Works, which had financed the operation under the Emergency Scheme. The following account is based on that report, omitting the historical data and excising those conclusions which have been rendered out of date by subsequent work. The text retains as far as possible the author's wording, with a minimum of editorial alteration. The full account of the pottery, prepared by Professor E. M. Jope, is also omitted to bring this section into line with the rest of the present report; only those sherds directly associated with the structures are described (p. 94). FIGS. 9 and 10; PL. IV.

Nature of the Soil. The soil in the area of excavation consisted of a foot or so of made up ground, the result of levelling carried out some years ago. Below this the recent turf line lay upon yellow-brown Thames Clay. At an average depth of 3 feet or rather more below the present ground level, natural blue clay was reached, in some places flecked with chalk. At intervals across the field 2-inch land drains had been set, probably by a machine drainer, at an average depth of 3 feet.

Besides being an unpleasant substance in which to dig, Thames Clay has the disadvantage from an archaeological point of view of consolidating over a period of time and showing few if any traces of previous disturbance on a section cut through it. One of the workmen employed on the excavation had been a gravedigger in the cemetery and so may be said to have a fair knowledge of the soil in the area. He claimed to be able to tell from the way the soil dug whether or not it had been 'out before', but too much reliance cannot be

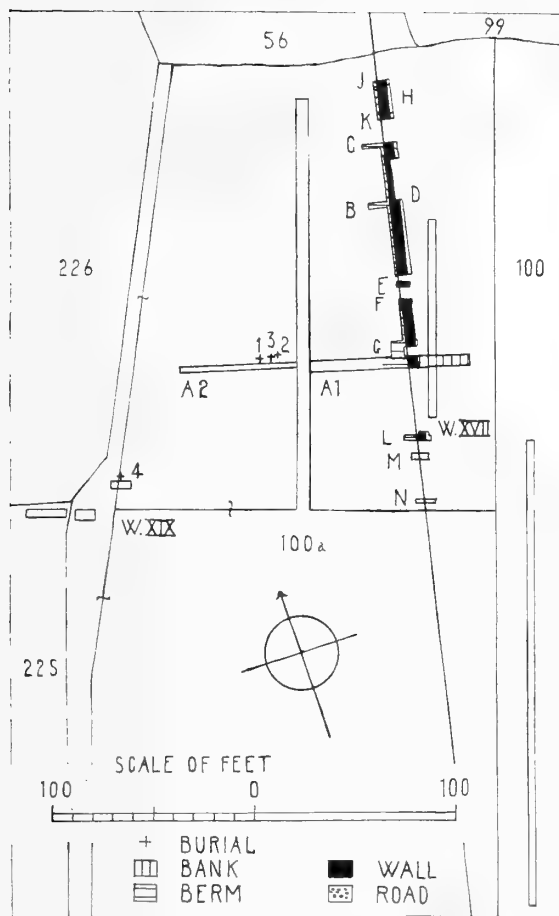


FIG. 9
Cricklade: West Centre. Plan of excavations.

placed upon this. It should be noted in passing that water was reached at an average depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet to 3 feet. This may have some bearing upon the question of whether or not the bank had a ditch on its outer side.

Description of the Excavations. A concrete path, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, ran down the length of the field. Owing to the levelling the extent of the town bank could not be accurately estimated, although in the field to the north a bank some 60 feet wide and 3 feet high is clearly visible, west of the wall line.

A trench (K.A1) 5 feet wide and 78 feet long was cut roughly at right angles to the concrete path, some 66 feet north of the northern boundary hedge of the older cemetery (FIG. 10).

Thirty-five feet east of the concrete path, a 10 foot wide band of stones, all untrimmed, was encountered lying upon natural yellow clay about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface.¹⁷ East of these stones was a band some 6 feet wide of loose brashy clay and further east still, extending as far as the eastern end of the trench was a band of clay slightly darker in colour than the surrounding material, extending in depth from the lower edge of modern topsoil down to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was at first thought that the band of stones represented the footings of a

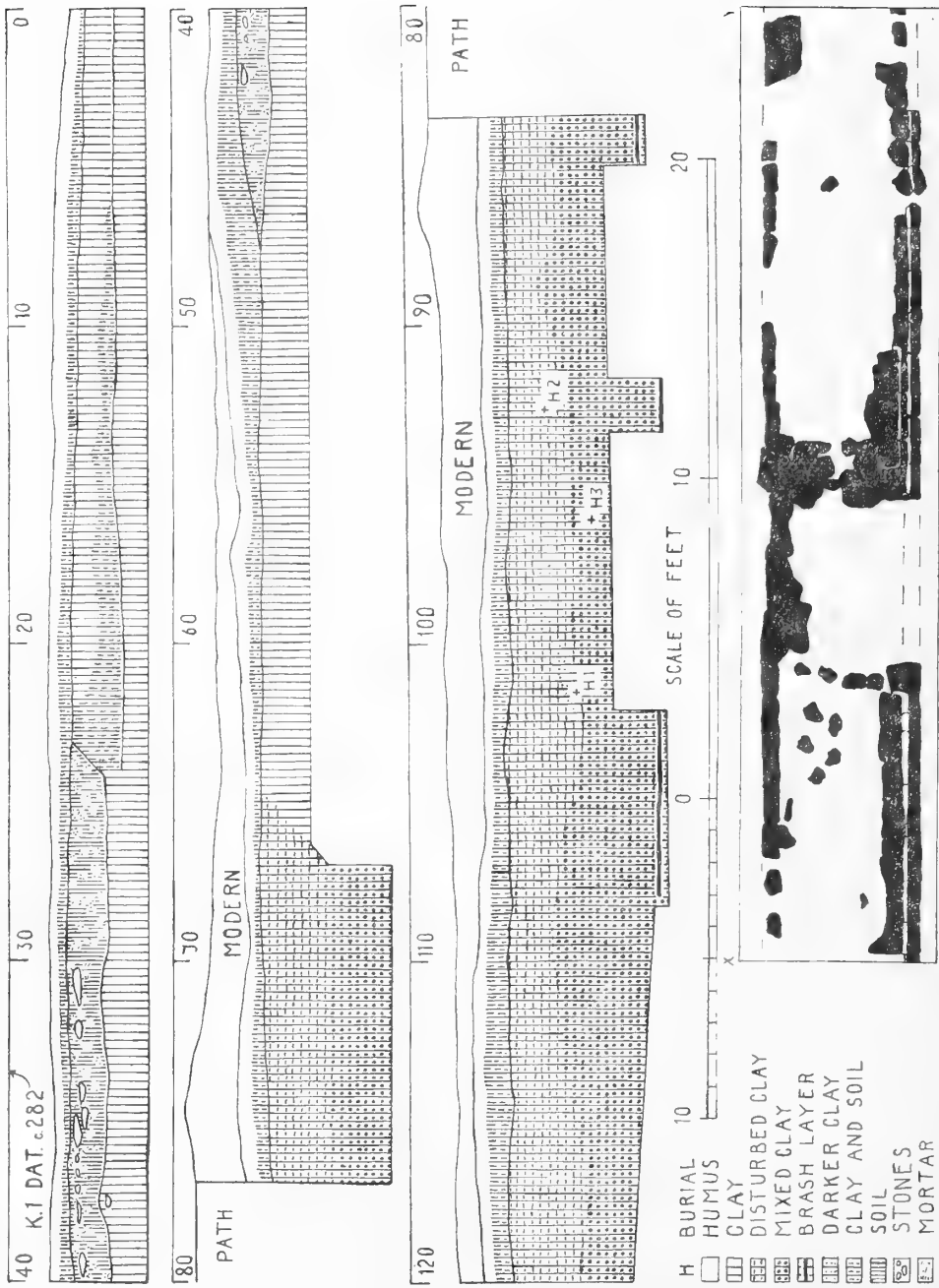


FIG. 10
 Cricklade: West Centre. Sections.

wall, but another trench some 70 feet further north (K.B) revealed the inner and outer faces of a stone wall, lying just east of the eastern edge of the band of stones. Trench K.B was extended north and south to form trench K.D and additional trenches (K. C-N) were dug. These showed the lower courses of a wall made of Corallian Ragstone, the nearest source of which is Blunsdon Hill, a natural escarpment lying athwart the Cricklade-Swindon road, some 5 miles south-east of the town.

The Wall. The wall, which was nowhere more than two courses high, exclusive of the offsets, was built upon a double offset layer on the outer face, but there were no offsets on the inner side. The wall had an average overall width of 5 feet across the offsets, the wall proper being some 4 feet 3 inches wide.

The offset layers consisted of stones some 14 inches square, laid upon natural clay and pitched so as to slope downwards from the outside. Whether this pitching was intentional or caused by the weight of the wall cannot be stated.¹⁸ The wall had no footings, being set upon natural clay. The stones were squared on their outer faces and bound by mortar. The filling appeared to consist of loose stones, untrimmed, and a large quantity of Roman tile and roofing stones. At one place in trench K.H a quern of millstone grit with striations upon the grinding surface formed one of the stones of the lowest course.

While the Burial Board was preserving a portion of the wall, with the assistance of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, one inscribed stone was found in the lowest course of the wall in Trench K.H. A portion of another tooled stone was found close to the inscribed stone.

In many places the wall had been robbed completely, as, for example, where it crossed trenches K.A1, K.M and K.N, but its line could be easily detected on the section by the presence across the former width of loose brashy clay and fragments of stone and tile, i.e. the debris left by the stone robbers. The band of loose stones found west of the line of the wall in trench K.A1 and picked up again along the western edge of trench K.D and in trench K.B represented the spill where the wall was demolished.¹⁹

The Bank. The band of darker clay already mentioned as extending eastward from the inner face of the wall evidently represented the remains of a bank behind this face. Careful examination in places where the inner face was intact showed that the bank came right up against the face of the lowest courses. In most places however a cut was clearly caused when the wall was despoiled.

There are two possible alternatives in the chronological sequence of wall and bank, viz. :—

- a. that the wall was made first and the bank added later and
- b. that bank and wall are contemporary.

While it is impossible at this juncture to say which of these alternatives is correct, careful examination of the section makes it probable that bank and wall are contemporary. The dating evidence will be examined later in this paper.

Was there a ditch? In order to examine the question whether a ditch had existed on the outer side of the wall, trench K.A2 was driven 55 feet west of the concrete path, in continuation of the line of trench K.A1. Yellow clay was encountered at about 2 feet below modern ground level and blue and yellow clay at about 3 feet—3½ feet. A few sherds of medieval and Romano-British pottery were found in the upper levels of the yellow clay, which also contained specks of charcoal. Twenty-five feet west of the path, at a depth of 6½ feet, a 2-inch layer of iron-hard limestone brash was found, set upon natural blue clay. This limestone layer was encountered immediately west of the concrete path at about 6 inches higher level and a trace was found about 45 feet west of the path at a depth of 4½ feet. The blue clay above the limestone, as far west as this, was thought by the ex-gravedigger to have been previously disturbed. The remains of three human skeletons, much decayed, were found at depths of 4 feet, 3 feet and 4½ feet. H.1 was laid head to the north and feet to the south but it was not possible to discover the attitude. Near the skull were some oak fragments, one containing an iron nail ½ inch in length. There were not enough wood remains to suggest a

coffin. H.2 apparently lay with head to the east and feet to the west but further excavation was not possible, as the body lay in the wall of the trench, which showed signs of imminent collapse. Nothing remained of H.3 but a femur. There was no indication in the section of graves having been dug for the reception of these bodies. About 12 feet east of the concrete path the yellow clay altered in colour along a line sloping upwards towards the west, but no indication of this slope could be found in the blue clay below the yellow clay. In trench K.A there was no sign in the section of the edges of a ditch, nor was there any indication of a layer of silt which would almost certainly have shown up on the bottom of any ditch, even if the clay had consolidated so as to remove traces of the ditch edges. The same may also apply to traces of graves dug for the three human skeletons (cp. p. 95).

It is possible that the apparent disturbance of the clay in this area, together with the thin layer of hard limestone at a low level may indicate a shallow scrape ditch dug for the purpose of getting spoil for the bank. If this is correct the absence of any signs of graves may show that the three human bodies were thrown down when the area was exposed. The evidence is however inconclusive. No real trace of a ditch was discovered in the excavation in Paul's Croft in 1948.

Dating Evidence. Professor E. M. Jope kindly examined the pottery found during the excavation. Upon his findings such dating evidence as is available has been based. This can best be considered by reference to the section K.A.

The Bank. Beneath the bank on natural clay, presumably the original ground level, were found a number of sherds of much-worn rusticated first century Romano-British ware. In the make-up of the bank itself was found a single sherd of 12th century hard red sandy ware. Little enough as this is to go on it shows that the bank dates from the 12th century or later.

The Wall. Beneath one of the stones of the lower course in trench K.H and adhering to it was found a rim sherd of a first century olla. Romano-British sherds were found in the robber trench and in the wall make-up. Numerous fragments of Romano-British tile, including some of decorated flue tiles, were also found in the wall make-up.

The Spill west of the Wall. In and around the spill were found various fragments of Romano-British pottery, including a rim sherd in coarse red gritty ware. Two 12th century sherds and one of the 12/13th century were also found in the spill.

Between the wall and the possible ditch. Several Romano-British sherds were found in the lower topsoil and upper clay in this area, including one handled sherd in smooth orange red ware. A number of medieval sherds, mainly of 12/13th century date, were found in or just below presumed ancient ground level; they included a single foot from a 12/13th century tripod pitcher.

The 'Ditch' area. From this area east of the concrete path came two 12th century sherds both from the discoloured clay and one 12/13th century sherd from just above the clay. West of this path were found one Romano-British sherd and a number of medieval sherds, mainly of the 12th century, but including two of the 13th century. They were found on or near the top of the yellow clay. Of these one was a frilled-rim pot of the 12th century and two were 13th century everted-rim cooking pots. No pottery was found at low level or in the blue clay in the 'ditch'.

Beneath and within the wall only Romano-British potsherds, tiles and the inscribed stone were found. All were exceedingly worn, as if they had been lying about the soil for a very long time, being derived from some Roman building not far away. It is possible to argue from the absence among them of any late Saxon or medieval pottery that the wall was built before the latter had come into existence, in other words that the wall is the actual defence of the borough of King Alfred. On the other hand the absence of this later pottery may be fortuitous, and, as has already been remarked, a close examination of the sections on the ground lent colour to the belief that wall and bank were contemporary.

Trench W. XVII. Measured along a line starting from Bath Road and running parallel to the east fence of the cemetery. As far as 280 feet, alongside the older part of the cemetery, the trench lay in the school grounds, 12 feet east of the boundary; it was here well behind the

line of the clay bank. In an effort to trace the possible line of a road continuing the line of Calcutt Street the greater part of every other ten foot length was opened, starting at 40–50 feet and ending at 260–270 feet. In addition the length 190–200 feet, linking up the adjacent trenches, was dug. The drawn sections have not survived and the note ‘? road?’ entered on the plan between 181 and 202 cannot be accepted as conclusive—it may be no more than a conjecture based on the map and entered as a guide before work started. From 280 feet the line of the section lay within the extension to the cemetery, about 15 feet behind the wall and therefore within the line of the clay bank. The lengths dug were, 281–99 feet, 311–19 feet, 331–9 feet, 351–9 feet, 371–379 feet, 391–399 feet, 410–419 feet, 421–439 feet, 451–459 feet and 461–479 feet; the section 439–451 feet was destroyed by a modern tarmac path and drain. Drawn sections survive only for the last four lengths. Ignoring modern disturbances these show the clay bank covered by a few inches of modern soil and humus. There is no trace of an ancient road and no indication in the field notes that anything significant was found.

Area W. XIX. Trenches were also dug in 1960 on the west side of the cemetery in order to examine the possibility that the ‘Intrenchment’ explored further north continued up to this point. They failed to disclose any trace of an early bank or ditch. Outside the line of this bank was a large ditch about 10 feet wide and 4 feet deep with a fill of rubbish including 19th century glass and pottery. A crushed skeleton (H.4), found in the side of the trench just within the boundary of field 100a was of uncertain, but not recent, date (cf. p. 95).

Summary. Romano-British pottery was not common in this area. Finds of medieval pottery were also comparatively few in number. With the exception mentioned (p. 88), only Romano-British pottery was found in the old soil under the bank or in the make-up of the bank.

The central part of the west side of the defences in the area of the extension north of the borough cemetery has provided the best stretch of the wall in front of the bank yet uncovered. The single fragment of pottery dating from the 12th or 13th century found in the clay of the bank stands alone. No other artifact of this date has been found in a context which makes it contemporary with or earlier than the bank. In the circumstances this sherd must be regarded as intrusive; it is possible that it was carried down in a dry period when the clay of the bank has been shown to open up with wide, deeply penetrating cracks.

The evidence of trench W. XVII, though not absolutely conclusive, appears to negative the possibility that a gate existed in the centre of the west side, reached by a road continuing the line of Calcutt Street. It should, however, be noted that the position postulated by Wainwright lies opposite the older part of the cemetery, just south of the boundary of the extension. My own suggestion, based on the alignment of Calcutt Street and the property boundary of the Vale Hotel, would indicate a position about 40 or 50 feet further north, opposite the south end of the extension. The two trenches dug by Knocker in this area (K.M and K.N), are both labelled ‘brash, no stone (no Wall)’. Moreover the top layer of the clay subsoil in section K.1 is heavily disturbed and darker than normal with fragments of medieval pottery charcoal and other artifacts occurring as low as 3 feet beneath the surface. The three burials, which lay partly within this layer, were also disturbed. These are the conditions that might be expected if a market or fair were held at intervals outside the gate, a position which would at Cricklade be very convenient for trading in goods brought by water up the channel outside the north-west corner (p. 99).

PART III. OBJECTS FOUND

1. *Romano-British*

Tombstone. A fragmentary and much-worn Roman tombstone was found re-used in the lowest course of the wall, near the centre of the west side. The following description is taken from *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*:²⁰

Part of a tombstone of limestone, 14 by 16 inches, of which the left hand margin is original, while the top margin has been dressed for secondary use.

.....
VIC
ORIS
CIADI
O

4. OB or OP or OR.

The late Sir Ian Richmond, to whom a rubbing was submitted at the time of discovery, commented that line 2 might be completed as VICTOR or VICTORINA and that line 3 was part of the word UX/ORIS. He suggested a date between 100 and 250.

Coins. Identified by the Ashmolean Museum.

Theodora (second wife of Constantius Chlorus).

Obv. FL MAX THEODORAE AVG.
Rev. PIETAS ROMANA. Pietas standing with child in arms.
3 AE. W. VI, on flat ground outside bank, over 3 feet deep.

House of Valentinian (probably Valentinian I (364-75)).

Obv.
Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM
3 AE. W. VI, as last.

House of Valentinian (probably Valens (364-78)).

Obv.
Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Securitas standing left.
3 AE. Arles. W. VI, as last.

Obv.
Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM.
3 AE. W. IV, in plough-soil under bank.

Pottery. Many fragments of Romano-British pottery, mostly much-abraded, were found in the course of the excavations. Much similar pottery, some in a better state of preservation, has been found in Cricklade. A significant study should include the whole of this material and would be out of place in the present report. The range in time stretches from the late 1st century to the late 4th century. The significance of the distribution of this pottery is discussed on p. 95.

2. *Pre-Conquest Pottery.* By E. M. JOPE

The following few small fragments, by reason of their context and character, are taken to illustrate the domestic ceramic tradition of this important Saxon town.

A few pieces (FIG. 11: 1, 2) are from vessels entirely hand-shaped, without any apparent rotational working and consequently with irregular rim-lines; they have impressions of fragmentary plant remains (mainly chopped grasses and seeds) through their fabric, and seem to derive from the earlier Saxon tradition,²¹ though still current probably in this area in the 8th and even into the 9th century.²² Bases were often round (thus not traceable among fragments alone) or sometimes with a gentle directional change. Most of these fragments were in deposits sealed under the bank, and were less abraded (even though more friable) than most of the small Romano-British sherds among which they were dispersed; they could reasonably represent the domestic refuse up to King Alfred's time.²³

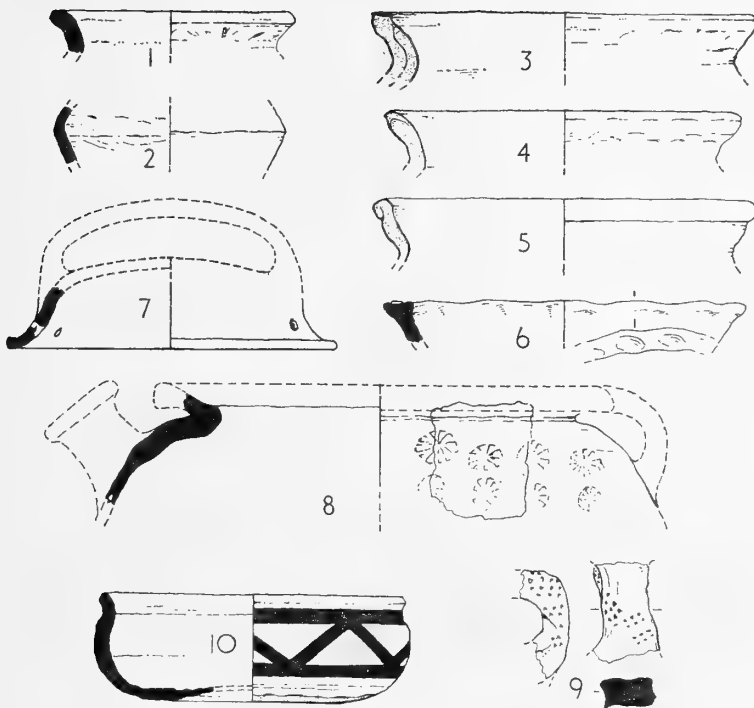


FIG. 11

Cricklade. Saxon pottery (1-6, 8-9); imported bowl with painted decoration (10); post-Conquest night-cover (7). Scale, 1:4.

Later Saxon ceramic traditions²⁴ are a little better represented. These vessels seem to have been mainly of calcite-tempered,²⁵ smooth-worked surface, fabric, the result (as at other periods) of using the easily available local alluvial clays, often containing some fresh-water shell. Most fragments evidently represent moderate-sized cooking pots with fairly wide thickened necks built up by lapping (FIG. 11: 3) in a way characteristic of later Saxon pottery over much of southern Britain.²⁶ The smoothly-worked surfaces show much evidence of finishing by damp swiping, often by interrupted rotation though not fully rotary. Many of the smaller fragments of this ware are probably from such vessels rather than later Romano-British ollae made from similar local material, for on none could the characteristic shallow comb-striating of the latter be detected.

Some of the sherds (FIG. 11: 1, 3-6) are from cooking-vessels with rim-shapes and construction current at least through the 11th and into the 12th centuries. Some of these simple traditions may have been started even earlier;²⁷ the contexts at Cricklade and elsewhere suggest that, in this part of Wessex, they were. Other details, though generically Saxon (such as using individual stamp impressions,²⁸ FIG. 11: 8), were still practised through the 12th century and even later: among these the globular pitchers with free-standing spout and stamp or comb impressions on the shoulder or on the handle (FIG. 11: 9) seem from their fabric to have been of the 12th century, though the general type (in different fabrics) may be found elsewhere in later Saxon contexts.²⁹

No fragments from Cricklade can so far be firmly identified as representing other types of later Saxon pitchers, or bowls, or other more specialized ceramic forms, such as lamps. The harsher sandy fabrics of the 11th century or earlier as seen in characteristic shapes at Old Sarum,³⁰ at Old Windsor,³¹ or Reading,³² or Oxford are not clearly identifiable among

the Cricklade pottery. Neither does it include any of the imported wares from other ceramic-producing areas of England.³³

The one Continental import (FIG. 11: 10) is the much over-fired (secondarily, no doubt by accident), almost stoneware bowl with painted broad (7 mm.) lateral bands bounding a continuous chevron; these are now black, over-fired from the original red. The context of this bowl is of great significance; the four pieces were found in positions which associate the breaking of the vessel with the building of the stone wall (p. 78). In the Rhineland and Holland this kind of rectilinear painting did not supersede the comma-type painting until the 12th century; recent excavations in and around Beauvais have, however, shown that the production of this kind of red-painted ware (over-firing to black), including such bowls, was going on in the 10th and 11th centuries, and this provides an acceptable possible source for the Cricklade bowl, which does not conflict with the historical evidence and structural analogies (p. 100).³⁴

This bowl does show that a larger selection of excavated pottery from later Saxon Cricklade might be most informative concerning the more distant, even overseas, trading contacts of this very inland Saxon town. We might note here also the part of a quernstone of Millstone Grit from the Pennines,³⁵ for the casts of marine worms still remaining on it indicate that it had been brought, at least partly by sea, being left between tidemarks on a marine shore during loading or unloading.

3. Description of Pottery illustrated. By E. M. JOPE

The earlier ceramic tradition:

FIG. 11: 2. (W. I, 59). Fragment of a small thin vessel with carinated shoulder; of black-scored fabric with shell fragments and plant-debris impressions through the core, and brown fairly coarse outer surface. Cp. *Med. Arch.*, VI/VII (1962-3), 9-12.

Under west bank.

FIG. 11: 1. (W. I, 63). Rim fragment of fabric slightly harsher than the last, with tiny water-rounded and some angular grits and shell debris; the plant-debris impressions through the core include some good seed impressions. The irregular top line betrays the hand-worked finish. Cp. *Med. Arch.*, VI/VII (1962-3), 11, fig. 4. Under west bank.

Later Saxon pottery. The following fragments illustrate the rim shapes and neck-construction characteristic of later Saxon ceramics in greater Wessex generally:

FIG. 11: 3. (W. X, 28). Rim of fairly coarse, hard, black-cored fabric tempered³⁶ with a mixture of shattered flint fragments and water-rounded pebbles (c. 0.5 mm.), with light reddish inner surface layer. Its profile with thickening lop-built neck (reflecting coil-construction³⁷), thinning towards the finger-flattened angular rim edge (a profile suggesting rotational finishing) is characteristically later Saxon. Cp. *Oxoniensia*, XXIII (1958), FIG. 11, A3C.1, showing the complete form.

Hollow inside south bank, unsealed.

The following are of types being made in the 11th century, but continuing into the 12th; the fabrics are of the same general family as last, with some grit-tempering deliberately added to the clay:

FIG. 11: 4. (W. X, 22). A simple rounded rim of grey-cored light red clayey surfaced fabric (brown in patches), with clayey-textured surfacing easily abraded away; tempered with miscellaneous shattered fragments (up to c. 1 mm.); slightly slantwise grooves on the outside (made by thumb or fingernail during the interrupted rotation in shaping the rim) show a method of rim-construction current from the Oxford region westwards into Wessex, mainly in the 11th century (*Oxoniensia*, XVII/XVIII (1952-3), 84, fig. 33; 9, 19, 21, p. VII, 19; from occupation layers and pits under Oxford castle mound, *ibid.*, XXIII (1958)).

As last.

FIG. 11: 5. (W. IX, 133). Another simple rounded rim of similar fabric, without any trace of slantwise grooving; such pottery was occasionally made in the later 11th century,³⁸ though more usual in the 12th century. Top of east bank, unsealed.

FIG. 11: 8. (W. III, 26 and 27). Two pieces of a large globular vessel with freestanding spout (its springing survives); of rather friable fabric with grey core, white-flecked with shell and other fragments, shattered or water-worn, with light red surfaces. Ornamented on the rather high shoulder with individual stamp impressions. Pitchers in this type of fabric and of this shape usually turn out to be of the late 11th or 12th century in and west of Oxford, if found in datable contexts.³⁹

Bottom of primary fill of ditch on west side of field no. 56.

FIG. 11: 9. (W. XX, unnumbered). A small handle of similar (though not identical)⁴⁰ fabric and appearance. It was part of a similar pitcher, the handle rising from the shoulder to the rim. It has diagonally set impressed ornaments made with a square-toothed comb, or possibly by a 2×2 or 2×3 stamp.

North-east corner, unstratified.

FIG. 11: 6. (W. III, 16). A small rim fragment of a similar fabric; has finger impressions round the rim top. It was part of a cooking pot, and has, as a sherd, been in a secondary fire, for the fracture is reddened to the same tone as the other surfaces. This manner of rim decoration was already in use before the later 11th century, for examples were found quite low in the pit sequence under Oxford Castle mound.⁴¹

Bottom of primary fill of ditch on west side of field no. 56.

Imports

FIG. 11: 10. (W. X, 31-4). Four pieces of a bowl of overfired, very hard fabric (more so on one side, suggesting an accident), making it resemble a stoneware; the extent of alteration of mineral fragments suggests at least 1150°C . The iron-containing fragments in the fabric have mostly gone to black or very dark brown, and are slightly vitrified as is the matrix. The inner surface has a brown thin glazing skin (not unlike a salt glaze); the outside has had a fine grey slip or slurry applied when inverted, which has collected as a ridge or flow-front towards the base, grey where not subjected to the full overfiring. The 7 mm. wide painted bands, with a continuous chevron between, once red, are now dark brown or black. The base has been thinned at the centre to about 3 mm. by tooling from the underside.

W. X. In mortar at base of added wall, on south side.

4. Medieval Coin

Henry III (1216-72) Silver cut farthing of Canterbury mint.

Long cross coinage (1247-72).

Obv. [ICUS R]

Head facing with two curls and beard.

Rev. [ONCI]

W. IX. Disturbed soil inside bank, 1 foot.

5. Post-Conquest Pottery

The pottery in the superficial layers and in those related to the destruction of the wall and degradation of the bank consisted mainly of abraded fragments of the late 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. The commonest types were the coarse cooking pots with everted rims. Glazed fragments were not common.

No general description of these wares could be confined to the abraded material provided by the excavations. A survey would need to cover all the material available from Cricklade and would be out of place in this report.

An exception has been made in respect of two sherds found in significant contexts. A fragment of a small night-cover, of the late 11th or 12th century, lay just below a surface, which represents the ground level corresponding to the recutting of the ditch surrounding the haga; it is the earliest sherd found in relation to this feature. In 1952 a fragment of 12th century pottery was recorded under the clay rampart on the west side; it was probably part of a vessel found unstratified in the same area, which has also been described. No other sherd has been found in a similar context and, in the writer's opinion, this piece of evidence must be discounted.

6. Description of post-Conquest Pottery. By E. M. JOPE

FIG. 11: 7. (W. XIII, 228). Part of rim of unglazed vessel with handle, which seems to be a small night-cover. The springer scar of the handle survives and there are two holes made in the side wall before firing on either side of the handle scar and just below it. The fabric is tempered with small shattered flint fragments, giving a harsh texture; the core is grey, the surface layer (1 mm.) pale red flecked with white (mostly calcined flint, the result of admitting air at the end of the firing while the cover was still hot). Judging from the fabric this cover is probably no earlier than the later 11th or 12th century. For such fire-covers see the account of the Laverstock kilns (*Archaeologia*, CII (1969), 137-9), where the 12th century example from Enstone, Oxfordshire, is quoted.

In top of clay sealing early levels outside ditch of haga.

Sherd 11.

Tr. K.A. Unstratified

Cooking pot of light red fabric with light grey core, containing some crushed shell and tiny water-worn quartzite pebble, closely comparable with sherd 2 which was found in the structure of the clay bank; possibly 11 and 2 are parts of the same pot. Rims of this general section, with pronounced clubbing at the upper edge, seem to have been developing in this region during the 12th century. They may be seen in mid-12th century contexts at Ascot Doilly and at Swerford, Oxfordshire (*Oxoniensia*, XI/XII (1946-7), 165-7; *Proc. Oxfordshire Arch. Soc.*, 1938, fig. 3, nos. 2 and 3), and a late 12th century well-filling at Oxford (*Oxoniensia*, XV (1950), 54, fig. 18), but do not appear in the material sealed under Oxford Castle Mound (pre-1071). The upper edge of this rim is neatly frilled with finger tipping, a style of decoration common enough on 12th century coarse pottery, though found also in the 11th century (under Oxford Castle mound, pre-1071, compare also the pot sealed under the rampart at Bramber Castle, Sussex (*Sussex Archaeol. Coll.*, LXVIII (1927), 243).
12th century.

Sherd 51.

K.A1. Under clay bank.

Cooking pot rim of form similar to no. 1 above, of similar fabric, but lighter in colour.
12th century.

PART IV. DISCUSSION

I. ROMANO-BRITISH

Numerous finds of Romano-British material and the proximity of the Roman road from Silchester to Cirencester have led in the past to the suggestion that Cricklade had a Romano-British origin. A report on the pre-Conquest defences is not the place to enter into a full discussion of this problem, but it must necessarily include an account and summary of those aspects of Romano-British settlement on which the excavations throw some light.

The most important contribution made by the present series of excavations is the discovery, just outside the west rampart, within the northern extension of the town cemetery, of a small Romano-British cemetery. Four burials and a part of a tombstone of simple Roman provincial type were found. All the graves were by inhumation. Two lay with the heads to the north and one lay east and west; the fourth was too disturbed to determine the direction. No direct dating evidence was found, but inhumations lying north and south are unlikely to be Christian or later in date than A.D. 700. Since pagan Saxon pottery has not been found at Cricklade, there is good reason to associate the graves with the fragment of a tombstone of the 2nd or 3rd century found re-used in the adjacent stretch of the late pre-Conquest wall. Rather poverty-stricken cemeteries of this type are not uncommon in the region. The best explored parallel is afforded by the later graves at Barnwood, near Gloucester⁴² which also lies within the territory of the Dobunni.⁴³ Local examples, recorded in the older literature, may be noted at St. Margaret's Mead, Marlborough,⁴⁴ and Wanborough.⁴⁵

A cemetery of this type implies a settlement in the immediate neighbourhood. The villa at Kingshill, nearly two miles away, is too distant. It must therefore be accepted that a site within or near the town of Cricklade was occupied in Romano-British times. The native hut, of which some traces were found under the south-east corner of the rampart, may have formed part of this settlement. But the discovery of a stone memorial would suggest that it also included a more substantial building, such as a villa. This is borne out by the large quantity of broken Roman tile, including flue tile, available for re-use in the fabric of the pre-Conquest wall.

The distribution of Romano-British pottery in Cricklade is uneven. Extensive trenches have been opened near all four corners of the defences. The pottery was dense in the north-west, common in the north-east and south-east and virtually absent in the south-west. Dr. Thomson, who has noted finds over a long period of years, adds that much Romano-British material has been found in the north and west sectors of the town, but that elsewhere it is sparse. The four coins, all of 4th century date, found in the excavations also come from the north-west corner; three of them were found on the river flat outside the north wall. In this same area there was also a thick scatter of Romano-British pottery, but the area explored outside the later defences was too small for the result to be statistically significant.

The range of Romano-British material runs from the late 1st to the late 4th century; pre-Flavian finds are absent. On the present evidence an early military occupation must be discounted.

Wainwright's excavations in 1954, which confirmed the line of the Roman road across the alluvial river flats, with a crossing of the older course of the River Thames about one third mile east of the town bridge, have already formed the subject of a separate report.⁴⁶ It should be emphasized that no trace of masonry was found in the river; the road must have crossed over a wooden bridge. This would not impede the use of the waterway for barge traffic, which is suggested by the concentration of finds in the north-west quarter, the most suitable position for wharves. Dr. Thomson has kindly contributed this note.

Cricklade: the Roman river port for Corinium

by T. R. THOMSON

During the extensive excavations of the pre-Conquest walls of Cricklade the only heavy scatter of Romano-British material was at the western half of the north wall. A good deal of Romano-British material has been found in the north and west sectors of the town. Elsewhere within the walls the finds are sparse.

Intra-mural Cricklade can never be flooded (PL. Va). The river may, even now, come up to the north wall. Flooding between Cricklade and Ermin Street and between Cricklade and the Churn is common. The North Mead is generally under water for at least two periods every year. There is evidence of much river shrinkage.

The amount of land suitable for the plough in 'Cricklade itself' would be too small for more than one family to farm. There were good Romano-British farms near, at Kingshill and at Latton. There were far better sites than Cricklade for fish traps—both higher up and lower down the river.

The *only* site for a wharf within easy reach of the Ermin Street is immediately outside the north wall of Cricklade. No practicable approach from Ermin Street is shorter than the present causeway; during the recent alterations thereto at least one coarse Romano-British sherd was found.

Cricklade means 'the river crossing by the wharf'. *Crecca* means creek, bay or wharf. Wharves by the town wall—and there may have been an earlier wall—and a good mooring pool between the causeway ending at High Bridge and the site of the subsequent town wall seem reasonable suggestions. The pool and the memory of the rotting wharves may well have given the name.

If this little population were *not* wharfingers and river scourers, what were they?

2. SUB-ROMAN AND EARLY SAXON

There is no evidence that the Romano-British settlement lasted long into the 5th century. No pagan Saxon pottery has been found at Cricklade and there are no graves that can be attributed to this period. That there was settlement in the neighbourhood before the 9th century is proved by the evidence of extensive and prolonged ploughing beneath the bank of the Saxon borough, but this could well be the fields of villages more than a mile away from the town. Settlement in Cricklade itself probably began shortly before the establishment of the borough. But the pottery of middle Saxon types does not point to a long settlement. The fragments are few in number and, though more friable than the Romano-British sherds alongside which they lay, are noticeably less abraded.

The name Cricklade was formerly explained as a hybrid with a first British element followed by the Old English (*ge*)*lad*, referring to the crossing of the Thames. The English Place Name Survey suggests that the first element may be a British word corresponding to the Welsh *craig* and referring to the prominent isolated hill half a mile to the west of the town.⁴⁷ Even if this were acceptable it would provide no evidence of continuity of settlement.

The principal church of Cricklade, which retains pre-Conquest masonry, is named in honour of St. Sampson, but it is difficult to accept any direct connection with the Saint during his lifetime. His life, written soon after 600, is based on information supplied by people who had known him. It reveals no contact with any part of England outside Cornwall.⁴⁸ King Athelstan (926–40), a great collector, acquired

many relics of Breton saints. He refounded Milton Abbey in Dorset in honour of St. Mary, St. Sampson and St. Branwaladr.⁴⁹ It is at this date that the church of the borough at Cricklade would be rising. The gift of a relic by the king would not be unparalleled and would account for the name.

It would therefore seem that Cricklade was a late settlement and that the site was occupied, if at all, by only a small hamlet when King Alfred founded his borough.

3. THE BOROUGH OF KING ALFRED

The excavations carried out between 1948 and 1964 proved that Cricklade was first fortified at a date when Romano-British pottery lying in the ploughsoil, which covered much of the site, was badly abraded. A few pieces of middle Saxon pottery, found in the same context, were in fair condition and indicate a date probably not earlier than the 9th century and not much later than *c.* 900. The evidence therefore provided strong support for the conclusion that the original defences represent the borough named in the early 10th century list known as the Burghal Hidage.

Topography. The borough of Cricklade was set out on a slope falling gently northward towards the flat alluvial valley of the upper Thames. The subsoil is Oxford Clay, occasionally with a thin covering of gravel on the lower part of the slope. On the north a slight scarp marks the edge of the valley floor. The highest points, around St. Sampson's Church and in the south-west corner reach nearly 300 feet; the lowest, near the north-east corner, lies at 260 feet. While the main slope runs northward towards the valley of the Thames, there is also an appreciable fall from west to east. The south side of the defences was defined by a shallow dry valley running in from the lower ground to the east.

Description. The earliest defence at Cricklade was a bank about 30 feet wide. The greater part of the base, which alone remains in position, was formed of Oxford Clay, with inclusions of turf. For much of its length the line of the bank is marked by modern hedges or other boundaries; in a number of places it runs across fields, now or recently in grass. In these fields the rampart shows as a wide, much-spread bank, more than twice its original width.

The area enclosed is approximately rectangular, some 70 acres in extent (FIG. 12).

The north side, which is controlled by the scarp above the valley floor, is slightly concave. It measures about 560 yards. The north-west corner lies in field no. 57, the bank following the hedge marking the north side of this field. Soil creep, resulting from medieval cultivation, has disguised the inner slope of the bank, so that little indication remains. In field no. 59 the modern hedge diverges to the north. The bank can be seen again in St. Mary's churchyard, where the north boundary, following the front of the bank, is marked by a sharp fall to the garden beyond; the present surface of the churchyard, outside the 13th century wall of the north aisle, still stands between 4 and 5 feet above the garden and this surface has been denuded to a depth of about one foot below the original plinth. The bank must therefore have been standing to a height of about 6 feet when the aisle was first built. The floor of the aisle is lower than the present ground outside; it is level with the 12th century nave and probably only

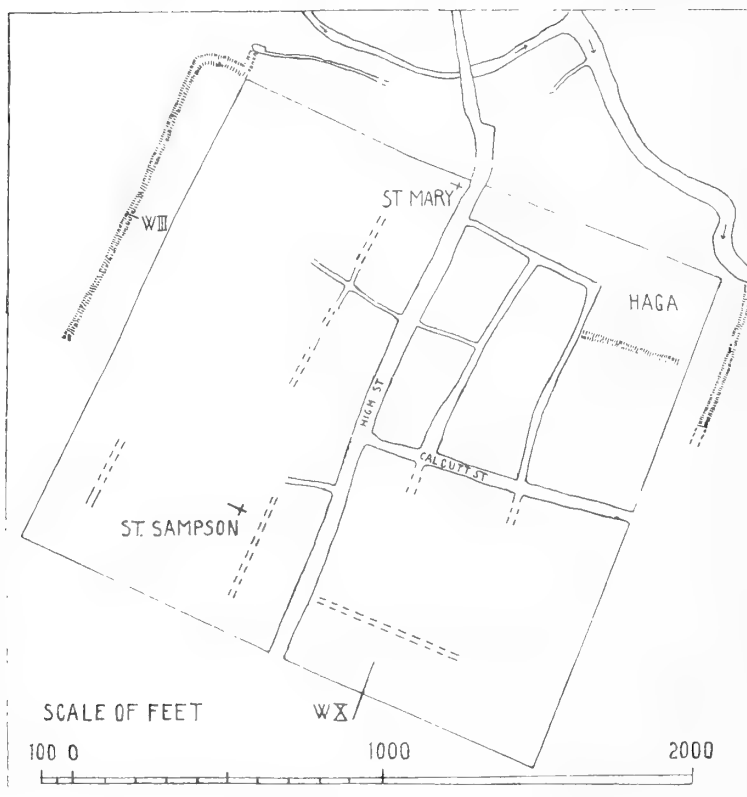


FIG. 12
General plan of Cricklade.

some 3 feet above the natural surface under the bank. This shows that the nave originally stood on the reverse slope of the rampart. The north gate lay within the present breadth of High Street. Its position will be considered in connection with the stone wall, for which the evidence is fuller (p. 106). Beyond High Street the front of the bank is marked approximately by the long almost straight boundary that forms the south side of the Red Lion Public House and the courts and gardens behind. The line next appears in the orchard on the north side of Abingdon Court Lane, where a scarp is clearly visible with a steep fall towards the river. Crossing the road leading to the ford at Hatchedts the bank is to be seen in field no. 95, where the north-east corner is very prominent beside the pig sties on the north side of the field.

The east rampart measures about 570 yards. It is in two alignments, which presumably met in a very obtuse angle at the east gate, on the line of Calcutt Street. The bank is clearly visible in field no. 95; it is marked by a broad much-spread mound, with a sharper fall on the outer side. It can also be followed in the enclosure to the south, after which the line is lost in the houses and gardens bordering Calcutt Street. The east gate lay a few yards west of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Augustine of Canterbury (formerly Rehoboth Chapel). Beyond the street the modern

boundary between fields nos. 113 and 112, both within the defences, and no 114 marks the line of the bank, though little surface indication remains. The south-east corner lay within Paul's Croft (field no. 111). Both east and south ramparts show within this field as broad much-spread banks.

The south side, measuring about 610 yards, is also in two alignments, again presumably meeting at the south gate which lay on High Street. The south bank can be traced to within a short distance of this street, which forms the west side of Paul's Croft. Beyond High Street, the line is lost. The south-west corner lay in field no. 222, where the south bank was formerly visible as a steep scarp, with a slight hollow to the south, marking the line of the ditch.

The west side measures about 555 yards. In field no. 222 the bank was marked by a very slight rise not perceptible on the ground, but registered on the levelled sections. This field, which was examined in 1963, is now (1971) under development and all traces are disguised by the dumping of soil and a vigorous growth of weeds. Beyond this field the rampart is lost among the modern houses and gardens on the south side of Bath Road and in the older part of the cemetery to the north. In the modern extension to the cemetery the rampart till recently showed as a broad low bank, which was lost in the levelling carried out when the boundary was extended and the central concrete path laid down. This was the area examined by Knocker in 1952 and later; the length of wall then left exposed, and still visible in 1963, has since been covered and levelled off, the line of the front face being indicated by a notice. Beyond the cemetery the line of the rampart is marked by the hedge separating fields nos. 99 and 57 within the defences, from Long Close (field no. 56). The modern scarp by the hedge follows approximately the line of the wall.

Outside the west rampart, the north and west sides of Long Close (field no. 56) are marked by banks.⁵⁰ That on the north, masked by a modern hedge, crowns the scarp above the river flats and continues the line of the north rampart. On the west a bank of clay, 20 feet wide and 2 feet high, was sectioned at one point (p. 68); it lay wholly within the field with a broad ditch outside. The section provided no evidence of a wide spread and the bank can never have been much higher than at present. The outer ditch was about 20 feet wide with a flattish irregular bottom reaching a maximum depth of 4 feet below the old surface or approximately 264 feet O.D. It may well have served as a hollow-way running up to a market place outside the west gate. A similar hollow-way from the harbour on the riverside to the gate of the fortified enclosure is attested in the early layout at Hamburg.⁵¹ At Cricklade a wet ditch on the south side of field no. 55 suggests the line of approach from the Thames, while a swampy area at the end of the ditch adjacent to the farm sheds may represent a small dock.

Where sectioned on the west side of the Long Close the ditch contained pottery, none of which need be later than the 12th century. It was later recut with a rounded profile, 10 feet wide and 3 feet deep. The silt in the later recutting included a few fragments as late as the 18th century.⁵² A small modern V-shaped ditch now marks the boundary of the field at the point where it was sectioned, but further north the ditch retains the wider secondary profile.

A similar ditch ran in from the bend of the Thames, below the ford at Hatchetts.

Its line is marked by a double fence and modern drainage ditch, forming the boundary between fields nos. 95 and 94; these features prevented the cutting of a complete section across the earlier wide ditch. The evidence suggested a profile similar to, but more regular than, that outside Long Close. The sherds found in the silt included wares of the 12th and possibly the 13th century, but nothing later; the silt also contained a few fragments of the 11th century, which might be pre-Conquest in date.

Date. The date of the primary clay bank at Cricklade is indicated by the occurrence of occasional middle Saxon sherds in the ploughsoil, upon which the bank was thrown up. Though friable, these sherds are not badly abraded; they could scarcely have survived in the contexts in which they were found long after 900, if they had not been protected by the covering bank. The absence of late Saxon pottery in these layers is not statistically significant for these wares are very scarce at Cricklade. There is good evidence that the added wall dates from the 11th century (p. 106).

These results prove that the clay bank enclosing Cricklade belongs to the borough listed in the Burghal Hidage, a document of c. 910–2053. This list of fortresses guarding the coasts and frontiers of Wessex is generally accepted as representing the arrangements instituted by King Alfred at the end of the 9th century and carried on by his son Edward the Elder.⁵⁴ Cricklade lay on the northern frontier and was designed to control the crossing of the Upper Thames. It is first mentioned in connection with the campaign of 903.⁵⁵ In that year 'Aethelwold [a cousin of King Edward, who had risen against him and then fled to the Danes] induced the army in East Anglia to break the peace so that they harried over all Mercia until they reached Cricklade. And they went then across the Thames and carried off all that they could seize both in and around about Bradon and turned then homeward.' It is a legitimate deduction that Cricklade was already fortified and that, by holding out, it prevented a deeper penetration into Wessex.

The Burghal Hidage attributes to each borough a certain number of hides, representing the estates which were bound to provide for the manning and maintenance of the fortress. Appended to the oldest MS. of which there is a record, is a calculation showing the military establishment. This amounts to four men for each perch ($5\frac{1}{2}$ yards) of rampart, each hide being bound to provide one man. The most convenient form of the equation is probably one man for every $4\frac{1}{8}$ feet of rampart. To Cricklade 1500 hides are attributed in most MSS., but the oldest, just cited, gives 1,400.⁵⁶ These men would serve to cover at the standard rate 2,046 or $1,925\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The perimeter totals very nearly 2,300 yards⁵⁷ measured along the front of the bank, or 2,280 yards along the line of the suggested palisade (p. 102). This is not the only case in which a deficiency in the military establishment is apparent when the figures can be tested on the ground; in some cases it is far greater.⁵⁸

The Form of the Rampart. Since the whole of the upper part and the front of the rampart have been destroyed, any reconstruction must largely rest on analogy. It should be said at the outset that there is no evidence of a rampart of the Trelleborg/Fyrkat type,⁵⁹ an example of which has recently been discovered in the early 10th century defences of Tamworth.⁶⁰ More fruitful comparisons can be made with fortifications of the relevant date in the area of North Germany and Slesvig.

The front of the clay bank, where it had been cut back for the insertion of the later wall, showed, in several places, an interleaving of dark, more or less horizontal, bands, which must be interpreted as turf. These imply a revetment of turf or timber, forming a vertical or steeply sloping outer face,⁶¹ which has been entirely removed. There remained only a shallow irregular trench, near the front of the wall, a feature which can be noted in most of the sections. It showed as a V-shaped cutting 12–18 inches wide, penetrating up to 9 inches below the surface of the subsoil. Its profile could not be traced in the overlying soil, but a minimum section 12 inches wide by as many deep, measuring from the surface of the original ground, must be deduced. This would be too large for a marker giving the line of the later wall and the divergences from this line would make such a function unlikely. Moreover it must be earlier than the wall. In places the external plinth is set in this trench, with the stones at a level below that of the base of the main wall. Elsewhere the lower stones have sunk into this trench, showing that its soft filling was not detected by the wall builders when they levelled a base for their structure.

This trench must be connected with the revetment of the older clay bank. If this were based on a sill beam it would normally be held in position by substantial uprights set into the subsoil. Such uprights could be as much as 10 feet apart.⁶² Careful search for such post-holes was made in 1963, and as the cuttings were only 4 feet wide, a stretch 20 feet long was opened along the line of the wall (R.IV). Conditions were deteriorating when this trench was examined and the failure to discover post-holes cannot be considered conclusive. But many of Wainwright's trenches were carefully cleaned in good dry weather and no post-holes were noted. It is unlikely that all these trenches would have been located in the interspaces. It should therefore be concluded that substantial uprights set into the subsoil were not part of the system used for the revetment at Cricklade.

A similar trench marking out the front of the bank has been recorded on a number of Continental sites of this period. In the main wall of the Dannewerk in Central Slesvig cut 20⁶³ showed a trench over 2 feet (60 cm.) wide, marking the front of the oldest bank, which stood over 6 feet (2 m.) high; no post-hole was found in a width of over 6 feet (2 m.). In Haithabu itself the oldest rampart had uprights set only 18 inches (50 cm.) apart and these barely pierced the subsoil, as the published section shows;⁶⁴ here no trench is noted. Both these fortifications date from the 9th or 10th century. But the best clue to the form of the revetment is to be found in the 9th century rampart of the curtis at Hamburg.⁶⁵ The defences were on a far grander scale, the bank rising to a height of some 20 feet (6–7 m.). The front revetment consisted of a double row of split tree trunks 2 feet (60 cm.) apart, fastened together and set vertically.⁶⁶ The trench marking the line of the face is between 3 and 4 feet wide and penetrated proportionately deeper into the soil. To consolidate the revetment an external berm sloping sharply downwards to a V-shaped ditch was piled against the foot of the uprights. These were linked internally by horizontals running longitudinally behind the wall face; they must also have been tied back to the internal structures of timbers found within the body of the wall.

Using these and other analogies the rampart at Cricklade may be reconstructed as a bank 30 feet wide with a vertical or steeply sloping front revetted with timbers set

vertically (FIG. 13). The height of 9 feet established for the primary bank at Wareham⁶⁷ should probably be accepted for Cricklade also. There is evidence that the bank was still standing to a height of some 6 feet in St. Mary's churchyard when the north aisle was added (p. 108) and this is the height of the rampart at the end of the promontory of the Saxon borough of Lydford,⁶⁸ which had been partly levelled, before the later bank was piled over it. By analogy it must be assumed that the breast-work covering the fighting platform was set back several feet on the crest of the bank and that this sloped down from the breast-work to the top of the timber facing.⁶⁹ This again is borne out by the position on the crest of the bank of the added wall at Wareham⁷⁰ and Wallingford.⁷¹ The back of the bank also sloped down to a rear revetment of turf, which seems to have been quite low.

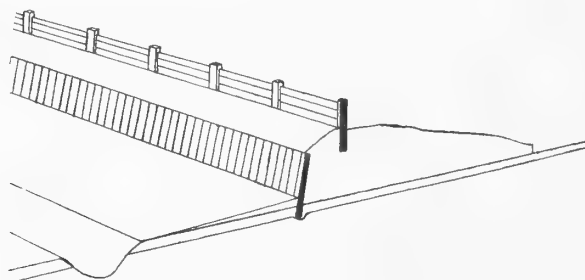


FIG. 13
Reconstruction of early Saxon rampart.

A ditch should probably be assumed at this period. That first identified in 1963 clearly belongs to the second building period (p. 80). But since no trace of a further ditch was found nearer the rampart, the older ditch was probably on the same line. Traces of stone structures within the bank can also most conveniently be considered in connection with the added wall.

*Street Plan.*⁷² The modern street plan of Cricklade (FIG. 12, PL. V b) preserves much evidence of an early gridded layout, which may well have been an original feature of the Saxon borough.⁷³

High Street, stretching from the south gate to the north gate on the scarp above the river flats, is lined with the medieval burgrave tenements, which still in many cases form the property boundaries. The street roughly bisects the borough. Beyond the north gate a causeway crosses the valley floor to link up with the line of Ermin Street and for this a Roman origin has been suggested (p. 96). The eastern half of the borough is divided by Calcutt Street, leading through the east gate to the line of Ermin Street, where it reaches the higher ground, about one mile away. No clear evidence of a similar street running to the west gate has yet been found. But the possibility has been suggested that the gate lay near the centre of the modern cemetery with a market outside (p. 89).

Within the borough the north-east corner affords the clearest evidence of the grid. Horsefair Lane and Thames Lane, known in the 18th century as Little Green Lane, both run north parallel to High Street. Both streets originally ran straight.

The later encroachments are, in many cases, indicated by property boundaries, shown on the modern map and the deflection due to this cause is clearly visible on both sides of Horsefair Lane. At their northern ends the two streets are linked by Abingdon Court Lane, running in from High Street. Another cross street ran east from High Street, opposite Gas Lane, where the parish boundary between St. Sampson's and St. Mary's 'ran through' the front door of New House. The south-east corner has largely been absorbed into the ground of Prior Park Preparatory School, obliterating the earlier layout. But old maps indicate the stubs of streets running south opposite Horsefair Lane and Thames Lane. The long straight boundary of Paul's Croft and the parallel boundary further north probably mark the lines of cross streets.

On the west side of High Street, Gas Lane and Church Lane survive as the beginnings of cross streets on either side of the presumed road to the west gate; both have been badly deflected by encroachments. A line parallel to High Street is indicated by the back of the burgage tenements in the northern part of this street, but this line cannot be traced beyond the line of the presumed main west street, which seems to have crossed the site of the Vale Hotel. Another parallel street is indicated by the fragment found in 1963 running parallel to and 120 feet away from the west bank. This spacing implies an intermediate street which may correspond to the irregular boundary between the closes at the back of the burgage tenements and the field beyond. The large churchyard, in which the parish church of St. Sampson stands, cuts across the line of the street nearest to High Street, but the church itself is at least as early as the 11th century and probably goes back to the early days of the borough (p. 000). A minster of this date would have a community of canons, each with his separate dwelling; it is possible that this community occupied a double block extending west from High Street.

The street line found in 1963 was barely perceptible either on the ground or in the section. The track was not metalled, though stones had been spread on the surface. This was probably the normal condition of the streets until the adjacent plots were developed and the 18th century name—Green Lane—is significant in this context. In Cricklade, only High Street and Calcutt Street appear to have been intensively developed in the Middle Ages. It would not be surprising if planned streets, which never functioned, or had long ceased to function, were annexed by neighbouring owners and their lines lost.

A gridded layout implies central control, at a time when the borough was still a functioning unit. On these grounds a pre-Conquest origin for the grid is probable and there is no evidence at Cricklade conflicting with this conclusion.

St. Sampson's Church. The only building of pre-Conquest date, of which any part is now visible at Cricklade is the church of St. Sampson.⁷⁴ The south wall of the nave, towards the aisle, retains the remains of a pilaster strip rising from a triple stepped base about 16 feet above the present floor level. The stones are certainly *in situ* and the present nave, which measures 56 feet by 26 feet, should probably be regarded as coterminous with the pre-Conquest nave. The church, which is referred to as a mother church (*matrem ecclesiam*) in an 11th century document, was certainly a minster and was therefore likely to have been cruciform in plan. The church was in

existence *c.* 975. Dr. Taylor dates the remains as 'possibly period C' (950-1000), but there seems no good architectural reason why they should not be as early as the time of Athelstan (926-40) or even as *c.* 900.

The Haga. One further pre-Conquest survival remains to be noticed. In field no. 95, near the north-east corner of the borough, a ditch with a bank on the south side runs in from the east rampart, some 350 feet distant from the north bank (p. 71). Both ditch and bank are clearly visible in the open field and the ditch can still be traced as far as Thames Lane. In the stretch adjacent to the Lane it forms a narrow strip between two groups of modern houses and serves as access to the open field behind; it is gradually being levelled by the dumping of soil. The space delimited by this ditch on the south, by Thames Lane on the west and by the north and east ramparts measures about 350 feet by 400 feet. Within the area stand the buildings of Abingdon Court Farm. The bank and ditch were of two periods, the later ditch being cut through the silt of the earlier larger ditch. Trodden into the clay representing the ground level corresponding to the later ditch was a fragment of a night-cover of late 11th or 12th century date (FIG. 11:7). The silt of the earlier ditch was barren; the later silt included pottery of the 12th and 13th century. It may therefore be concluded that the older wide ditch and bank are of pre-Conquest date.

Ditches forming internal boundaries have been noted at Lydford,⁷⁵ though on a smaller scale than that at Cricklade. It seems certain that this represents a *haga* or holding within the borough, such as are mentioned in a number of early documents. The name, Abingdon Court Farm, suggests the possibility that there is a connection between this *haga* and that granted to Abingdon Abbey in 1008. The *haga* had previously been in the hands of Aelfgar, the king's reeve.⁷⁶ The holding later formed part of the manor of Abingdon Court, a miscellaneous collection of properties in and near Cricklade and including the advowson of St. Sampson's Church. These properties were held in the later 13th and 14th centuries by a family called de Abendon.⁷⁷

4. THE ADDED WALL

In every section there was evidence that a wall 4 feet wide had faced the front of the clay bank and, in a number of places, there was clear proof that this had been added at a later date.

Only the lowest courses of the wall survived in position. In many places even these had been removed, leaving the line of the robbed wall marked only by a fill of small stones, mortar debris, soil and clay. Where the lower courses survived the wall was rather over 4 feet wide, with an external plinth projecting about 4 inches beyond the face. This plinth was sometimes set at a level lower than the base of the main body of masonry, being laid in the hollow left by the decay or removal of the older timber facing (p. 101). The stone used was a Corallian Ragstone, the nearest source of which is Blunsdon Hill, a natural escarpment some 5 miles south-east of Cricklade. The facing stones were roughly split and tooled to a rectangular shape, the exposed face measuring up to 14 inches long by 2 or 3 inches thick. The core of the wall was filled with irregular pieces of stone and included many fragments of Roman tile; among them were parts of flue tiles keyed for plaster. The whole was set

in a coarse yellow mortar, badly decayed after many years of saturation, which had washed out the lime. A re-used piece of a Romano-British tombstone was found in the core, near burials outside the centre of the west side of the wall. The masonry, in so far as it could be judged from the surviving remains, was of pre-Conquest character.

To insert the wall, the face of the rampart had been cut back for a depth of rather more than 4 feet. The back of the cut was left sloping and irregular and did not appear to have been long exposed to the weather. The space behind the wall was then filled with the material dug from the face; this filling was normally clay, but in places it included darker material, probably turf from the revetment.⁷⁸ In a number of sections untrimmed stones without mortar had been used to form the base of this filling, on which the clay or soil was piled. These stones did not reach more than one foot in height and were perhaps intended to act as a rumbling drain to carry off surface water, which might otherwise have damaged the wall.

A berm 20 feet wide separated the wall from the ditch. This berm was covered in most places with a layer of stones and decayed mortar forming a stratum which covered the undisturbed surface of the old soil. In Wainwright's sections it is generally labelled 'spill from wall' or with some similar phrase. But it is clear that not all the stones, etc., came from this source. On a number of sections—W.XI:E 21 is the clearest example—two distinct strata are shown. A layer of stones and mortar 6 inches to 9 inches thick extends from the outer face of the wall—entirely robbed at this point—to the end of the trench, a distance of 12 feet. Above and merging into this is a distinct layer of soil and debris with mortar, forming an extension to the fill of the robbed wall trench. The lower stratum was deliberately placed and represented a feature connected with the wall. W.IX: S 20 is less clear, as the inner end of the lower layer had perished before the robbing of the wall and the junction was obscured by an undug baulk. R. I. and R. V show a setting of stones on the surface of the turf covering the outer part of the berm. A small amount of decayed mortar and loose stones was also observed—possibly the result of the break up of a more definite layer of stones and mortar. It is possible—and the field note-book provides some confirmation—that the 'spill from wall,' etc., was used to describe a double layer, the two components of which were not readily separable and that a rough flange of mortared stones was a normal feature of the berm.

The purpose of such a setting would be to prevent the erosion of the berm by rain-wash into the ditch. The cleanness of the two ditch sections excavated in the south-west corner shows that this did occur on a serious scale and the failure to discover the ditch in R.I, where a careful search was made, shows that the silting must have been rapid and that erosion from the sides was a real problem. The setting may be compared with the outer flange provided at Wareham⁷⁹ to protect the secondary wall of pre-Conquest date added on the crest of the bank.

The ditch discovered in the two sections dug in 1963 was about 10 feet wide and about 3 feet deep with a rounded section. Wainwright thought that the ditch would lie immediately outside the wall and looked carefully in this position in a number of sections. He concluded that there was no ditch at Cricklade. A careful re-examination of his drawn sections shows a ditch separated from the wall by a 20 foot berm in one section (W. VI). It is entered without comment, but there is no reason to doubt the

pre-Conquest date. Since few of his sections covered the area between 20 and 30 feet outside the wall and one of these has disclosed a ditch at this distance, it may be concluded that the ditch was a normal feature of the defences, even along the north side, where the swampy nature of the ground might have been thought to render this unnecessary.

The ditch with the reinforced berm of stones and mortar belongs to the second period and is contemporary with the wall. The original arrangement can be compared with the earliest wall construction on the Dannewerk.⁸⁰ No trace of an earlier ditch in front of the clay bank was found; it may have been on the same line as that of the second period, perhaps on a smaller scale.

Date. The dating of the added wall at Cricklade depends on the sherds of painted ware found in the mortar at the base of the wall in Section W.X (p. 92). This pottery is now attributed by Mr. J. G. Hurst to the 11th or even the 10th century. The rough character of the masonry has nothing in common with Norman work and may be compared with the wall at South Cadbury, which is closely dated to c. 1010; in particular the external plinth is a constructional detail common to both structures (see below).

The addition of a wall at a later, but still pre-Conquest, stage in the history of the Saxon boroughs is attested on a number of sites.⁸¹ In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle⁸² the word translated as 'built' in connection with the boroughs is *timbrian*, which can refer to either wood or stone. But in the annal for 917 it is recorded that in the summer 'the Danish army . . . went to Towcester and fought all day against the borough, intending to take it by storm, but yet the people who were inside defended it until more help came to them, and the enemy then left the borough and went away'. Later in the same year 'King Edward went to Passenham and stayed there while the borough of Towcester was provided with a stone wall'. This is the earliest recorded instance. At South Cadbury⁸³ there is an original Saxon wall of mortared masonry facing an earth bank. Numismatic evidence indicates a date c. 1010. The dating is borne out by the epigraphic evidence from Shaftesbury which points to an important building in stone between c. 975 and c. 1050⁸⁴; this is unlikely to have been anything other than the borough wall. Other instances, like Lydford, are less securely dated. A date in the early 11th century, contemporary with South Cadbury, would best agree with the character of the wall at Cricklade.

5. THE NORTH GATE AND ST. MARY'S CHURCH

The north, south and east gates of Saxon Cricklade lie beneath modern, much used, roads. The excavations in the centre of the west rampart failed to discover the west gate, which might have been expected to lie within the northern extension to the cemetery, where the line of Calcutt Street projected would cut the west bank. But the evidence on this side was not, in the writer's opinion, sufficient to prove a negative (p. 89).

The position of St. Mary's Church immediately inside the north wall, near the north gate, has led to comparisons with St. Martin's Church beside the north gate of Wareham and St. Michael's Church beside the north gate of Oxford. Both these

churches are of pre-Conquest date, though neither retains evidence of a structure as early as the foundation of the borough. Recently an attempt has been made to explain anomalies in the planning of the church of St. Mary at Cricklade by reference to the adjacent gate.⁸⁵ In my opinion the solution proposed is untenable, both because the line of the wall is wrongly plotted and because the position of the north chapel, which is postulated as a pre-Conquest survival, would effectively block the walk along the rampart in a vital position.

The original bank at Cricklade was probably provided with a bridge across the road passing through the gate. Since a height of 9 feet postulated for the bank of this date is insufficient, when allowance is made for the structure of the bridge, the wall walk must have risen up a ramp to the bridge. This is the implication of the plan at Tamworth, where the lines of post-holes forming the abutment of the bridge are set within the body of the rampart.⁸⁶ The outer line, probably forming the continuation of the breast-work protecting the rampart walk, is set 3 feet within the face of the bank and extends back for at least 11 feet from the edge of the roadway. The slope of the ramp was probably gentle; a height of the bridge decking some 12 feet above the roadway would give a clearance of 10 feet 6 inches. Only one side of the gateway was uncovered at Tamworth, but its width is unlikely to have exceeded the 10–12 feet suggested for the later gateway at Cricklade (see below).

The stone gate of the second period at Cricklade may be compared with the stone gate of c. 1010 recently uncovered in the Saxon borough of Cadanbyrig (South Cadbury in Somerset).⁸⁷ This had a gatehall 11 feet (3·30 m.) wide and 30 feet long, extending back from the gate, the responds of which were set on the line of the wall facing the earth bank; the side walls of the gatehall revetted the ends of the bank. The responds of the gate were finally executed in Ham Hill stone and an archway is suggested. The height of the bridge decking can hardly have been less than 14 feet above the roadway.

The width of the gateway at South Cadbury was probably normal at this date. At Haithabu, a century earlier, the width of the roadway in the north gate was between 5 and 6 feet (1·6 m.).⁸⁸ But the three 12th century gates at York, with a type of plan closely resembling South Cadbury, show a width of the passage of between 11 feet and 12 feet.⁸⁹ The late 11th century gateway to the Castle at Exeter falls into the same bracket. The present width of High Street, Cricklade, opposite St. Mary's Church, is about 40 feet; elsewhere it is even wider. It should be assumed that the Saxon gate lay near the centre of the roadway and that the bank projected forward from the building line on both sides of the street. This is suggested by the present level of the churchyard—some 4 or 5 feet above the level of the roadway.

The boundary between the churchyard and the rectory garden to north marks the approximate line of the added wall. It runs parallel to the main axis of the church. The 12th century nave and chancel, assuming, as is likely, that the nave was then aisleless, would be 25 feet away from the wall face, an adequate space for the walk along the rampart and up to the bridge, even when allowance is made for the probability that the breast-work was set back from the wall face (p. 102). The space between the north chapel and the wall face is barely 15 feet and therefore inadequate; it also provides no explanation of the reason why the chapel is not aligned with the

wall face; this would be far more likely to occur at a time when the wall was out of use than at a period when it was still a defensible structure. It must therefore be concluded that the north chapel originated as an annexe to the church at a date after *c.* 1200; the only architectural evidence indicates a date older than the north aisle of the later 13th century. If there was a Saxon church in this position—and there is no positive evidence of its existence—it is likely to have occupied the site and alignment of the 12th century nave and chancel, though it was possibly on a smaller scale.

The ground level in the churchyard north of the church now stands 4 or 5 feet above the level of the garden. The high plinth on the north and east (but not the south) sides of the chancel indicates a level about one foot higher when this was built in the 13th century. This is the highest remaining stretch of the bank. The nave floor is over one foot below the present level to the north. It may be assumed that the entrance was originally, as now, on the south side, but on the line of the present south arcade. The church was therefore set well down the reverse slope of the bank, which had probably not been much degraded at the time it was first built.

The Destruction of the Wall. There is no evidence that the wall was ever repaired or that the defences of Cricklade were renewed after *c.* 1100. There is indeed mention of a castle erected at Cricklade in 1144 by William of Dover,⁹⁰ but there is no proof that it lay within the limits of the Saxon borough. The description of the ‘inaccessible site, surrounded on all sides by water and marshes’ would seem to preclude this. The sections show that the pre-Conquest defences fell into disrepair and that the wall was deliberately dismantled, the usable stone being removed and the useless rubble and mortar thrown back into the trench, with clay and soil, probably from the crest of the bank. The defences then remained as a much-spread mound, which offered little obstacle to cultivation. The pottery found in the robbed wall trench was of the 12th or 13th century along with the usual abraded Romano-British fragments. The demolition must therefore have been virtually complete by *c.* 1300, though the evidence does not preclude the later survival of short stretches. Thereafter cultivation, generally by ploughing, ensured that the degradation was continuous. The wide mound less than 2 feet high was little in evidence and was often ignored by those who laid out the modern field pattern.

Acknowledgments

The excavations at Cricklade covered a period of fifteen years (1948–63) in the course of which many people contributed to the final result. The report has, for various reasons, been delayed and it is impossible at this distance to be sure that due appreciation of their work has, in every case, been expressed. In particular no full list of the many individuals who assisted Frederick Wainwright has reached me. I can only offer a general expression of gratitude and hope that those whose names have been passed over will forgive the omission.

The excavation was due, in the first place, to the enlightened initiative of the Cricklade Historical Society; to that Society and to its Officers throughout the period—too many to name individually—and to all its members, thanks are particularly due. My own report, here published, has only been made possible by the work undertaken and the reports left by earlier Directors of Excavations—Mr. (now Professor) R. J. C. Atkinson and Mr. F. R. Maddison in 1948, the late Group Captain Guy Knocker in 1952 and the late Frederick Wainwright in 1952–4 and again in 1960. Cricklade and its excavations are, above all, a monument to Wainwright, who supervised by far the greatest extent of the field covered,

and whose early death, before his report could be written, represents a tragedy both to Cricklade and to archaeology. To all these and to their numerous assistants the Historical Society and I, as author of the final report, would express our most sincere gratitude, as also to Mr. Nicholas Brooks and those others who shared my work in 1963.

The present report has been compiled with the aid of scholars too numerous to name; to all of them I offer my best thanks. Dr. T. R. Thomson and Professor E. M. Jope, assisted in the latter case by Mr. J. G. Hurst, have provided sections which appear over their own names. Professor Jope also undertook the lengthy task of identifying and dating the very large number of objects, principally sherds of pottery, found during the excavations of 1952-4; his annotated lists of these finds are deposited in the Cricklade Museum. The soil samples taken in 1952 were analysed and reported on by Mr. F. H. Edmunds of the Geological Survey; his report is quoted at the appropriate points. The coins were kindly identified by the Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum. The photographic record of the Cricklade excavations is particularly full, though few of the views lend themselves to publication. In addition to those taken by the Ministry of Public Building and Works for group Captain Knocker (PL. IV) and by Wainwright, many of these photographs were the work of Miss Mary Baldwin, now Mrs. Edwards, (PL. II and III) and of Dr. Thomson (PL. Va). The air photograph (PL. Vb) is published with the permission of the Cambridge University Committee and of its Director, Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, by the courtesy of the Society of Medieval Archaeology, in the *Journal* of which it first appeared. The general plan (FIG. 12) and the detailed plans (FIGS. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9) are based on the Ordnance Survey and published with the permission of the Director General.

Finally I would express my appreciation and that of the Cricklade Historical Society of the assistance, rendered at all times by the Ministry of Public Building and Works, now the Department of the Environment. The excavations of 1952 and 1963 were financed under the emergency scheme to examine areas of meadow land about to be used for other purposes. Wainwright's excavations, within the area of a scheduled monument, were undertaken with the permission and encouragement of the Ministry. Cricklade has reason to owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and in particular to Mr. J. G. Hurst for his personal interest in the site.

Abbreviations

<i>Ant. Journ.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
Jankuhn (1937)	H. Jankuhn, <i>Die Wehranlagen der Wikingerzeit zwischen Schlei und Treene</i> (Neumünster in Holstein, 1937)
<i>Mat. Cricklade</i>	<i>Materials for a History of Cricklade</i> (1960)
<i>Med. Arch.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
R.C.H. M.	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
<i>Wilts. Arch. Mag.</i>	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine</i>

¹ *Mat. Cricklade*, 115-7.

² *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lviii (1959), 192-200.

³ Field numbers refer to 25 inch Ordnance Survey (1921), Wilts. V, 14.

⁴ For convenience the terms north, etc., are used for the four sides of the Saxon town. The main axis, today High Street, is about 20 degrees east of north.

⁵ The angle varies by about 2 degrees from a right angle.

⁶ This and all similar determinations of soil samples from the north-west corner are quoted from a letter by Mr. F. H. Edmunds, District Geologist, S.E. England District, Geological Survey, to Wain-

wright, dated 1 January 1954. Though soil samples were taken in other areas there is no record of their examination and they are no longer available.

⁷ This plan (FIG. 1) and all others show trenches as laid out, without distinguishing the parts dug.

⁸ This was originally thought to represent the back of the wall, a conjecture not borne out by the plotting of the other trenches or by a comparison with other sections.

⁹ As far as the records go this is the best preserved section of the wall, though it is possible that some parts in the cemetery were equally well preserved when first uncovered.

¹⁰ The handle illustrated (FIG. 11:9) came from these trenches, but the position is not recorded.

¹¹ Paul's Croft has been entirely built over since this report was written.

¹² The strip fronting Bath Road was cut off for houses before 1954; the new boundary is not shown on the 1921 map.

¹³ The main purpose was to obtain complete sections showing the relation of the bank and the wall to each other and to the older surface. The need to cover large areas, sometimes in bad weather, makes it possible that some unstratified pottery was missed, but a comparison with W. XII, where finds are fully recorded, bears out the relative scarcity of all pottery in this area.

¹⁴ The position of this trench was not known in 1963; it is not parallel to the series laid out in that year.

¹⁵ Wainwright's convention is retained on the published section, which therefore contrasts with the other sections in this area (FIG. 8). When R. IV cut across W. XII it became clear that the distinction was formal not real.

¹⁶ W. XIV is not marked on the plan (FIG. 9).

¹⁷ The section shows the larger stones in the upper part of this stratum, but it is clear that the drawing is schematic. It is possible that two strata have coalesced (cf. W. IX: E 21).

¹⁸ This is probably due to stones sinking into the earlier gully as in W. XII (p. 83).

¹⁹ But see p. 105.

²⁰ R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (1965), no. 100.

²¹ For technical matters concerning the earlier Saxon ceramic tradition see *Med. Arch.*, vi/vii (1962-3), 9-11; cp. also *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lxi (1966), 31-7.

²² The Whittington evidence is no more than a hint (*Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, lxxi (1952), 59-60). Cp. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lix (1964), 125-7.

²³ In this it may be compared with pottery of similar contexts at Wareham (*Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 130-4).

²⁴ The distinction made here between earlier and later Saxon ceramic traditions (the earlier often tempered with plant remains) is in general agreement with that seen in the material from Old Windsor summarized in *Med. Arch.*, ii (1958), 184, and less precisely with that at Cheddar (*Med. Arch.*, vi/vii (1962-3), 66).

²⁵ Mostly recognizable as shell debris.

²⁶ *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 32, fig. 9:3, 5, 8; *Oxoniensia*, xxiii (1958), 40, fig. 11, A3C.1; 41, fig. 12, C2A.1; for Avebury see *Med. Arch.*, forthcoming.

²⁷ Cp. *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 32, fig. 9:7, 9.

²⁸ *Oxoniensia*, v (1940), 49-51.

²⁹ *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 34 ff., 43; *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 86, fig. 34, nos. 37, 38, 39; the position of the pit yielding 38 should have been covered by the line of the Oxford town bank after the west end of the town was reorganized for the castle layout in the late 11th century.

³⁰ *Ant. Journ.*, xv (1935), 174; *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lix (1964), 146 ff.: it is difficult to know at present how far back into the 11th century these rounded forms were being produced.

³¹ *Med. Arch.*, ii (1958), 184.

³² *Berkshire Arch. Journ.*, forthcoming.

³³ Pottery of St. Neot's types and fabric is fairly abundant in and around Oxford, but has not been found further west than Hinton Waldrist, in Berkshire, 12 miles west of Oxford (*Berks. Arch. Journ.*, xlv (1940), 55-6; for maps, *ibid.*, l (1947), 50; *Dark Age Britain* (ed. D. B. Harden, 1956), 255, fig. 58; *Proc. Cambridgeshire Ant. Soc.*, xlii (1956), 45, fig. 1; li (1958), 62, fig. 6. Wares from the Northampton-Stamford area hardly went west of Oxford (*Oxoniensia*, xxiii (1958), 34-7). In the 11th century Cricklade's local connections seem to have looked southwards into the Berkshire Downs (*Dark Age Britain*, 245, fig. 54).

³⁴ We are grateful to Mr. J. G. Hurst for expanding the information in *Med. Arch.*, xiii (1969), 113-5, and stating that M. P. Leman concurs. The Beauvais ceramic is softer, but we have already noted that the overfiring of the Cricklade bowl was secondary.

³⁵ We are grateful to Dr. F. A. Sabine and Mrs. J. E. Morey for the observations on the quernstone.

³⁶ I.e., the gritting deliberately added to the clay; probably here shattered calcined flint, with little water-rounded material.

³⁷ *Med. Arch.*, viii (1964), 50 ff.; A. O. Shepard, *Ceramics for the Archaeologist* (1956), 57 ff.

³⁸ *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 80, 93.

³⁹ Vessels of this kind were not found in the pits under Oxford Castle mound (*Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 83 ff.; xxiii (1958), 55, 59; cp. also v (1940), 48, fig. 8, 1). Though there was a little evidence of their use among the debris in the pits on the Canal Wharf (Nuffield College) site just to the north, apparently put out of use when the area was remodelled for the Castle layout in the later 11th century (*Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 86, fig. 34, 38; p. 104; xiii (1948), 70-2).

⁴⁰ It contains more fragments of crystal-clear quartzite.

⁴¹ *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 84, fig. 33; 24-8, 102-3; for relations of a longer sequence, see also *Oxoniensia*, xxiii (1958), 55, fig. 20.

⁴² *Journal of Roman Studies*, x (1920), 60-7.

⁴³ E. M. Clifford, *Bagendon, A Belgic Oppidum* (1961), 62-74.

⁴⁴ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxii (1885), 234-5, quoting Colt Hoare MSS.

⁴⁵ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xli (1921), 272-80.

⁴⁶ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lvii (1959), 192-200.

⁴⁷ English Place Name Society, xvi (1939), 42; E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1947), 124.

⁴⁸ R. Fawtier, *La Vie de Saint Samson* (1908); T. Taylor, *St. Sampson* (1925); G. H. Doble, *St. Sampson* (Cornish Saints, no. 36) (1935).

⁴⁹ R.C.H.M.: *Dorset*, iii (1970), no. 183.

⁵⁰ The west bank, which is more prominent than those forming the defences of the borough, is marked 'Intrenchment' on the older O.S. maps and 'Town Wall' on the 1956 revision of the 6 in. map.

⁵¹ *Hammaburg*, xi/xii (1956-8), 72-3.

⁵² *Mat. Cricklade*, 79.

⁵³ *Med. Arch.*, xiii (1969), 84-92; A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1939), 246-9.

⁵⁴ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1947), 261-3.

⁵⁵ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 1961), s.a.; cf. entries for 997 and 1003.

⁵⁶ *Med. Arch.*, xiii (1969), 86.

⁵⁷ The figure of 2063 yards given in *Mat. Cricklade*, 66-7, is based on incomplete information.

⁵⁸ *Med. Arch.*, xiv (1970), 101.

⁵⁹ Olof Olsson, *Fyrkat, the Viking Camp near Hobro* (1959).

⁶⁰ *Trans. Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, ix (1967-8), 18-20; cf. *Med. Arch.*, xiv (1970), 91-3.

⁶¹ The horizontal layering of the gravels, earths and sands in the original bank at Wareham was also thought to imply an outer revetment (*Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 125).

⁶² At Tamworth 10 foot intervals (*op. cit.* in n. 60, 20); in the earliest rampart at Haithabu again 10 feet (3 m.) (Jankuhn (1937) 133).

⁶³ Jankuhn (1937), 126-7; cf. cut 21a (*ibid.*, fig. 89).

⁶⁴ Cut 28 (Jankuhn (1937), 189 (fig. 122) and 204-6).

⁶⁵ *Hammaburg*, v (1956-8), 63-6; for a restored drawing see pl. XXIX.

⁶⁶ A similar construction with upright timbers facing the older bank is implied in the statement that Archbishop William de Melton (1316-40) fortified the Old Baile at York with a wall of timbers 18 feet long. The walling was renewed in stone before the end of his episcopate, evidence, perhaps, of the temporary character of such timber revetments (*Historians of the Church of York* in Rolls Series, LXXI, ii, 417).

⁶⁷ *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 125.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, x (1966), 168-9.

⁶⁹ Jankuhn (1937), 127, fig. 62.

⁷⁰ *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 126-8.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, x (1966), 168.

⁷² *Bulletin of the Cricklade Historical Society*, ii (1965), map on back cover, iii (1966), 4-5, and vi (1969), 4-8. On FIG. 12 existing streets are drawn in solid lines following the modern boundary and ignoring later encroachments. Streets shown in dotted lines are based on other evidence.

⁷³ *Ant. Journ.*, li (1971), 70-85; for Cricklade see fig. 4.

⁷⁴ H. M. and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1965), 182-4; *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lviii (1961), 26-7; *Mat. Cricklade*, 1-20.

⁷⁵ *Med. Arch.*, ix (1965), 171.

⁷⁶ *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon* in Rolls Series, II, i, 377-80: *unum prediolium in Crocogelade civitate situm (aenne hagan on Crocogelade)*.

⁷⁷ *Mat. Cricklade*, 56-62.

⁷⁸ For the method compare cut 21a on the Dannewerk (Jankuhn (1937), 140).

⁷⁹ *Med. Arch.*, iii (1959), 127.

⁸⁰ Jankuhn (1937), fig. 76.

⁸¹ *Med. Arch.*, xiv (1970), 84-5.

⁸² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Dorothy Whitelock) s.a. 917 (text A)

⁸³ *Ant. Journ.*, xlvii (1967) pl. XVa.

⁸⁴ R.C.H.M.: *Dorset*, iv (1972), 57.

⁸⁵ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, lx (1965), 75-84, and lxi (1966), 38-42.

⁸⁶ *Trans. Lichfield and South Staffordshire Archaeological Society*, x (1968-9), 32-42; cf. *Med. Arch.*, xiv (1970), 91-3.

⁸⁷ *Ant. Journ.*, xlix (1969), 39.

⁸⁸ Jankuhn (1937), 201.

⁸⁹ R.C.H.M.: *York*, ii (1972), 10-1, 95-6 (Micklegate Bar), 116-8 (Bootham Bar) and 142-8 (Walmgate Bar). The minor gate at Lounlith (*ibid.*, 93) was only 8 feet wide.

⁹⁰ *Gesta Stephani regis* (Rolls Series, LXXXII, iii, 109).

EXCAVATIONS ON A MEDIEVAL SITE AT HUISH, 1967-68

by N. P. THOMPSON

with contributions by H. DE S. SHORTT, S. E. ELLIS, C. E. BLUNT
and JOHN MUSTY

INTRODUCTION

THE MAIN PURPOSE of this report is to record the medieval and post-medieval finds from an unsponsored excavation which began as a limited investigation of suspected pillow-mounds in a former conegar north of the church at Huish. When the supposed pillow-mounds proved to be dumps of rubble, a substantial area was stripped, exposing the foundations of medieval buildings. Work was carried on through two seasons and was then abruptly stopped by the complete flooding of the site. Sufficient evidence was obtained to show that part, at least, of the medieval settlement of Huish lay in and around the site. The plan and sections of the excavation have been deposited in the museum at Devizes; they are not published here because it proved impossible to interpret the complex of post-holes, some of them belonging to parts of buildings which extend beyond the excavated area.

MEDIEVAL HUISH

Available population records indicate that throughout the medieval period Huish was one of the smaller villages in the eastern part of the Vale of Pewsey.¹ Today the church, a late 13th century building, and the Manor Farm, which replaced an earlier building burnt down in 1864, stand alone. The present village lies some 250 yards to the south-east, but excavation has shown that at least part of the medieval settlement was situated in the close immediately north of the church. This close is bounded on the north and the west by a substantial ditch with an internal bank, still visible. On the west side the ditch continues south, passing west of the church-yard; a resistivity survey suggests that it extends into the orchard south of the church. The round pond south of Manor Farm is probably of medieval origin, but the narrow stretch of water extending eastwards from it is an unusual feature and may represent the remains of a southern ditch. The turn to the north at the S.E. corner may similarly indicate the line of an eastern ditch.

The present road east of the church takes a right-angled turn round the farm sheds before it turns north and becomes a cart track ascending Huish Hill. The same line is shown in the tithe map of 1842. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey map

(1817) shows the road terminating at the church, the cart track up the hill having been omitted, but the 1773 map by Andrews and Dury includes the road up the hill and suggests that it then passed through the farmyard—a line which would avoid the right-angled bends. The small scale of this map precludes certainty, but this would appear to be the logical line, later altered to secure privacy for the farm. This likely realignment of the road is mentioned because excavation showed that medieval buildings extended beneath the plantation of trees bordering the road and have probably been cut by the present road.

Conegars are found in association with many manors and it is generally accepted that within them rabbits were bred and reared for local consumption. The tithe map for Huish shows two closes called conegars, lying respectively immediately north and south of the church. A 'conigre' is included in a survey of 1574² and was described as a 'close of pasture'. It could not have been very large as it was included in the demesne, which totalled in all three acres. The smaller close to the south, just under an acre, is possibly the conegar referred to in 1574. The close to the north is larger and evidence that it was used as a dumping ground for building material, after the buildings on it had disappeared, does not suggest a close of pasture. The northern close, uncultivated and covered with rubble, may well have been colonized by rabbits and therefore called a conegar at a later date.

THE SITE

The close to the north of the church, about 2½ acres in area and covered with grass and scrub, has not been cultivated within living memory. An attempt was once made to plough it, but was abandoned because of the rubble beneath the surface. The southern part of this close is comparatively level and the subsoil is consolidated Upper Greensand. The northern half rises steeply, with a change of subsoil to Lower Chalk. Between the two formations is a spring-line. Bordering the road is a plantation of beech trees, which make excavation impossible in that area. The site chosen for excavation was in a level area on the Greensand subsoil and included a cutting extending up the Chalk hillside (FIG. 1).

THE EXCAVATION

In 1967 and 1968 an area measuring 52 ft. by 34 ft. was excavated and found to have been little disturbed since the demolition of the last buildings on the site. The area had been used as a dumping ground for discarded building material, some apparently from repairs and alterations to the church; amongst it lay a large part of a decorated medieval tile with oak leaf motif³ and a heap of stone roofing-tiles. Domestic rubbish, including many oyster shells, no doubt from the Manor Farm, was found on the site.

Below the unstratified post-medieval deposits was a platform levelled into the Greensand and measuring approximately 45 ft. by 28 ft. On the platform were the foundation walls of buildings and other structures, several hearths, and the remains of floors of puddled chalk, gravel and flint; over 50 post- and stake-holes and several pits had been cut into it. On the east and west of the site there was evidence of further walls at a lower level, but these were not fully excavated.

On the west of the site were the foundation walls of a rectangular building, probably a barn, 28 ft. by 16 ft. externally and orientated north-south. The foundations were constructed of small chalk rubble and were up to one foot high and two feet wide. Within the building, parallel to and one foot from the west wall, was a line of six large sarsens set into

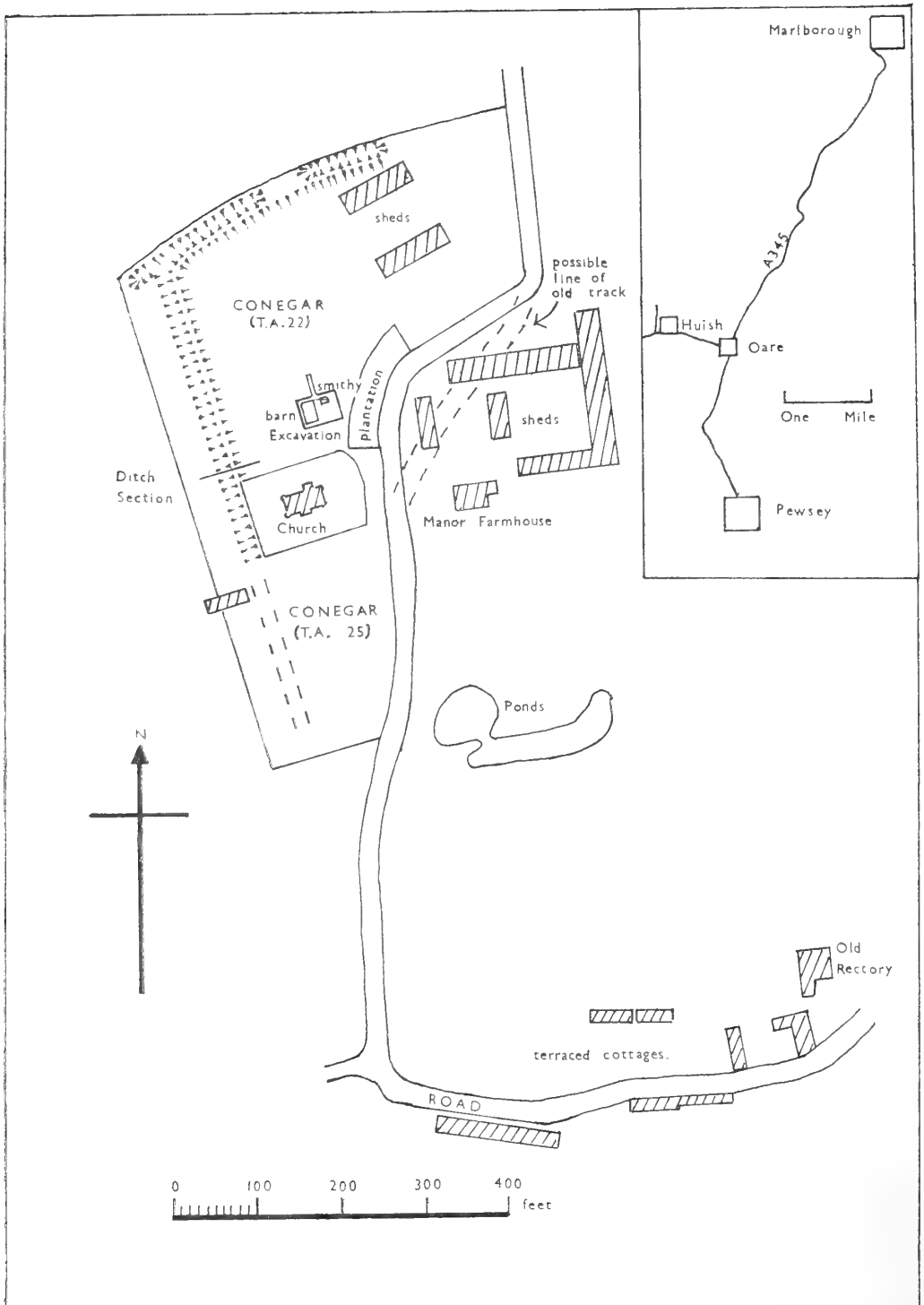


FIG. 1
 Huish. Map showing position of area excavated.

the Greensand and extending for 15 ft.; this was probably the foundation of an earlier building. Adjoining the south side of the building was a level platform made of dressed clunch and sarsens and measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The sarsens were dressed in a similar way to those in the late 13th century wall foundations of the nearby church. On and between the stones were found lead comes and fragments of stained glass of design similar to and in the same state of decay as those found during the Huish chapel excavation.⁴ The chapel glass has been dated to the early 14th century and it is possible that the building in question had been used for storage of this glass and the platform as a working area during its assembly.

North-east of the barn was a smaller building, measuring approximately 8 ft. by 10 ft. The area was thickly covered with ashes, indicating destruction by fire. Two hearths were found beneath the ashes; in one of them were two pony shoes, a small hammer-head and an assortment of indeterminate iron objects, suggesting that the building had served as a smithy.

To the south of the smithy was the base of a small structure with a stone tile floor and measuring about 3 ft. by 2 ft. The back and side walling, built of sarsens, was intensely burnt on the inside. Facing it and extending 3 ft. from it was an oval clay hearth. Whether this structure was an oven or was connected with the smithy could not be determined.

Little can be said about the earlier buildings on the site. The alignment of the post-holes and the patchy remains of floors showed an east-west orientation. A line of four multiple post-holes, 10 ft. apart and 4 ft. deep, indicated the existence of a large building of timber construction; the post-holes contained exclusively 12th century pottery. A circular hearth within the building may have been contemporary; it was 6 ft. in diameter.

A section was cut mechanically through the boundary ditch on the west, unfortunately at a point where it had been disturbed by a recent (*c.* 1918) horse burial.⁵ The ditch was 17 ft. wide at the top, 6 ft. deep, and flat-bottomed. The remains of the spread internal bank extended for 7 ft.

SUMMARY

The earliest buildings on the site, represented by post-holes and hearths, were dwellings. On the evidence of pottery recovered from post-holes these can be dated to the 12th century. There was some evidence in the form of foundation walling to suggest that the earliest buildings were superseded by houses of sill-beam construction, probably in the 13th century. Finally the houses were replaced by the barn, smithy and ancillary building described above.

The stained glass and leaden comes in the crevices of the stone platform of the barn show that the barn was in use in the early 14th century. Although the pottery within the barn's foundation walls cannot be considered stratified, the preponderance of 14th/15th century sherds and the absence of sherds of later date would suggest that the barn was not standing after the 15th century.

The sherds found beneath the ashes of the smithy were similar to those found in the barn. Unfortunately, the iron hammer-head and the pony shoes from the hearth cannot be closely dated. The fact that the smithy was destroyed by fire would suggest that it functioned longer than the barn; the two buildings were in such close proximity that the fire would have spread to the barn had it been standing when the smithy was burnt. Destruction of the smithy cannot be dated more closely than the middle of the 15th century.

The discarded building material dumped around the site from the late 15th century onwards would indicate that the field was left uncultivated until the present day. The only disturbance noted was a 19th century trench cut for drainage pipes.

The flooding of the site during excavation may be the clue to the removal of the community to the drier position of the present village. The early settlement may have been attracted by the presence of a spring, but subsequent interference with the spring-line by digging into the hill-side, combined perhaps with a period of increased rainfall, may have made the hazard of flooding too great to bear.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Mr. J. B. Strong, who at that time owned the site, not only for permission but also for encouragement to excavate, and for his generous gift of all the finds to Devizes Museum. Without the four contributors mentioned in the title this report would be valueless; I am indeed indebted to them. My thanks are offered to Mr. Desmond Bonney for reading the draft report and suggesting improvements. I am grateful to Mr. A. J. Clark for tracing the line of the ditch by resistivity survey. I should like to express my appreciation to Mr. Nick Griffiths for his excellent drawings of the metal objects. Last, but not least, I should like to thank those voluntary helpers without whose assistance the work could not have been carried out.

CATALOGUE OF METAL OBJECTS

by H. DE S. SHORTT

These finds, unless otherwise specified, were unstratified.

Serial numbers in the catalogue correspond to those employed in FIGS. 2-6; for illustrated objects, reference to the appropriate figure follows the serial number.

1. Iron steelyard balance with lead-filled latten weight, 13th century. Already published; see *W.A.M.*, 63 (1968), 66-71.
2. (FIG. 2) Tubular iron padlock, in the locked position and complete except for the key. The locking device seems to have been brazed together, and the massive link is hinged to the farther end of the tube. The lock had three springs, now very much decayed. ? 15th century.
3. (FIG. 2) Iron door key with reniform bow and the step plugged by an extension to which is fixed the lower part of the bit, as usual at this date. 15th century.
4. (FIG. 2) A large iron key typical of the 15th century, with a solid stem holding the lower bit and half the upper bit, inserted into a sleeve to which only the upper part of the upper bit belongs. The double bit and the form of the bow are a little unusual. There are traces of circumferential lines round the lower end of the sleeve, but the key is otherwise plain enough and perhaps country-made.
5. (FIG. 2) Small iron key. It is difficult to place a key in such poor condition. The bit seems to have been elaborately cut, and the small size suggests its use in a chest rather than a door, while the circular bow is often associated with the 14th century. If this is so, the somewhat flimsy structure and the solid stem suggest to me a late date in that century. The key was found on the floor of the barn and although there is other evidence that the barn existed early in that century, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the life of the barn extended to the end of the century.
6. (FIG. 2) Medium-sized iron key. Very typical 15th century example of a door-key, both in size and simplicity and in the reniform bow. The lower half of the bit corresponds exactly to the upper half and is fixed to a pointed stem firmly plugged into a sleeve.
7. (FIG. 2) Iron key with almost circular bow and hollow stem. ? 14th century.
8. Iron key, original length 122 mm.; now in two parts. Circular bow, rolled hollow stem made in one piece with the bit, now almost gone. 14th century.

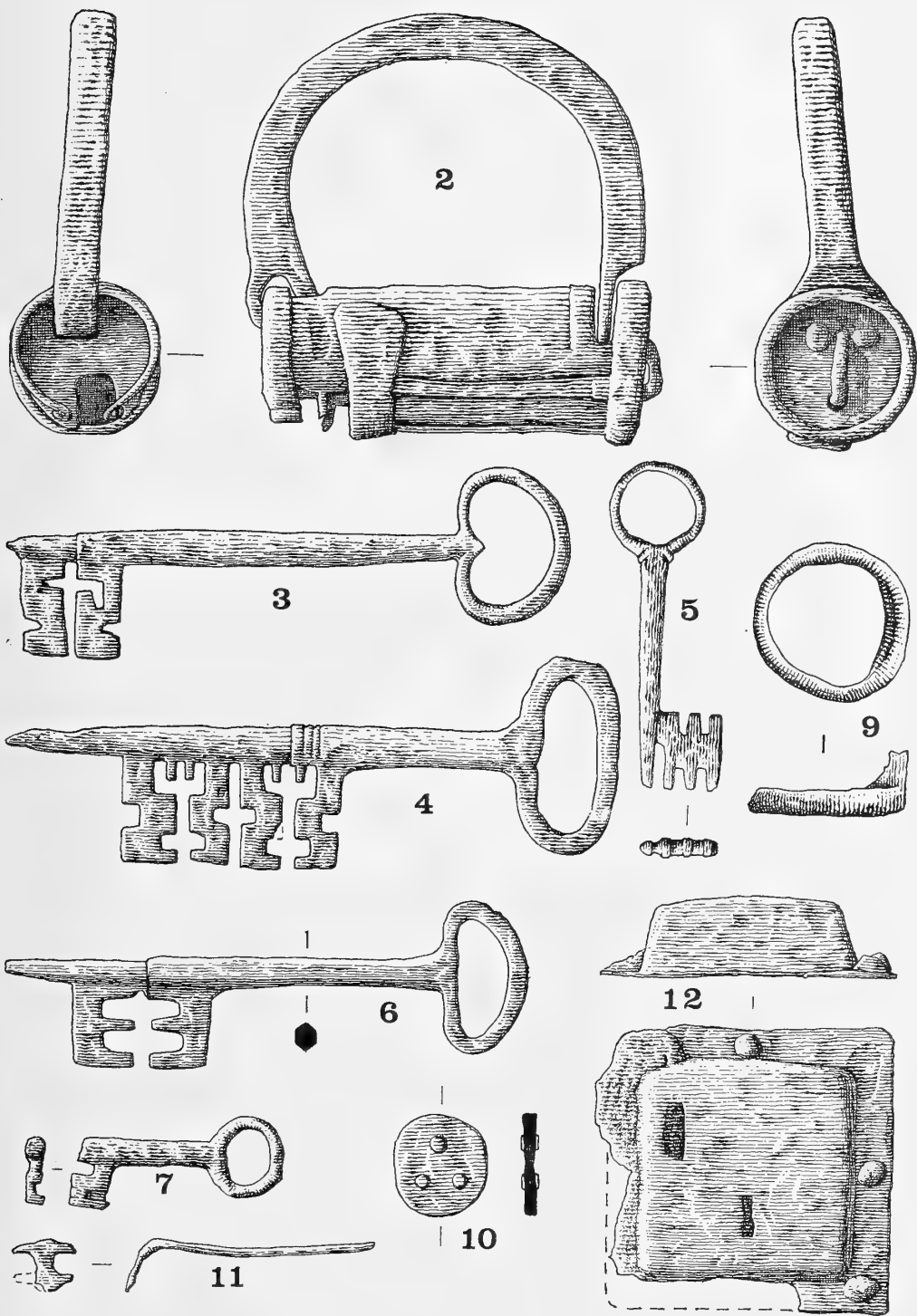


FIG. 2

Huish. Iron keys and locks. Scale, 1:2.

9. (FIG. 2) Iron ring, apparently part of a tubular padlock, as a part of the wall of the tube survives on one side. ? 15th century.
10. (FIG. 2) Circular iron plate from a padlock of tubular form, common in the 13th and 14th centuries. To this plate were once riveted the three spikes, each with a spring on each side of its point, like the barbs of an arrow. When pressed home through a pierced diaphragm in the lock, the plate could not be pulled out without the help of a key pressed over the springs from the opposite end of the lock. A complete padlock of this kind is illustrated in *Salisbury Museum Report*, 1964, pl. Ib.
11. (FIG. 2) Part of an iron key for a tubular padlock with twin springs. ? 14th century.
12. (FIG. 2) Iron lock. This form of tumbler lock consists of two plates riveted together, one having a rectangular cavity, and the two forming a metal box in which the lock mechanism is contained. Three of the original eight pyramidal rivet-heads survive and two slots, one for the hinged hasp in the upper left corner, the other for the key, bottom centre, are also visible. The key slot appears to have had a curvilinear shape. Various elaborations of this kind of lock occur. A highly ornamental example of Italo-Germanic origin is on the church chest of Mortlake parish church (F. Roe, *Ancient Church Chests and Chairs* (1929), 120, fig. 92). It is dated to the 15th century, the probable date of the Huish example, which may well have come from a former church chest. It would have been fixed to the outside of the chest so that the method of locking by pushing the bolt through the staple of a hinged hasp can never have been very secure. This same kind of lock was later adapted to make an even cruder sort of padlock, examples having been found on the shores of the Mediterranean. (Pitt-Rivers, *On the Development and Distribution of Primitive Locks and Keys* (1883), pl. IX, fig. 110c.).
- 12A. (FIG. 3) Lower part of an iron hasp for locking a chest. This would be a typical hasp for the lock, No. 12, possibly the one from this lock.
13. (FIG. 3) Iron knife with flat tang and three surviving rivets. 15th century.
14. (FIG. 3) Flat-tanged iron knife with broad blade. One rivet-hole survives in the broken tang. 15th century.
15. (FIG. 3) Tanged iron knife with broad back. ? Late 14th century.
16. (FIG. 3) Iron knife with flat tang, rounded blade-end and two surviving rivet-holes. 15th century.
17. (FIG. 3) Flat tang of an iron table knife. Two rivet-holes for the side-plate are visible. The pointed terminal has a curious projection on one side giving the effect of an animal opening its mouth. ? 15th century. A knife in Salisbury Museum is of this form, and has a double horse-hoof finial.
18. Blade of an iron table-knife with pointed end, length 88 mm., width 18 mm. ? Post-medieval.
19. Part of a small iron flat-tanged knife with one surviving rivet-hole. Length 53 mm. ? 15th century.
20. (FIG. 3) Two similar small annular iron brooches or fasteners. A similar one was found in the garden of Fisherton Delamere House in 1931 (Salisbury Museum, 121/63) and was considered to be possibly 16th century. Another was found in Bevan's Quarry round barrow (*Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 1967, 33).
21. (FIG. 3) The hinged working-part of a man's iron shoe buckle. 18th century. Found in the top soil.
22. (FIG. 3) Iron buckle with bronze tongue. The buckle plate, which shows traces of three rivets for fastening the fixed end of a belt, is expanded into a half-moon shape and is convex on the outer surface. It has a marginal line for ornament. Some part may have been broken away from the outer edge. The dating feature is the 'bow', in this case a substantial cylindrical bar, on which the tongue rests, held by the sides of the buckle. A small bronze disc is inset at the centre of the buckle plate and appears on both surfaces. On the front or convex face the disc is decorated with pointillé ornament.
23. Iron buckle of somewhat delicate manufacture, broken and with a section of the bow missing. The bow is of oval form straightened where the strap was attached and with a

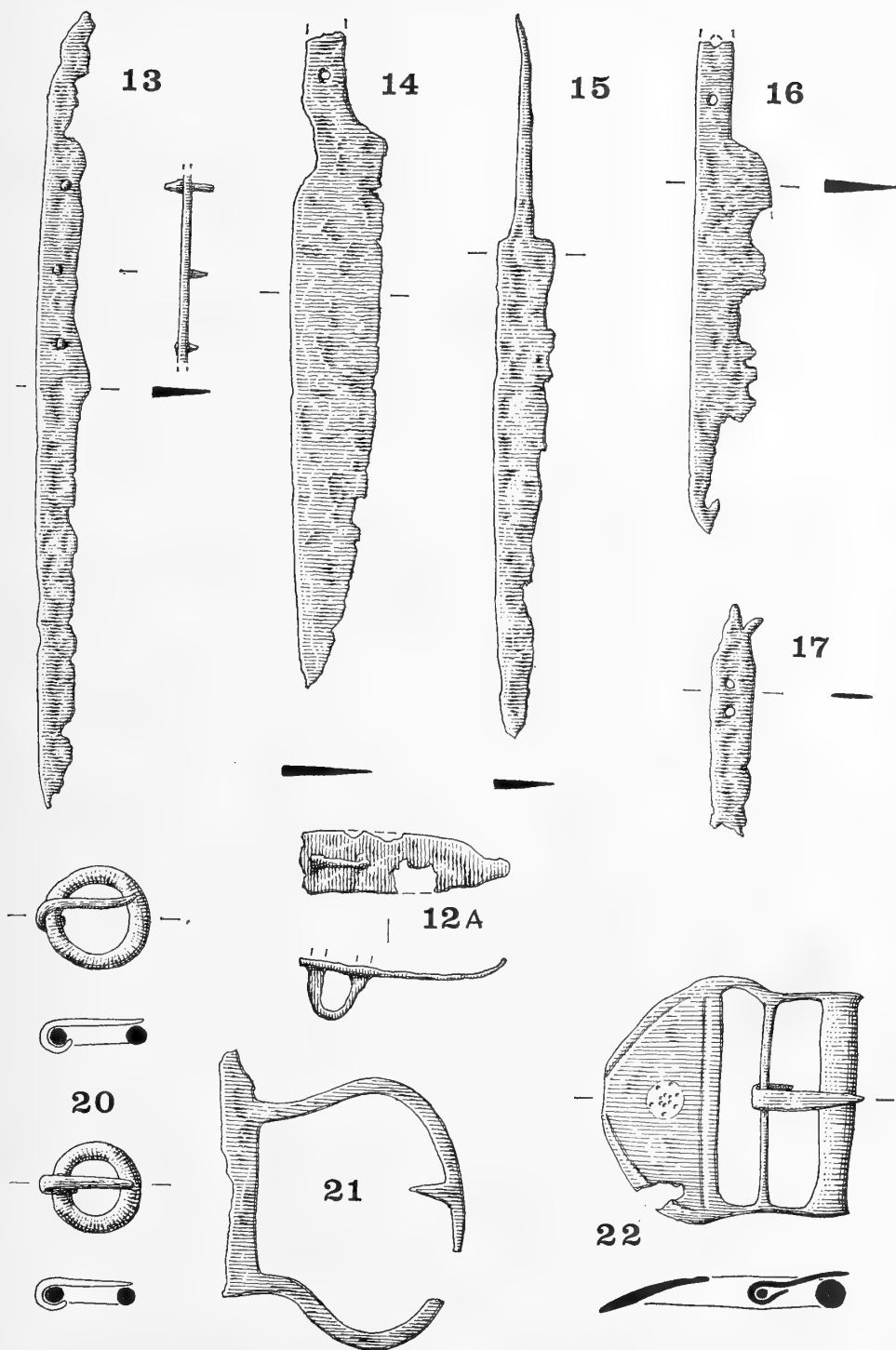


FIG. 3

Huish. Iron hasp, knives, brooches and buckles. Scale of Nos. 21, 22, 1:1; remainder, 1:2.

- small peak where the tongue (missing) rested. A rather similar buckle in Salisbury Museum came from Old Sarum (O.S.C. 105). ? 14th century.
24. (FIG. 4) Iron meat cleaver. This implement is distinguishable from farming tools by its very careful manufacture and refined finish, here including a suspension loop which in its modern counterpart would be a hole drilled through this corner of the blade. The long-vanished wooden side-plates of the flat tang also suggest domestic use. The shape of the handle is not perhaps good dating evidence, but knife handles of this shape found at Clarendon Palace correspond closely to the quillons of short-swords which can be dated to the second half of the 15th century.
 25. (FIG. 4) Iron arrowhead. It is difficult to be precise about arrowheads, but I would be inclined to think this business-like example was made for military purposes, and for the long-bow, possibly in the 15th century. It corresponds with type 16 of the London Museum *Catalogue*, p. 66.
 26. (FIG. 4) Iron ferrule. Although this object has the appearance of a pointed butt for a miniature spear, it is in fact far too small for any such purpose and I am inclined to regard it as the surviving socket of a swallow-tailed hunting arrow for use with the long bow, c. 15th /16th century, corresponding to the London Museum *Catalogue* type 15. A characteristic is the rapidly increasing width of the socket towards the wide mouth.
 27. (FIG. 4) Small iron hammer-head with claw. Although it is quite impossible to date on stylistic grounds, as it is of a form that has been current from late Roman time until the present day, it was found in a hearth (ashes above were undisturbed) associated with a late medieval pony shoe.
 28. (FIG. 4) Socketed iron spike of roughly circular section. Found in the same hearth as No. 27 and may thus be dated as late medieval. This may be a weapon of offense.
 29. (FIG. 4) Iron fire-fork. This two-pronged fork on a long stem, terminating in a plain round socket with a single rivet-hole, must have been a common enough implement for the open hearth of the later middle ages. A 17th century example is illustrated by Seymour Lindsay, *Iron and Brass Implements of the English House* (1927), 47. It has a loop handle, and a prong about a third of the way along the shaft from the fork, no doubt for use as a fulcrum. In Salisbury Museum is another and larger example with a wooden handle extending from the shaft, but the socket is divided and ornamented and the Huish specimen must surely antedate them both.
 30. (FIG. 4) Three-pronged iron flesh-hook with tang, badly decayed. ? 14th century. Cf. an example from Old Sarum (O.S.C. 144).
 31. (FIG. 5) Part of an iron hinge which tapers slightly from the pivot end. A thin projection from the wider end was bent in a U form to take a pivot and attached to the door on the other side by a nail through a plate of lozenge form. It is probably of medieval date. Cf. No. 32.
 32. (FIG. 5) Part of a simple iron hinge for a cupboard door, with the rear plate broken off. This hinge is of the same type as No. 31.
 33. (FIG. 5) Iron hinge for fixing a door to a pivot. The longer side is tapered and the end broken off, but two nails are in position and there is a third hole opposite the hole in the splayed terminal of the U-bend. ? Late medieval.
 34. (FIG. 5) One of three iron strake-nails with rectangular section, a further one is square in section. Probably used for fixing strips of iron to wagon wheels or else serving as iron tires themselves. Found associated with medieval objects.
 35. (FIG. 5) Lenticular iron blade without any sharpened edge, to which a solid shank is attached at one side, somewhat eccentrically. The shank may be the remains of a hollow socket. Possibly a spud.
 36. (FIG. 5) Square iron harness buckle. Little metallic content remains and the buckle is in four pieces. The buckle was found in a sealed pit, which contained exclusively 12th century pottery. Similar buckles have been recorded from Old Sarum, 13th century (O.S.C. 108), Bramber Castle, mid-11th century, Castle Neroche, 12th century, Dyserseth Castle, 13th century (London Museum *Catalogue*, 277).

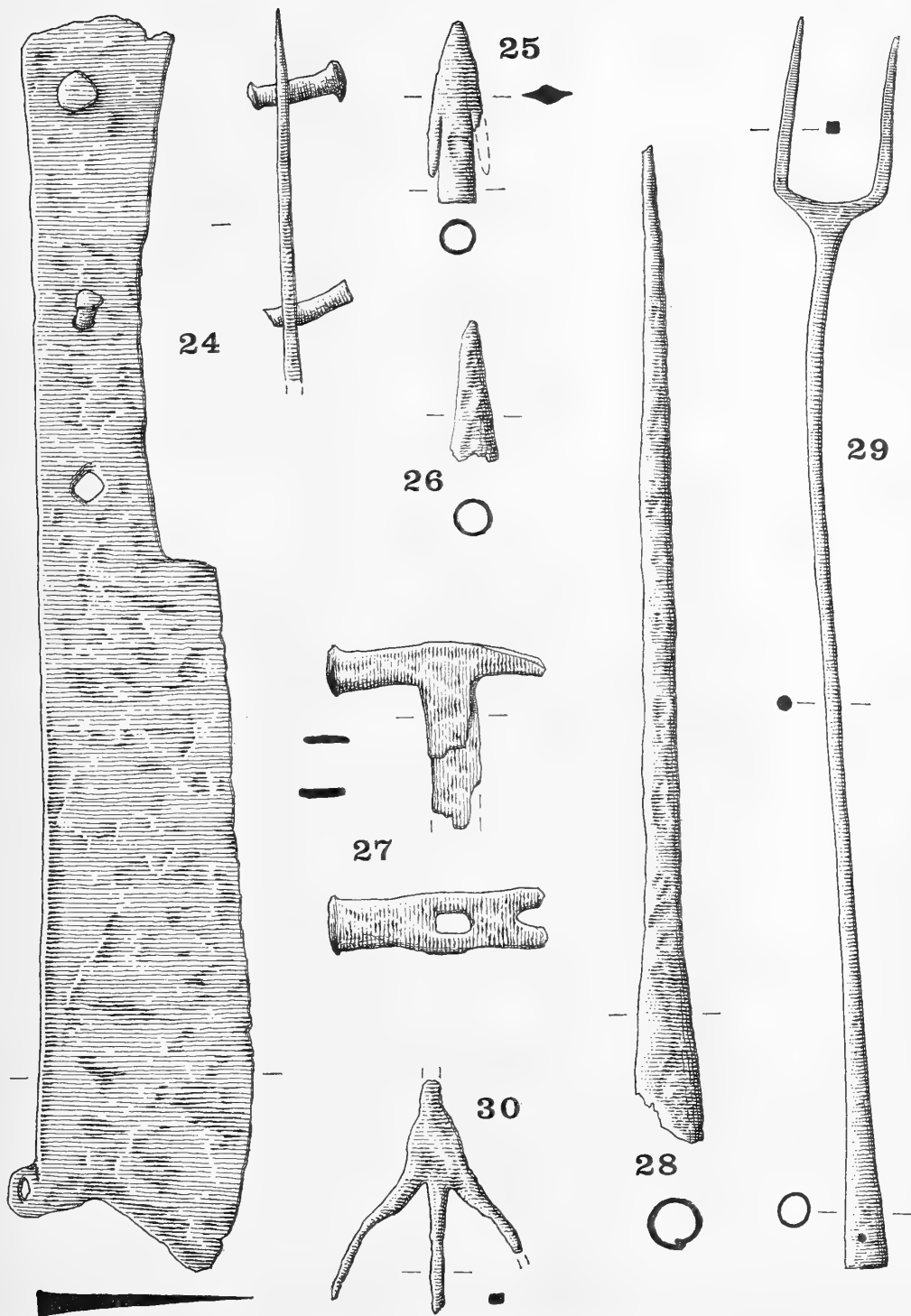


FIG. 4

Huish. Iron objects. Scale of No. 29, 1:4; remainder, 1:2.

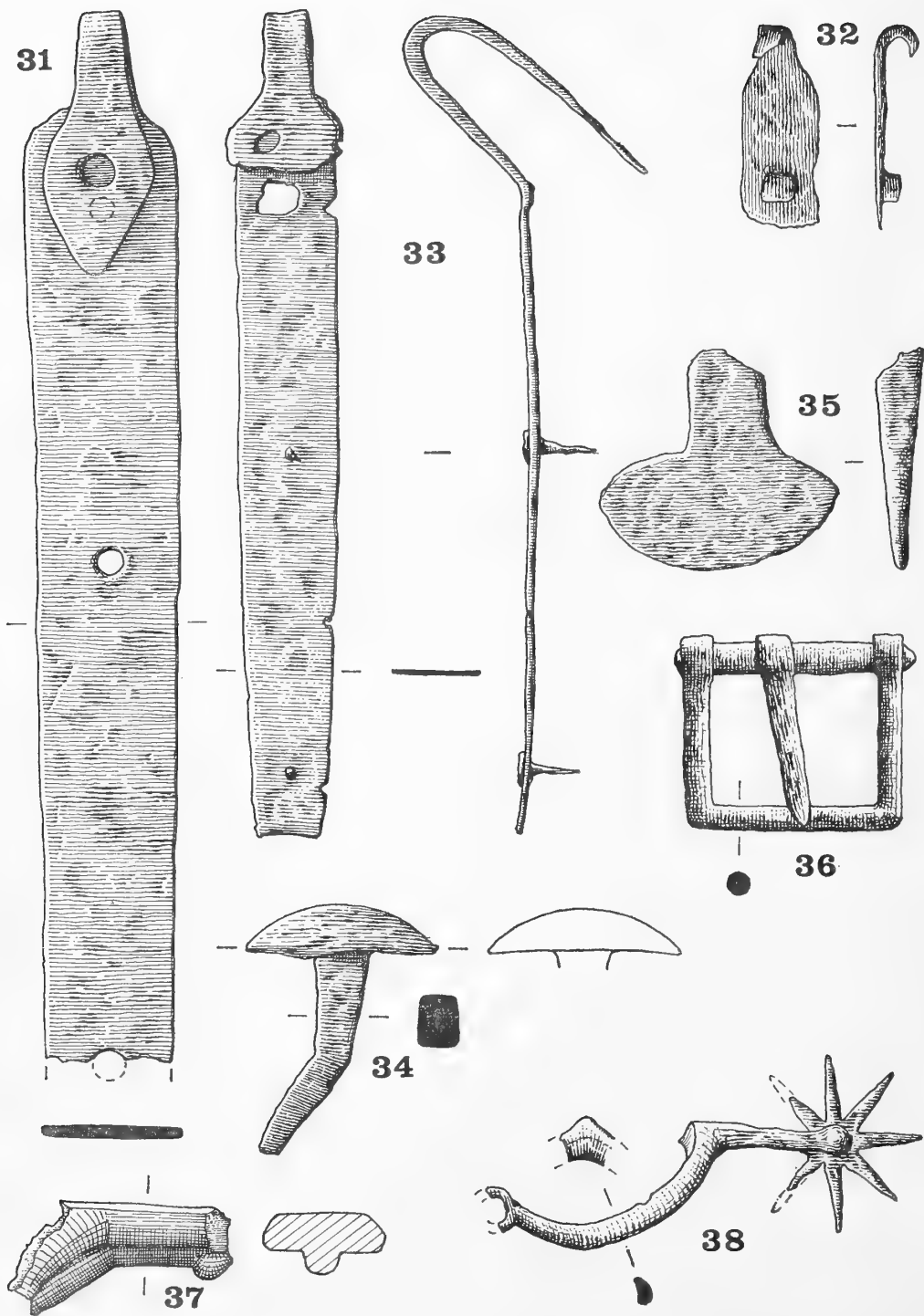


FIG. 5
 Huish. Bronze and iron objects. Scale, 1:2.

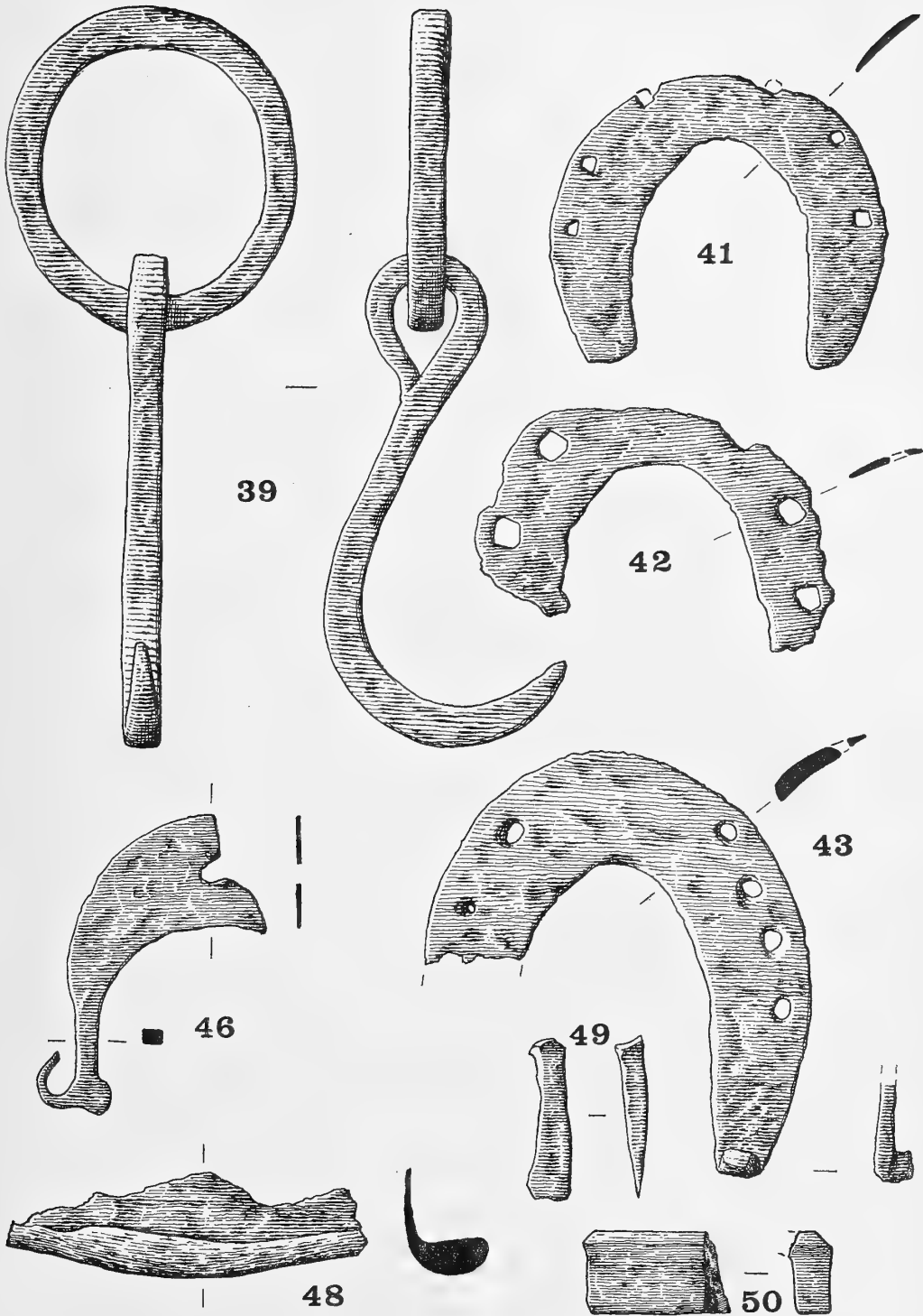


FIG. 6
 Huish. Iron objects. Scale, 1:2.

37. (FIG. 5) Lower end of a bronze skillet handle. Scrap bronze of this sort seems to have been thrown on to kitchen middens when the vessels to which they belonged were worn out or broken. They occur from time to time in fields and gardens, suggesting a dumping of the rubbish by way of manure. This example may be compared with one from Durrington Walls, figured in *W.A.M.*, LVI (1956), 394, fig. 3, but the present piece is even more massive, and the lump protruding from the rib below the handle at the point of fracture suggests an elbowed support of the type shown on a 14th century skillet illustrated in the London Museum *Medieval Catalogue* (1940), pl. LV. Other details suggest a like date for this piece.
38. (FIG. 5) Iron rowel spur (8 points) with one arm broken. As only one terminal (Type E, London Museum *Medieval Catalogue*, fig. 8) remains, it is difficult to be precise on dating. Probably early 14th century.
39. (FIG. 6) Large iron ring and hook. Both ring and hook are of sub-rectangular sections. It is hand-wrought and in good condition. One can only say that its appearance suggests the 17th century or earlier. It was found within the barn area and although unstratified it would appear to be the type of object used in a barn and, if so, it would be earlier than 17th century.
40. Iron ring and hook, T-ended. Length of hook 97 mm., diameter of ring 53 mm. This is a strong and well-made hook, carefully shaped, and possibly intended for tethering a horse as the T-end would prevent the reins from being jerked off the hook. The degree of sophistication suggests the 18th century or later, but it is hand-forged.
41. (FIG. 6) One of two pony shoes found in the hearth of the smithy. Medieval.
42. (FIG. 6) Part of a horseshoe with the suggestion of a wavy edge. If so this would be 13th century or earlier, but the condition of the shoe makes this uncertain.
43. (FIG. 6) Part of a medieval horseshoe.
44. Twenty parts of horseshoes, all medieval.
45. Six unused horseshoe nails, the longest 43 mm.
46. (FIG. 6) Uncertain iron object, possibly ornamental or possibly once intended for a sickle or pruning knife. It consists of a broad curved 'blade', from which the end has been broken away. Two holes seem to have been punched in it since manufacture, and a third caused by rust. If it had an edge, it has been deliberately blunted. The blade turns into a square-sectioned tang of which the end has been flattened and bent into a hook opposite to the blade.
47. Parts of a badly rusted sickle. The extreme length when the parts are placed together is 322 mm. The width of the blade and the flange suggest recent date, perhaps early 19th century. The sickle was recovered from an area which had been disturbed.
48. (FIG. 6) Tip of an iron coulter, probably medieval. Complete examples are illustrated in the London Museum *Medieval Catalogue* (1940), pl. XXII.
49. (FIG. 6) Part of a ? smith's iron chisel, probably medieval.
50. (FIG. 6) Iron socketed butt for shaft.
51. Iron bradawl, length 111 mm., square section at tang, the rest circular.
52. A miscellaneous collection of iron objects, including nails, staples, wall hooks, door pivots, and many unidentifiable pieces of iron.

HONESTONES

Six fragments of honestones were recovered from the site. Nos. 4 and 5 were in a sealed pit associated with an iron harness buckle and pottery exclusively of the 12th century; nothing of later date was found in the pit. No. 3 was in a mortar-like material covering the pit. Whether this material was flooring of a medieval structure or contemporary with the fill of the pit could not be determined. It would be safe to date all three fragments to the medieval period. No. 6, which is petrologically distinct from the other five fragments, was unstratified in a layer beneath the topsoil; the majority of finds at this level were of medieval date.

Petrological Report, by S. E. Ellis

All but one of the hones (i.e., Nos. 1-5) are similar in mineralogy and texture and may well have come from the same geological source. The rock is a gritty greywacké containing much weathered feldspar and mica, and closely resembles honestones of type IIB(7) (S. E. Ellis, *Bull. Brit. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1969)). I have not recorded this type from any Saxon or medieval site; the examples I have described are either Romano-British or post-medieval. It has not been possible to pin down to any particular locality owing to its lack of any very distinctive characters; similar rocks are widespread in folded mountain regions. However, examples of Devonian and (even more so) Carboniferous age are especially common in the folded areas of Devon-Cornwall and Brittany, which are also fairly close to the site, and the source is probably in one of these. Another possibility is the Forest of Dean area—on the whole less likely. Of course, the uncommonness of this type on Saxon and medieval sites is not evidence as to archaeological age level.

The contrary may be true of the remaining hone (No. 6); this is a lineated schist or mullion of the common medieval type, no. IA(1) in my list, a type which outnumbers all others combined on English sites ranging from the early 10th to the 16th century. I have traced it to a source well-known to Scandinavian archaeologists, i.e., Eidsborg, Telemark, in the centre of Southern Norway.

COIN AND JETTONS

by C. E. BLUNT

The coin

Venetian soldino of Michele Steno, Doge 1400-1413.

Obv. + MIC[hAEL] STEN' DVX

Figure of doge left. Symbol D with star over.

Rev. + ·S· MARCVS· VENETI

Winged lion.

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, 6. Wt. 0.367 gm.

Venetian soldini are fairly frequent as casual finds in this country and are to be identified with the 'galley halfpence' which circulated despite official prohibition (*cf.* P. Spafford, *Continental Coins in late-medieval England*, *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, XXXII (1962), 74).

The jettons

Two jettons were found, neither of them in a stratified context. Both are of a type that frequently occurs in this country, showing on one side a shield of three fleur de lis, and, on the other, a cross with each arm ending in a fleur de lis, the whole enclosed in a quatrefoil. Their condition is however quite exceptionally good and the patina very similar. Detailed points on each are:—

1. diam. 26 mm. Obv. Initial mark cross pattée. Legend AVE MARIA GRATIA PL. Star after *Ave*; rose and leaves after *Maria*. A star above and on each side of shield.

Rev. Rose and leaves in the spandrils of the quatrefoil: 'wedges' on points of cusps. No lettering.

2. diam. 27 mm. Obv. Initial mark cross saltire. Legend AVE MARIA GRATIA. The 'E' in *Ave* reversed; annulet after *Maria*. Annulet and two pellets above shield; four single pellets either side.

Rev. Annulet and two pellets in two spandrils; two annulets and a pellet in the other two. At points of two cusps the letter 'A'; at the other two 'M' (or 'W').

Mr. S. E. Rigold, who has made a special study of jettons found in this country, has kindly looked at these two. They represent stages in what appears to be continuous series of technical degeneration from the French official jettons of the late 14th century, but the place of manufacture, in France or the Low Countries is uncertain. He provisionally describes the first as 'late official' and ascribes it to the mid-15th century. It is just possible that the rose-and-leaves ornament, which occurs on both sides, points to a Tournai origin. The second, which is of a detailing and technique more commonly found, but which became even more slovenly, he calls a 'French derivative' and dates to the late 15th century.

POTTERY

by JOHN MUSTY

Approximately 750 sherds were offered for examination and from these 47 examples have been selected for detailed description and illustration. The date range of the majority is 12th–15th century, that falling outside this bracket being residual pottery from earlier periods (EIA and RB represented by a few undistinguished sherds) and including one sherd (FIG. 7:26) from a spouted vessel which may be of 11th/12th century date. In terms of structures, the pottery from pits and post-holes fits into the earliest part of the dating range (i.e., 12th century). From the floors of the later medieval structures, although including individual sherds of 12th/13th century date, there is a preponderance of 14th/15th century pottery. The late 15th century and 16th century sherds were recovered from layers above the floors and from dumps of discarded building material which included fragments of glazed tiles and worked stones, indicating a period when the nearby church was under repair. The overall content of glazed ware is low (approximately three dozen sherds in all), the predominating component being coarse gritty and sandy wares from cooking pots and bowls.

The fabric of some of the medieval wares is characterized by white flecking or pock-marking due to a leaching out of CaCO_3 , presumably from limestone detritus or chalk fragments present in the clay or added to it intentionally. The pock-marked wares are entirely different to those of South Wiltshire, but almost identical to material from a kiln site (wasters only) that I have recently excavated at Minety, North Wiltshire, approximately 20 miles to the north-west. It does not necessarily follow that the Huish pock-marked pottery was made at Minety as similar wares may have been produced in a number of centres in North Wiltshire or adjoining counties—it is likely, for example, that other kiln sites will be located in the 'Braden Forest' area, and the sites identified as possible kilns at Wootton Bassett may fall in this category (*W.A.M.*, 28 (1895), 263–4). Thus in broad terms the origins for the gritty, white-flecked and pock-marked wares are to be found in North rather than South Wiltshire. Confirmation of this is also provided by the fact that there are no examples of the typical scratch-marked wares of South Wiltshire, which invariably form a component of coarse ware groups of that area; the same observation was made when a pottery group from Huish church was examined (*W.A.M.*, 62 (1967), 65). The micaceous sandy ware also represented in the Huish pottery is, on the other hand, similar to that found in the Salisbury area and also in West Wiltshire and beyond; for example it was associated with structures of the earliest phase at Gomeldon DMV and is there dated as mid to late 12th century.

The glazed wares have some affinities with South Wiltshire, if only in the quality of glazing. There are a few sherds with glaze of Laverstock quality, although not necessarily made there and no sherds can be specifically attributed to the Laverstock kilns. The only distinct import is the sherd of Raeren stoneware (FIG. 9:45). I had been inclined to attribute a rich green glazed strap handle in a whitish glaze (FIG. 9:46) to a French source, but Mr. Stephen Moorhouse, who has examined it, has suggested that it is Surrey ware. The rim from another similar cup (FIG. 9:47), but not in a low iron content clay, he suggests comes from the Oxford area. There are also two sherds with white stripe decoration of the

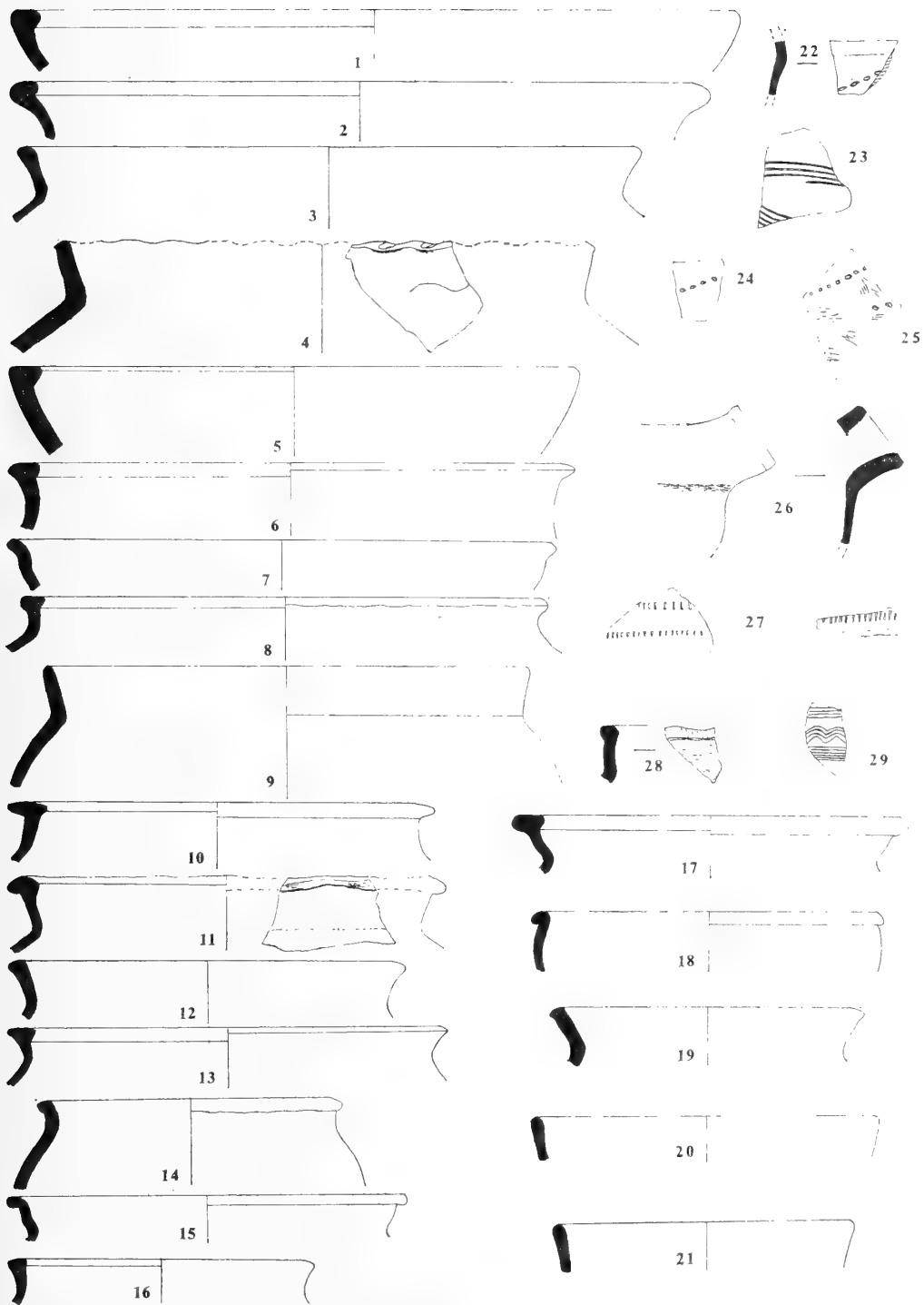


FIG. 7

Huish. 12th century pottery. Scale, 1:4.

type that I have previously recorded as having been found at the other Wiltshire sites of Budbury (*W.A.M.*, 65 (1970), 154) and Farleigh Hungerford, all probably attributable to a 14/15th century date.

As already indicated, the main forms represented are those of cooking pots and bowls. However one unusual and comparatively rare type is a money box (FIG. 9:38). The sherd recovered represents less than 1/16th of the whole, but the small size of the vessel, and possible shapes for its reconstruction, leave a money box as the most likely form. There are also sherds from two bung-hole pots (FIG. 8:31), with thumb-pressing around the basal angle; two pipkin feet (FIG. 9:42 and 43); and two vessels of the skillet (frying pan) type (FIG. 8:33 and FIG. 9:44), one of 13th/14th century date and the other later.

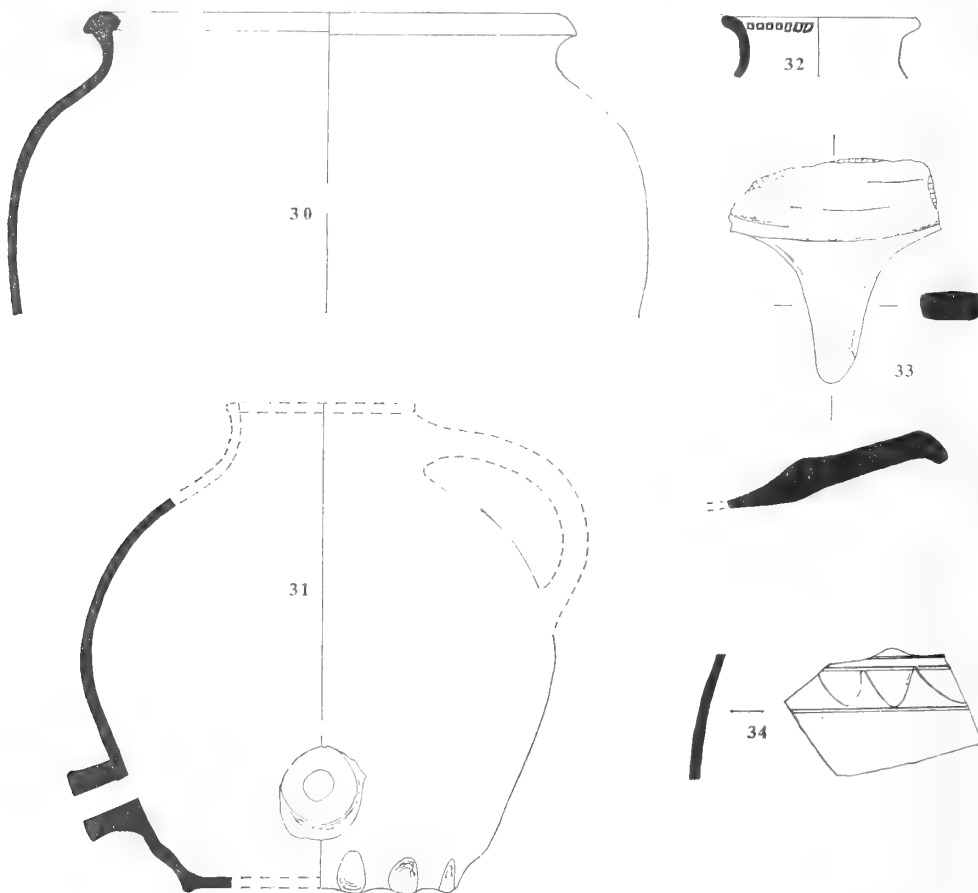


FIG. 8

Huish. 13th or early 14th century pottery. Scale, 1:4.

ILLUSTRATED POTTERY (FIGS. 7-9)

The numbers of the pits (P.) and post-holes (P.H.) from which the sherds were recovered have been omitted from the list, as the plans, for reasons already given, are not published. The sherds however are numbered and can be related to the plans deposited at Devizes Museum. Unless specifically noted, the remainder of the sherds must be considered unstratified, although all were found well below the top-soil.

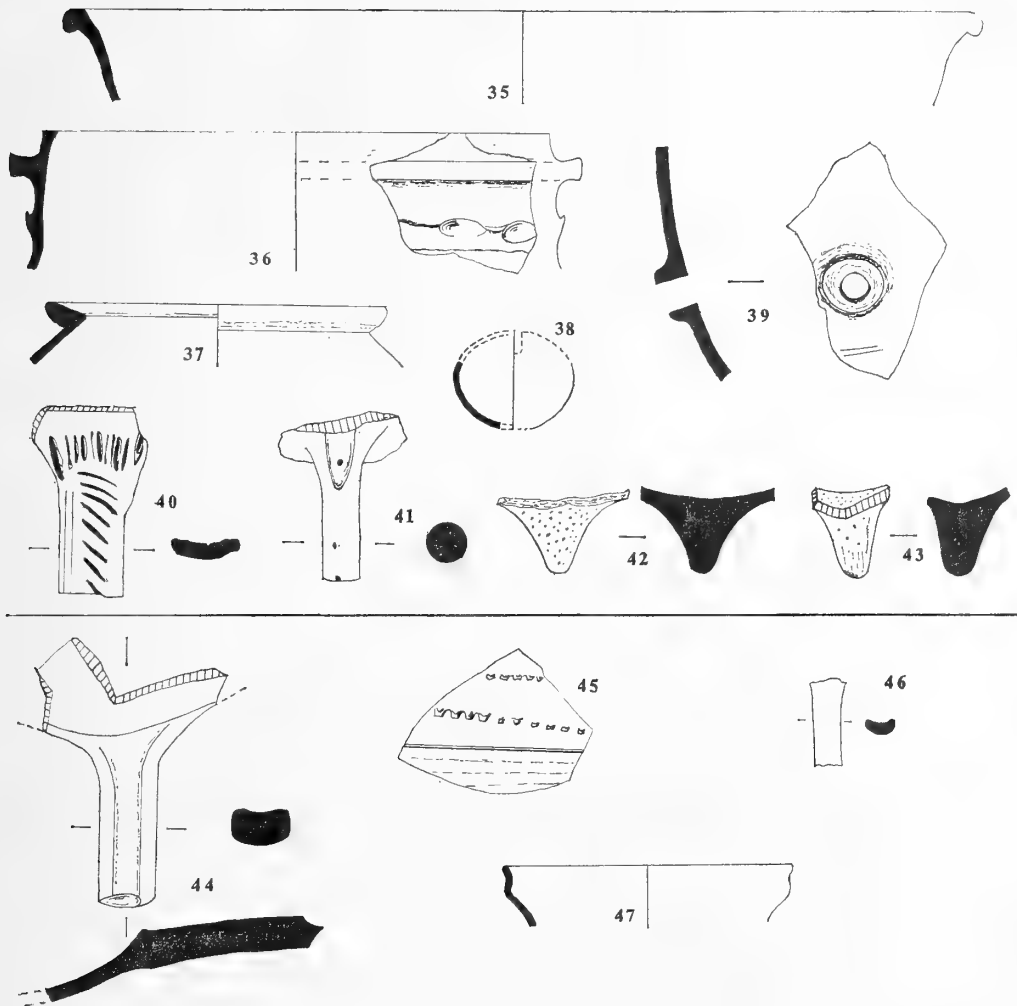


FIG. 9

Huish. Top: 14th-15th century pottery. Bottom: late 15th-early 16th century. Scale, 1:4.

Twelfth century wares

1. P. Bowl with a thick wall in grey to buff white-flecked ware. Probably 12th century in view of context.
2. Cooking pot in buff to grey fabric with fragments of flint breaking the surface.
3. P. Cooking pot in brownish buff white-flecked ware.
4. Cooking pot in grey ware with some white flecking.
5. P. Bowl in a brownish gritty fabric with white flecking.
6. P. Cooking pot in grey to light buff ware, with fragments of flint breaking the surface.
7. P.H. Bowl in a lightly gritted buff fabric.
8. P. Cooking pot in grey lightly gritted ware.
9. Cooking pot in light to dark grey ware, with some white flecking.
10. Cooking pot in grey and buff fabric with slight white flecking.

11. P. Cooking pot in buff white-flecked ware.
12. P. Cooking pot in buff micaceous sandy ware.
13. P. Cooking pot in brownish buff to grey lightly gritty ware.
14. P.H. Cooking pot in light grey to dark grey gritty ware.
15. P. Vessel in brown micaceous sandy ware.
16. P. Cooking pot in grey lightly gritty ware.
17. Cooking pot in orange to buff fabric with fragments of flint breaking the surface.
18. P.H. Vessel in buff micaceous sandy ware.
19. P.H. Cooking pot in grey to reddish-brown gritty fabric. 12/13th century.
- 20 and 21. P.H. Rims of vessels in micaceous sandy ware. Ware is identical with examples from sites in the Salisbury area (Old Sarum, Gomeldon, etc.) which date to the second half of the 12th century.
22. P.H. Buff fabric with slight glitter resembling, but not identical with, micaceous sandy ware. Unglazed and with a series of stamped impressions which closely resemble those on Nos. 24 and 25 which are of similar fabric. The three sherds must be precisely contemporaneous and probably of 12th century date.
23. P.H. Thick body sherd in grey gritty ware with deeply incised curvilinear decoration.
- 24 and 25. P. See No. 22. Colour difference only is grey inner surface rather than buff as outside.
26. P. Spouted vessel of a type in which the spout springs from the rim. Grey ware with limestone detritus specks. An early form likely to be residual and of 11th/12th century date.
27. P.H. Two body sherds from an unglazed (? jug) in buff ware with rouletted decoration. This decoration is similar to that on 12th century tripod pitchers but the sherds also resemble material obtained from the hearth of Building 7A, Gomeldon (dated 13th/14th century) and thus the present examples are not necessarily of 12th century date.
28. P.H. Rim sherd in micaceous sandy ware.
29. P. Sherd in grey ware with yellow green external glaze and decorated with a rather irregular curvilinear decoration framed with scored circumferential lines. Probably from a tripod pitcher and of 12th century date.

Thirteenth or early fourteenth century

30. Cooking pot in hard metallic grey ware with buff tonings, but with weathering out of particles from the inner surface.
31. A quarter of a bung-hole pot in brownish ware, grey in fracture. Comparatively crudely made and with much weathering out of particles from the inner surface. The basal heel is thumb-pressed, the impressions being well formed and spaced out. The vessel was found touching the inner foundation wall of the barn. (There was only a small amount of base recovered and it was difficult to determine whether it has a sagging or flat base. Most of the medieval bung-hole pots recorded have sagging bases, but in my opinion, the base of this vessel is flat. N.P.T.).
32. Jug rim in grey to buff ware with areas of thick green glaze on both inner and outer surfaces. The inner surface of the rim is decorated with a series of stamped squares. Mr. Hurst, who has seen the sherd, suggested that it bore a superficial resemblance to Winchester ware. However, its context is such as to suggest that it is a resemblance to rather than an identity with this ware and more likely to be of 13th/14th century date. The sherd was found on the platform of the barn in association with fragments of stained glass dated to the early 14th century.
33. Rim and handle of a skillet in pinky lightly gritted ware with transparent to green glaze on inside. The finish of the external wall resembles scratch-marking, but is probably due to knife trimming.
34. Body sherd from a jug in buff ware with external green glaze. Curvilinear decoration framed by circumferential scored lines.

Fourteenth/fifteenth century

35. Rim of a pan or bowl in a hard metallic buff fabric with areas of yellow green glaze on the inside.
36. Rim of bowl with an external lid seating. Brownish-buff white-specked fabric with grey core, but with grits weathered out on inner surface. Also weathered areas of whitish-yellow glaze, especially on the lid seating and the top of the rim. Body decorated with a thumb-pressed band of clay.
37. Well moulded rim of a cooking pot or bowl in buff fabric with traces of light green glaze at rim flange.
38. Section of a small spherical or ovoid vessel, possibly a money box. Buff, hard gritless ware with pronounced throwing marks on both inside and outside surfaces.
39. Section of body of bung-hole pot in refined fabric. Unglazed.
40. Strap handle from a handled cooking pot or pipkin. White-specked pinkish-buff fabric with grey core with one or two specks of greenish-yellow glaze. The upper face of the handle is decorated with a series of 12 knife cuts at the junction with the rim and a series of deep oblique knife cuts down the spine. In this respect, and in the nature of the fabric, there is some resemblance to Minety ware.
41. Rod handle from a glazed jug. Well fired (to a stoneware buff fabric with grey core). Dark green glaze (but not on underside of the handle). Decorated with a series of deeply stabbed holes along the spine (these would assist firing of the thick cross-section of the handle).
- 42 and 43. Feet from pipkins. Both in buff ware with a grey core and unglazed. No. 43 is white-specked on outside, but pock-marked on the inside from the weathering out of particles. No. 42 is pock-marked on both surfaces. Both (and more especially No. 42) resemble closely pipkin feet in almost identical fabric from the Minety kiln site.

Late fifteenth/early sixteenth century

44. Handle and rim from a skillet in a refined buff sandy ware with green glaze on inside. This is markedly later than No. 33. Found in rubble probably associated with church alterations.
45. Body sherd from a Raeren stoneware jug. Found in rubble as No. 44.
46. Small strap handle from a cup or jug in creamy white ware with patchy rich dark green glaze, probably Surrey ware.
47. Rim sherd from a cup or beaker in pinkish-buff ware with a rich overall green glaze on both internal and external surfaces.

¹ The Domesday Survey records a population of 11 in 1086; 22 persons were subject to poll tax in 1377; in 1428 Huish was one of the poor parishes of Wiltshire, with fewer than 10 householders (*cf.* V.C.H., *Wiltshire*, II, 165; IV, 310, 314).

² Savernake Papers (County Record Office).

³ *W.A.M.*, 62 (1967), 61.

⁴ *W.A.M.*, 62 (1967), 63.

⁵ A veterinary ring-shoe was found in the ditch beside one of the horse's feet. Mr. Sydney Williams, the blacksmith at Wilcot, recognized it as a shoe he had made c. 1918 and remembered that the horse had suffered from laminitis.

THE CHURCH OF SALISBURY AND THE ACCESSION OF JAMES II

by ROBERT BEDDARD

The King is dead. Long live the King. Never have those sudden sentences of ancient ritual, in which the decease of one English monarch and the accession of another is customarily announced to his subjects, carried a more dramatic message than on the death of Charles II in 1685. No sooner had Charles breathed his last than preparations were being made, quietly, swiftly, methodically, for securing the realm and for proclaiming the succession of his heir, James, duke of York and Albany.¹ All the strife and uncertainty which had been associated with the agitated years of No-popery, Exclusion, and the aftermath of both in the rout of Whiggery, were, it now seemed, at an end. The Roman Catholic James II not only reigned but ruled over the kingdoms of his royal ancestors. Perhaps, at last, England, which had seen so many upsets in the seventeenth century, could return to the politics of peace and the enjoyment of stability. So contemporaries hoped and prayed.

‘Everything is calm and quiet to a wonder’ wrote the King’s brother-in-law, Lawrence Hyde, the Anglican earl of Rochester, several days after the accession. The change-over had indeed been smooth. James had certainly done his best to ensure that everything remained calm. Shortly after Charles’s death, which had occurred between the hours of eleven and twelve on the morning of 6 February 1685, the Privy Councillors met in the Council Chamber at Whitehall ‘to prepare the forme of a proclamation’. They had barely finished their work when James, ‘who had for some time retired into his chamber’, rejoined them. Before entering on other business he decided to make a general statement of policy. Having ‘in the tenderest and most sensible termes’ expressed his sorrow at the death of his brother, the King, he solemnly declared ‘his resolutions to imitate his example in the government of these realmes’.³ To the assembled Privy Councillors he had this to say:

‘Since it hath pleased Almighty God to Place Me in this Station and I am now to succeed so Good and Gracious a King, as well as so very Kind a Brother, I think it fit to Declare to you that I will Endeavour to follow His Example, and most especially in that of His Great Clemency and Tenderness to His People: I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that is not the onely Story [that] has been made of Me; And I shall make it My Endeavour to Preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by Law Established. I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shewed themselves Good and Loyal Subjects, therefore I shall always take care to Defend and Support It. I know too that the Laws of England are sufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as I can Wish; And as I shall never Depart from the Just Rights and Prerogative of the Crown, so I shall never Invade any Mans Property. I have often heretofore ventured My life in Preserving it in all its Just Rights and Liberties.’⁴

If James's word held fast—and in February 1685 there was every reason to suppose that it would—then men could expect government to continue to function on acceptable Tory principles, such as had characterized the later years of the previous reign since the dissolution of the third Whig Parliament in 1681. The statement was, of course, designed to steady men and events by re-assuring the established Church and its members, in other words the politically privileged and politically powerful classes, of the new monarch's gratitude for their loyal support in the Exclusion contest. At the request of the 'Lords of the Council', led by the Earl of Rochester, it was quickly 'made publick', appearing in the next issue of *The London Gazette*, the official government newspaper.⁵

The publication of James's 'Gracious Expressions' set in motion a fresh wave of addresses.⁶ These public manifestoes were the main means by which, over the past few years, the crown's subjects had grown used to voicing their approval, or, as in the case of the Whigs, their disapproval of Court policy.⁷ From early February, throughout March, and well into April, the month of James's coronation, they poured in from all over the country, without pause and without appreciable diminution.⁸ They had two purposes; one was to offer congratulations on the King's peaceful succession; the other, to thank him openly and formally for his promise to govern according to the laws of the land. Of these the second was what mattered more, for it was politically significant. Whatever subsequent glosses were invented and put upon James's declaration by government propaganda, one thing was clear from the start: his subjects welcomed it as giving a firm undertaking, on his part, to respect the objectives underlying the whole of the Tory Reaction, namely the rule of law, the maintenance of the official Anglican monopoly in the state, and the retrenchment of the privileges of the governing classes. The belief that James was a man of his word⁹—a belief widely found and sincerely held at the time, and one which was eventually abandoned only with the utmost reluctance in the Revolution of 1688—largely accounts for the gusto with which England fell into the fever of addressing. It would be a serious mistake to dismiss the addresses as unimportant, mere essays in courtly etiquette; naturally they were that, but they were much more besides. They were an expression of that vital trust which subsists between a well-intentioned prince and his people. Essentially they were votes of confidence in the new *régime*.

To read them now, as they stand published in the twenty-two numbers of *The London Gazette* covering those weeks of intense activity, one might well think (casting aside the knowledge gained by hindsight) that there was scarcely a spark of disloyalty left in the length and breadth of England.¹⁰ Yet, spontaneous as their presentation often appeared, and it was an appearance which the government did nothing to disturb, there were tell-tale signs of organization and systematic wire-pulling. Courtiers and officers of state were noticeably active on this occasion, making enterprising usage of the various local connections to which birth and rank entitled them.¹¹ It was all very understandable, given the highly personalized character of politics then; in seeking to add lustre to their master's majesty they laboured to improve their own station in his affections. Aristocratic influence predictably played a big part in stimulating the response in the countryside, just as it did in directing the course of many parliamentary elections which were taking place in the towns and counties

at the same time.¹² In fact, in certain constituencies, as we shall see, electioneering and addressing kept each other company.¹³ Territorial magnates such as the Duke of Beaufort, a devoted Yorkist,¹⁴ and the equally Tory Earl of Bath¹⁵ organized the compliments of their respective satrapies, the Welsh Marches and the distant South-West—areas where they passed for prince electors in their own right, so overwhelming was their interest in regional society and officialdom. On one day alone Beaufort introduced addresses at Court from the magistracies of Ludlow, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Newport;¹⁶ on another Lord Bath, not to be outdone in discharging his duty, presented those of Launceston, Lostwithiel, Saltash, St. Ives, Penzance and Bideford, six townships in the dependent counties of Devon and Cornwall.¹⁷

However, it was not simply the grand seigneurs that besieged the royal ear, for as no man accounted himself too proud to be above, so none reckoned himself too humble to be below participating in this national exhibition of gratitude and unanimity. In London, for instance, the loyal addressers ranged from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs at the top¹⁸ right down to the rough-and-ready Thames watermen at the bottom.¹⁹ There was hardly an organized section of the community that was unrepresented either in the metropolis or in the realm at large. Lords lieutenant, deputy lieutenants, grand juries and local gentry, the very cream of county society; mayors, recorders, common councilmen, the corporations of innumerable boroughs and cities; the inns of court, justices of the peace, constables and freeholders; garrisons, militia men, and artillery companies; liverymen, traders, planters, and a host of lesser mortals—all hastened to bend the knee at Court, to worship the risen sun, and to give thanks for James's continued pledges of support. At New Sarum, or Salisbury as we should say nowadays, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Assistants were among the earliest of addressers, having drawn up their manifesto in a special meeting of the Common Council; it was presented at Whitehall on 21 February.²⁰ On 7 March, at the County Assizes held at Salisbury, the Wiltshire Grand Jury, 'with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Nobility, and Gentry then present', addressed James, protesting their loyalty and telling him how much they valued the security of his 'Royal Word'. Their address was presented on 18th March, almost a month after that from the municipality.²¹

The laity were not singular in showing their gratitude. Despite the somewhat dubious origin of addressing as a device for putting pressure on the central government, the clergy of the established Church were quick to appreciate its utility in the changed circumstances of a popish accession.²² They were every bit as forward as the rest of the kingdom to render thanks and embrace the advantage of the King's declaration; and, in truth, they had every reason to sing James's praises. As the paid professionals, the priests and prelates of the national faith, they stood most to gain from his generous promises of protection and support. It is instructive to note that they were even more to the fore on this occasion than they had been on comparable occasions, such as in 1681, when Charles II's declaration concerning the causes of his dissolving the two last parliaments had elicited numerous manifestoes, or again in 1683, when he had informed his subjects of the infamous Rye House Plot to assassinate himself and his brother.²³ Released from his attendance on the dying King, Archbishop Sancroft was the first to address King James, which he did in

person on 7 February. Such few bishops as were 'about the town' accompanied him into the presence. Cast down by Charles's refusal of the rites of his Church, Sancroft was enormously cheered by James's unsolicited words of favour, which he greeted with thankfulness and enthusiasm, holding them worthy to be memorialized 'in letters of gold'.²⁴ His spoken address was the first begetter, the grand original in a movement which was soon to engage the attentions of the entire political nation.

Presumably taking their cue from primatial example—for the Archbishop of Canterbury had spoken in the name of 'the whole state of the clergy', and there is ample evidence that some of the episcopate consulted him in the business²⁵—the hierarchy sponsored a sizeable contingent of like-minded addresses. Henry Compton, the aristocratic bishop of London, and a more energetic Tory in this stage of his career than his biographer cares to admit, led the beneficed clergy of the capital in presenting the first of many diocesan addresses.²⁶ His address was handed in within the week of James's coming to the throne.²⁷ So punctual was Compton's action in complimenting the King that there was a lengthy delay before the remainder of the diocese could catch up; it was not until the end of March that the outlying archdeaconries in Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire were ready with theirs.²⁸ In Compton's wake followed a train of clerical addressers; from Chester, Bristol, Durham and Hereford; from Gloucester, Ely, Winchester and Carlisle; from Worcester, Norwich, Exeter, Oxford and Chichester the congratulations poured gratifyingly into Whitehall. There was hardly a see that stayed silent.²⁹ Others of the clergy, themselves numerous and influential, preferred to join with their neighbours of the laity, and particularly with the civil magistrates; together they sent up united addresses from their localities, testifying, incidentally, to the close harmony that existed between the representatives of church and state.³⁰ And, as if to raise and lighten the swelling bass that rose from the dioceses and parishes, there came the clear-throated tenor of the universities—Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, that bastion of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy.³¹ Nor did the roll-call of clerical congratulators conclude with the academics, for the imitative episcopates of Scotland and Ireland echoed the strains of their better-placed English brethren, and followed Sancroft's adroit courtly lead.³²

Against this nation-wide epidemic of addressing it was only to be expected that the Church of Salisbury would not stand aloof, unmoved by the universal vote of confidence in the kindness of the Supreme Governor. And all the more because the Dean of Sarum was Dr. Thomas Pierce, an extravagant royalist of the old-fashioned Oxonian breed, a Cavalier who prided himself to a fault on his unassailable record of loyalty and service to the Ruling House. Temperamentally an authoritarian, and, in outlook on life, a superb egoist, Dean Pierce was also a man of decided partisan views, a cleric of pronounced party allegiances. He was first and foremost a Stuart devotee. His past life and career at every point declared as much. Almost his earliest essay in print, way back in the fatal year of 1649, had been a poem entitled, *Caroli τοῦ μακαρίτου Παλιγγενεσία*: an anonymous elegy lamenting the fate of King Charles I. Reading it today one can still recapture something of the extent of Pierce's commitment to that most fond doctrine of Stuart loyalism—the Divine Right of Kings. Believing, as he did, that kings were God's vicegerents on earth, he had unhesitatingly

compared the life and death of the Royal Martyr to the ministry and passion of Our Lord:

Now Charles as King, and as a good King too
Being Christs adopted self, was both to do
And suffer like him; both to live and die
So much more humble, as he was more high
Then his own Subjects. He was thus to tread
In the same footsteps, and submit his Head
To the same thorns: when spit upon, and beat,
To make his Conscience serve for his retreat,
And overcome by suffering: To take up
His Saviours Crosse, and pledge him in his Cup.³³

It was no blasphemy in an up-and-coming divine to think and write such thoughts; the comparison seemed natural, even rational to many royalists of the seventeenth century. It was a parallel which sprang from the godly reverence they felt—and were whole-heartedly taught to feel by the Church—for a race of kings whose inherent authority they recognized as God-given, as part of the created order of being. They were thoughts which belonged to a deeply religious view of government and society, a world in which the powers that be were ordained of God, and the whole of human life was lived under the tutelage of divine providence. It was a *Weltanschauung* which gained in intensity as a result of the upheavals experienced during the Cromwellian period.

Whatever Pierce's adolescent addictions to Calvinism may have been when he went up to Magdalen College in 1638 (and at that time they were not necessarily or even generally held to be incompatible with membership of the English Church), his education had been that of a thorough-paced, thorough-bred Anglican. The sharpening of the political conflict before and during the civil wars, attended by the growing polarities in religion, had fixed him in the firmer traditions that flourished in Laudian Oxford with their repeated emphasis on the high political role of the Church. A Fellow of his College since 1643, he had increasingly fallen under the powerful influence of Henry Hammond, a leading light among Oxford's theologians.³⁴ It was due to Hammond's encouragement that Pierce had taken orders. In 1646 he had been priested by Bishop Skinner in a clandestine ordination held in Trinity College.³⁵ If any doubts had persisted on the score of his doctrinal orthodoxy they must have been removed by his going forward to the priesthood, a grave enough undertaking for a young man at the best of times, but never more so than in the mid 1640s when the fortunes of the episcopal party were visibly on the decline. From then on he dedicated his life and not a little of his considerable talents to defending the shattered order of English life: to vindicating the rule of historical episcopacy in the church and that of an hereditary monarchy in the state.³⁶ Ejected from his Fellowship by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648 he had made shift to gain alternative employment,³⁷ and secured, like so many redundant royalists from the universities, a chaplaincy and tutorship in a private household: that of Dorothy, countess of Sunderland. After a spell abroad in France and Italy with his charge, the handsome young Earl, he had returned home, and had promptly been presented by the Countess to the Rectory of

Great Brington in Northamptonshire in 1656; the family interest of the Spencers being, it seems, sufficient to cloak Pierce's anti-puritan beliefs.³⁸

The fall of the House of Cromwell and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy was to rescue him from this threatened limbo of aristocratic obscurity. In 1660 he became chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II, and after the fashion of royal chaplains had quickly netted a canonry at Canterbury and a prebend at Lincoln.³⁹ In November 1661 he had been elected *per literas regias* President of Magdalen, his old college.⁴⁰ There he remained, somewhat in the nature of heads of houses, a troublesome blessing to his colleagues, until 1672, when he resigned.⁴¹ Once more the King had intervened to advance his chaplain's career. In May 1675 he appointed him to the Deanery of Salisbury, at a stage in politics when he was again attempting to work through an exclusively Anglican system of government under the auspices of the Cavalier Earl of Danby.⁴² It was fitting that Charles should have waited for this precise moment to bring Pierce into the hierarchy; it was a mark of the times, one that owed nothing to the discarded Cabal administration, with its projects of religious toleration, but everything to Charles's new-found orthodoxy. Throughout the remainder of Charles's reign the Dean had full opportunity to give expression to his instinctive and considered bias towards the assertion of authority in church and state. His conduct had been and continued to be that of a self-confessed 'old antediluvian royalist',⁴³ an unshakeable supporter of *jure divino* kingship and a firm friend of the Yorkist succession. He abhorred the pretensions of Monmouth, opposed Exclusion, berated the Whigs and reviled the Dissenters. The death of his former patron and the accession of a new master elicited an immediate response from him, a desire to merit attention and dish his enemies.

With a mind constantly concerned to demonstrate his own loyalty, and, *per contra*, to indicate the shortcomings of others, Dean Pierce was soon busying himself about an address of welcome to King James. He did not wait to see what the Bishop and diocese intended to do. He was out to make a fine show on his own account. He turned for assistance to the clergy of his cathedral and to those who lived and ministered in his scattered Decanal Peculiars, an extensive jurisdiction stretching into four counties, into Wiltshire, Berkshire, Devon and Cornwall.⁴⁴ Rather strangely, the earliest news we have of the address occurs in the pages of *The London Gazette* for the first week of April, where it is mentioned as one of a batch of 'very Loyal Addresses' presented to the King at Whitehall on 4 April; among them were addresses from the nobility, gentry, and freeholders of Kent and from Bishop Anthony Sparrow and the clergy of Norwich.⁴⁵ Regrettably no evidence has been found of Pierce's efforts to canvass signatures. However, though this for the present remains something of a blank, a sort of missing link, there is little that is particularly unusual about it. Even in the later Restoration period, which saw the acute politicization of society, it is still a chancy business trying to plumb the depths of political activity at the local level. What is much more of a mystery, and far more challenging in its secrecy than the obscure details of the canvass, is the problem of determining what exactly happened to Pierce's address after it reached Whitehall. This is the really intriguing lacuna in our story.

Although the arrival of an address from 'the Dean and Members of the Cathedral

Church of Sarum, together with the Clergy within the said Deans exempted and peculiar Jurisdiction' was heralded by a special announcement in the *Gazette*,⁴⁶ there is, surprisingly, no further sight or sound of it in official government sources. The text was never released to the press, which, in the circumstances, strikes a very odd note, since the government automatically published all addresses of importance. Nor can its non-appearance be blamed on the daily pressure of addresses for it was regular Court policy to reserve superfluous items—that is such as could not be squeezed into the current issue—for inclusion in a later number of the *Gazette*. It was after all the major means of publicizing James's popularity with his people, 'the people' understood in the Lockean sense of those who politically mattered. The government's zeal to make the most of addresses had already shown itself in the enlarged format of the *Gazette*. No longer a single sheet of print, the newspaper had been doubled in size and now consisted of two pages, four sides of crowded type, in which domestic intelligence took precedence of foreign news.⁴⁷

Meanwhile the Bishop and diocese of Salisbury had not sat idly by as their brethren elsewhere outpaced them in compliments to the crown. On 24th March Bishop Ward met his parochial clergy at the polls for the county; they had been summoned to return two knights to represent Wiltshire in the forthcoming parliament, James's first and, as time was to tell, only parliament. Warmed by the excitement of the hustings, the clergy petitioned their Bishop to lead them in presenting an address on behalf of the diocese. They clearly had no wish to be thought behind hand, and it is interesting to note that here the initiative came not from the diocesan but from the inferior clergy. An address was rapidly drawn up, and, having received 'the Unanimous Concurrence of all the Clergy present', was sealed with Ward's episcopal seal. It was formally presented at Court on 18th April, and promptly gazetted.⁴⁸ In content and style the address was unexceptionable; tediously run of the mill, it had no redeeming traces of originality either of thought or expression. Stuffed full of Anglican platitudes it nevertheless served its purpose. Moving from a sense of loss in the death of King Charles, the clergy took comfort in James's 'peaceable Succession to His Crown', which they tactfully took care to observe stood 'in the Legal and Lineal course of Descent'. Their sentiments were entirely proper to the leaders of a Church which in its public formularies and liturgy taught the doctrines of infeasible hereditary right, and which, in its political practice, had increasingly supported a popish successor 'in the worst of times'. More especially they voiced their gratitude for the King's resolution 'to preserve the present Establishment of the Government, and Church of England, the Principles whereof', they re-iterated, 'your Majesty most Graciously declares to be for the Monarchy'. Taking heart from this they owned themselves 'Devoted Professors of those Principles' of passive obedience and non-resistance sanctioned by the Church, and ended, in routine fashion, with the offer of their lives and fortunes in the service of the King.⁴⁹ Unassumingly loyal and patently sincere, the diocesan address said just what the Court wanted to hear.

But what, we may ask impatiently, had become of Dean Pierce's address in the interval? Earlier in date, certainly in its presentation at Court and presumably in origin, than that from the Bishop and diocese, it had still not seen the light of day. Was it simply lost, sunk without trace beneath the ocean of parchment that threat-

ened to engulf Whitehall? Unlikely perhaps, but not impossible. Keen though James and his ministers were on stepping up bureaucratic efficiency the administration was by no means faultless. Alternatively, was it that Pierce was *persona ingrata* at Court? Somehow that seems intrinsically less likely. He had always, as we have seen, been the staunchest of Tories and had done his utmost to defend and enhance the royal prerogative during the heyday of Tory Reaction, even to the detriment of his immediate superior, the Bishop.⁵⁰ That the Dean was personally acceptable to the new monarch is evident from his being continued a chaplain in the Royal Household.⁵¹ Moreover, he had exceedingly powerful friends at Court, including the on-coming favourite, Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland, his former pupil.⁵² He was on good terms, too, with Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys (shortly to be Lord Chancellor)⁵³ and the Earl of Mulgrave, the lord chamberlain.⁵⁴ The fact that the receipt of his address had been officially noticed in the *Gazette* similarly argues that he was not out of favour and that his action in presenting an address was not in itself frowned upon. No; we must look neither to clerical inadvertence, nor to personal disfavour, if we are to find the true explanation for the 'disappearance' of the Dean's address.

It is, I suggest, more feasible to suppose that things went awry only after Pierce's address had reached Whitehall; otherwise, how are we to interpret the government's even bothering to acknowledge it at all, let alone actually listing its receipt in the press? Could it be that on second thoughts authority had deliberately and consciously chosen to withhold its publication? And, if so, why? Let us now turn to the substance of the address. Whatever happened to the original document despatched by Pierce, and a careful search has to date failed to locate it, we are fortunate in possessing his own copy of the text, he having neatly transcribed it into that most fascinating of notebooks in the cathedral archives at Salisbury—the Dean's *Miscellanea*, a volume crammed with every kind of historical evidence dating from and relating to the period of Pierce's deanery.⁵⁵ Although the transcript lacks the names of the individual signatories, which must have lent the address much of its initial weight and superficial respectability at Court, it does allow us to surmise what it was that might well have given offence in high places. Let us take a closer look at the offending object.

Probably composed sometime in late February or early March, the address carried the unmistakable imprint of the author's genius. The extravagant phrasing of the superscription immediately reveals it as his. There we find the loving rehearsal of the titles of majesty, traditional in the main no doubt, yet bearing obvious signs of decanal improvement: 'To the High and Mighty Monarch James The Second by the Grace and Especial Providence of God, King of these Imperial Realmes, Defender of the Faith *etc.*' Such a splendid flourish would not have sounded amiss on the brazen trumpets of Purcell, a composer well versed in the baroque imagery of contemporary kingship. By expanding the familiar *Dei Gratia* into the grandiloquent phrase, 'by the Grace and Especial Providence of God', Pierce claimed divine approval, not merely for James's accession, but for the Tories' defeat of Whiggery and the ascent of their hero to the throne. The claim was characteristic, reflecting the strongly theological temper of a mind which, in its common assumptions and partisan beliefs, had not changed since it had first acquired fixity of purpose in the Puritan Revolution. The Dean's offence lay in his blatant bid to make party capital out of the King's declaration by

attempting to contort his words of reconciliation and gratitude into suggestions of division and retribution. Rather than construe James's words in the broadest sense, he waywardly preferred to arrogate the promise of support to himself and Anglicans of the same feather, to 'old antediluvian royalists' who clung obstinately to the party shibboleths of the 1640s and '50s.

Relishing James's reference to the members of the established Church as 'Good and Loyal Subjects', he sought to apply those words of favour not to the Church of England as a whole, but only to a party inside the Church—to churchmen of the strictest orthodoxy and of the same unblemished ultra-Tory persuasions as himself. To understand what Pierce was covertly driving at we need to see the address in its local context, that is in relation to the Church of Sarum, a cathedral which had ever since 1682 been riven by strife between the Dean and Bishop Ward; it was to this unhappy state of affairs that the address directly referred. The quarrel which had begun over the disposal of prebends had, in the intervening years, broadened into a controversy over the respective jurisdictions of the two dignitaries, the Dean claiming exemption from the authority of the Bishop.⁵⁶ Initially defeated in his arrogant claims, Pierce had not yet relinquished all hope of getting even with Ward whom he heartily despised. With the change of monarchs he hoped to re-open the struggle. It is worth noticing that Pierce's own title for the address, as recorded in his *Miscellanea*, differed from that printed in the *Gazette* announcement. Provocative as ever, he had called it 'The Humble Address of the Dean and *Loyal* Members of the Cathedral Church of Sarum, together with the *Loyal* Clergy within the said Dean's Exempted and Peculiar Jurisdiction'! And, as if to challenge direct comparison with that sent up by the Bishop and diocese, it came forth 'under the Seal of The Decanal Office'.⁵⁷ The implications were distressingly plain. According to the Dean, and it has in fairness to be admitted that there was some semblance of truth in it, the Church of Salisbury had fallen a victim to faction. What was ten times worse, the Dean hinted that the loyalty of some of his brethren to the legal establishment was suspect. It was not difficult to follow the logic of his argument and to see two distinct parties in the Chapter; the one led by Pierce and consequently deemed to be loyal like himself; the other cleaving to the Bishop and, by contradistinction, not so loyal. The government betrayed its uneasiness in accepting such an address right from the start by nervously altering the wording of the title, so that the key word 'Loyal' was edited out. It was a slight but crucial alteration; one which made sure that nobody reading the notice in the *Gazette* would be able to guess at the Dean's motives in promoting a separate address.⁵⁸

That the intention informing Pierce's phraseology was in fact divisive, an attempt to rekindle old animosities and to advertise recent disagreements, was borne out by the rest of what he had to impart to the King. He skilfully contrived to set limits to James's gratitude, confining it to 'those members' of the Church particularly 'who have shewed themselves good and Loyal Subjects'. The Dean insisted that the accent of James's inaugural declaration fell on sterling deeds, and not on empty professions of loyalty to the crown. His interpretation was that of the clerical activist, determined to practise what he had so often preached. By censuring 'the unnatural and unthankfull part' of the nation who had lent their willing aid to Exclusion and its

kindred project of Comprehension, he struck at those churchmen who had in their conduct fallen painfully short of the demands of Cavalier orthodoxy; to his highly subjective way of thinking they were just as bad, just as culpable in their compliance, as those wretched Englishmen whom he rejoiced to call 'the most seduced and most averse of our Fellow Subjects', the fanatics whom no act of clemency could oblige. His discriminatory remarks were by no means restricted to out-and-out dissenters from the Church, as was made quite explicit by the final sentence of his address, where he pledged support 'against all Plotters and Associators of whatsoever Denomination'.⁵⁹ His dislike clearly extended to trimming Anglicans no less than to papists and sectaries.

Again, it is important to relate Pierce's sentiments to the political events which surrounded and preceded them. He could never escape from the haunting memories of the Civil War, and feared lest there should be a recurrence of rebellion. The rise of Whiggery into a dominant political party in parliament was explicable only in terms of the backing which it had derived from ordinary churchmen alarmed at the spectre of resurgent popery and arbitrary government. There was, after all, no denying, as Lord Keeper North put it, that 'the Church of England men joyned in this cry [of opposition] as heartily as any els, for they were allways most eger against popery, although they had freindships with the Cavalier papists'.⁶⁰ While the major figures of the hierarchy under Archbishop Sancroft's guidance had laboured hard, and with notable success, to reclaim these unsettled moderates, a few intransigent ecclesiastics had made their task more difficult by calling for a hardening of party lines, rather than the re-absorption of temporary Whigs back into that mainstream Anglican conservatism which was the foundation of Toryism. Disgruntled careerists and neurotic royalists of the calibre of Archdeacon Parker at Canterbury and Dean Pierce at Salisbury could neither forgive nor forget such untimely lapses from orthodoxy on the part of their fellow churchmen. On the contrary they tried to turn them to personal advantage by constantly harping on past infelicities and ancient misdeeds. They openly denounced timeservers and reflected harshly on known collaborators with the Cromwellian Commonwealth. Faced with the disapproval of their superiors, they went further, and hinted at the encouragement which both received from hidden patrons already holding office in the Church. By these insidious tactics they hoped to recommend themselves to greater preferment and outflank existing church leaders. Hence their concentration on King and Court, the centre of power.⁶¹

The bitter party conflict of the late 1670s and early '80s had revived to an astonishing degree the violent passions of Civil War England. For Pierce the divisions at Salisbury sprang from divergent principles and contrary allegiances, rather than from incompatible personalities. His analysis of the situation, written in the autumn of 1685, is illuminating; it survives as an isolated memorandum in the *Miscellanea*. Having dilated on several of the 'great dissensions between the greatest and best churchmen' of the past, such as Rufinus and St. Jerome, John of Antioch and St. Cyril of Alexandria, not to mention the 'apostolic blows and knocks' exchanged by Peter and Paul, he descended, without any sense of incongruity, to a consideration of the contemporary Church of England:

‘Much less wonderful or strange ought it to seem in these dayes if any great difference does arise between a man of the old stamp, as the right reverend Bishop Cosins was wont to call an old royalist, and certain men of a new impression, who never owned the King till his restauration, nor the established Church of England till shee became of a church militant a church triumphant, and made her enemies strong enough to oppress her friends. Though there is no reason at all that they who were persecuted and ruined for their adhaerence unto the King, when he was kept out of his kingdom, should now be persecuted again by the King’s permission and that for maintaining the King’s sovereign rights against the ingratefull maligners of it. It may indeed be convenient in some respects, and for some men, that the eminently loyal in the worst of all times (wherin rebellion grew rampant, and rebels called their strength the laws of justice) should still be kept under hatches by such as commanded upon the deck.’⁶²

The quarrel at Salisbury was, he believed, ideological: rival philosophies had begot rival parties. And there is no mistaking Pierce’s studied allusion to his superior, Bishop Ward, a paradigm of the successful *politique*.⁶³

Seth Ward, it will be recalled, had been one of that swarm of busy graduates which had migrated from Cambridge to Oxford in order to replace (critics would later say supplant) the ejected royalist dons.⁶⁴ That was fault enough in Pierce’s eyes, but it had been compounded by Ward’s reluctance in 1660 to make room for the return of Dr. Hannibal Potter, his excluded predecessor in the presidency of Trinity.⁶⁵ In common with the *virtuosi*, Ward had turned about with the Restoration, conformed to the revived order in church and state, and gathered a rich harvest by his eleventh-hour conformity. His preferment, first to the deanery and bishopric of Exeter in 1662, and subsequent translation to the see of Salisbury in 1667, must have presented a galling spectacle to Pierce stranded at Magdalen among colleagues who neither loved nor obeyed him. It was this distressing discrepancy between ‘the then-complyers’, since loaded with promotions, and the disregarded Cavaliers, still languishing in oblivion, that really stuck in Pierce’s gullet.⁶⁶ It was an insult which, as an ‘old antediluvian royalist’, he was bound to resent; the contemplation of it made him sick in heart and mind; like some vast swollen cancer it preyed on his self-esteem.

Checked in his previous efforts to embarrass Ward, and restrained in his former resistance to episcopal visitation, the Dean greeted the King’s accession as a chance to rejoin battle. Wrapped, as he was, in a closed world of make-believe and megalomania, he constructed James’s declaration into a party platform, a ramp from which to launch his own ambitions. ‘Now ’tis plain’, he confided to an unknown correspondent, ‘that by those members who defended and supported both the King and the Church in the worst of times . . . His Majestie meant such especially as Dr. Hammond and Dr. Pierce, not the buyers and sellers of the crown and church lands, nor the clergy-invaders of other clergymen’s estates, out of which they were cast for their adhaerence to the King as well as to the Church in the worst of times.’⁶⁷ The sheer repetitative quality of the Dean’s logic betrayed the extent to which he lived on the past; he was obsessed by a desire to even up old scores. To his ears, finely attuned to the least stirrings of princely favour, James’s speech rang with the promise of better days ahead: a reign in which the truly loyal would be set free from neglect and awarded their just deserts. After the trials of the Interregnum, the humiliations of the Restoration, and the reversals of the past three years at Salisbury, vengeance at last

seemed within his reach. Once more he ventured to expose the trimming fraternity, commencing with those nearest at hand. It was in a renewed spirit of optimism that he addressed, confident that the warmth of his views would win him golden opinions at Court, and stand in stark contrast to the lame conduct of Ward and the diocese.

Pierce's address provided a contrast all right; too much of one for decanal comfort. James, an authoritarian of limited intelligence, was not the man to treat the sin of insubordination lightly, not even when the sinner was a tried loyalist of Pierce's standing in life. As Duke of York he had been frequently appealed to, and had often lent his aid, to safeguard the hierarchy from presumption and faction. He expected clerics to behave with propriety and decorum towards their canonical superiors. On this count, if on no other, the Dean had blundered, and blundered badly. We have seen how from the start his address had been viewed with palpable suspicion by the government.⁶⁸ Time was to convert suspicion into hostility. Ward, as one might imagine, was not bereft of defenders. So long as the Archbishop of Canterbury retained a share in the King's affections the Bishop could rely on his protection at Court. It is highly probable that Sancroft did intervene to remonstrate against the underhand dealings of the Dean. Certainly from what we know of the Archbishop's earlier intervention in the Salisbury controversy he cannot have been pleased at this fresh instance of Pierce's fractiousness, and after James's accession he was keener than ever to preserve the unity of the Church.⁶⁹ Noticeably, from September onwards, the Dean began to let fall sneaking references to the Archbishop, alluding more than once to 'the late malignant wind which blew from Lambeth'.⁷⁰ There can be little doubt as to the identity of Pierce's foremost adversary at Court. It was presumably after careful consultation with Lambeth Palace that the King, 'desiring the peace and welfare of that our Church of Sarum as we do of all other churches within our dominions', remitted the dispute to primatial consideration on 29th May. Archbishop Sancroft was charged *inter alia* with hearing the parties and examining 'the grounds and pretences of the differences betweene the sayd Bishop and Dean of Sarum'.⁷¹ Out of this directive arose his decision to hold a metropolitanical visitation of the cathedral, to determine once and for all a controversy which, in its wider implications, threatened to shatter the peace of the Church.

That James personally took exception to Pierce's address was seen in his judging it to contain a slight on the dignity of his crown; it was a point which Sancroft later stressed in his summary of the Sarum dispute.⁷² James therefore referred the offending address, as was usual in similar cases where the sovereign was abused, to the Attorney General, Sir Robert Sawyer, a pillar of Anglican respectability and a confidential adviser to the Archbishop.⁷³ Sawyer produced his report on 3rd August. It was damning:

'May it please Your Majestie,

I have considered of the address presented to Your Majestie by the Dean of Salisbury under the title of "The Humble Address of the Dean and Loial Members of the Cathedral Church of Sarum, together with the Loial Clergy within the Dean's Exempted and Peculiar Jurisdiction", delivered to me by Your Majestie's order. Which address, though full of loial expressions, I find was designed to support a faction within the Church of Salisbury, and to

cast a reflection upon the loial clergy of that dioces, who had addressed with their Bishop; and was clandestinely managed by the Dean without the concurrence of the majority of the Chapter or of the Peculiar Jurisdiction. The hands of a great many who are put to the address are counterfeited and set to the same without their privity, which I humbly conceive to be in abuse of Your Majestie and of those loial clergymen, and is criminous and punishable by law. All which I humbly submitt to Your Majestie's farther consideration.'⁷⁴

It is hardly surprising that we were unable to trace Pierce's canvassing; Sawyer's submission—the product of painstaking investigation, we may be sure—shows that the Dean was not above compassing forgery, so impelling was the desire he had to do down his diocesan. Damning though the Attorney General's verdict was, no legal action was taken against the culprit as a result of his report. In a manner of speaking the matter was already *sub judice*, pending the Archbishop's findings and his recommendations on what he deemed 'fit to be done therein'. It would have been tricky and very tiresome for the government to treat the crime independently of the Dean's other misdemeanors. Sayer's report was simply transmitted to Lambeth, where it furnished the Archbishop with another article of complaint in the growing indictment of the errant Dr. Pierce.⁷⁵ From a strictly expediential point of view the address constituted a further reason for instituting a full and authoritative investigation of the goings on at Salisbury. In the event, Pierce was forced to submit to the scrutiny of a metropolitanical visitation in July 1686—an exercise which vindicated Bishop Ward, confirmed his right as diocesan to visit the cathedral judicially every three years, and compelled from the unwilling lips of the Dean an apology for the wrongs he had inflicted on the Bishop's honour and reputation. ⁷⁶ Alas, it could not restore Ward's peace of mind; that unfortunately had gone for ever.

The episode of the Sarum addresses provides an instructive commentary on the sincerity of James's intentions at the outset of his reign, as contained in his accession declaration. The widely differing fates of the two addresses demonstrated that the King was every bit as good as his word, and that he was still capable of working within the framework of Anglican orthodoxy, more or less as he had done in episcopalian Scotland during the Exclusion crisis.⁷⁷ His general attitude to the controversy at Salisbury indicated that he was perfectly happy to leave the management of church affairs in the hands of Archbishop Sancroft, a prelate who had played a conspicuous role in overturning organized Whiggery. Once more it must be emphasized that the accession of a papist—the first since the ill-fated Mary Tudor—brought no immediate change either in the policies or personnel of the government. James remained attached to his old allies, the Yorkists. He was not, as yet, to be seduced from the path of rectitude by the wanton and factious attempts of individual clerics to curry favour by the extravagance of their policies. Backed by the crown Archbishop Sancroft and his political associates at Court could resist the maturing threat from the ultra-Tories: those clambering divines and insinuating politicians who staked everything on their blind obedience to the will of the prince, come what might. James's conduct had also shown that he was prepared to use his powers as Supreme Governor only in close liaison with Lambeth; his reference of the address, first to the Anglican Attorney General, and then from him to Sancroft, encouraged the continuance of Tory trust. Such friendly co-operation between a Roman Catholic monarch and a Protestant

prelate gave, for so it appeared at the time, a convincing rebuff to the charge that James was more popish than the pope, and that the Church of England, after the prosperity of Charles II's last years, had best betake herself to sackcloth and ashes.

The condemnation and suppression of Pierce's trouble-making address served to underline the wisdom and effectiveness of the Tories' alliance with a popish successor. Now they had a monarch on the throne who owed all to them. As yet there was no suggestion of a parting of the ways. King and nation seemed to agree, and to agree most enthusiastically, in the maintenance of the Tory *status quo*. Lord Keeper Guilford (formerly Lord Keeper North), drafting his speech for the opening of Parliament in May 1685, saw in the wave of addresses positive proof of this cordial understanding between James and his subjects. 'His accession to the throne was', he wrote, 'calme and peaceable, notwithstanding all the former threats of faction, and the people have not onely submitted to him according to their duty, but with great zeal have given early demonstration of their affection by waiting upon him from all parts with addresses and gratulations; and none has departed without intire satisfaction by those gracious expressions of his goodness which His Majestie was pleased to make them'.⁷⁸ Amid universal contentment it was re-assuring for the leaders of the Church interest to know that Dean Pierce's aims had met with discouragement from the King.

APPENDIX I

BISHOP WARD'S ADDRESS, 24 MARCH 1685⁷⁹

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocess of Sarum, assembled at the Elections of the Knights of the Shire for the County of Wilts.

Most humbly Sheweth,

That though we have been duly humbled under the Calamity which befel us by the loss of our late Sovereign of Blessed Memory, yet we look upon that Judgment as abundantly repaired by the inestimable mercy of Your Majesty's peaceable Succession to His Crown in the Legal and Lineal course of Descent; That as we daily pour out our Hearts before the Throne of Grace for this inexpressible Blessing, so being generally met together to serve your Majesty upon this Occasion, we could not restrain them from Congratulating it at Your Royal Feet; That we are most deeply and gratefully sensible, not only of your Majesty's great Tenderness to your People, approved to us already by the frequent Hazard of your Sacred Life, but of your Fix'd, as well as Declar'd Resolutions to preserve the present Establishment of the Government, and Church of England, the Principles whereof your Majesty most Graciously declares to be for Monarchy; That being Devoted Professors of those Principles in the Church, we shall ever be ready most chearfully to put them in Practice with the hazard of our Lives and Fortunes in your Majesties service; And that in defect of Opportunity to serve your Majesty with our Lives, we shall never fail with a constant and intire Devotion to serve You with our Prayers; Beseeching the King of Kings, by whom Kings Reign, to Bless your Royal Person with a long and Prosperous Reign over us, and to continue Your Posterity in a perpetual Line of Succession to Inherit Your Temporal Crown here, when your Majesty shall be Crown'd hereafter with an Eternal Weight of Glory.

Given under the Episcopal Seal of the Diocess at the humble Petition, and by the Unanimous Concurrence of all the Clergy present on the 24th day of March, in the First Year of your Majesties most happy Reign over us.

APPENDIX II

DEAN PIERCE'S ADDRESS, NO DATE⁸⁰

To the High and Mighty Monarch James The Second by the Grace and Especial Providence of God, King of these Imperial Realmes, Defender of the Faith *etc.*,

The Humble Address of the Dean and Loyal Members of the Cathedral Church of Sarum, together with the Loyal Clergy within the said Dean's Exempted and Peculiar Jurisdiction (Given under the Seal of The Decanal Office),

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That having observed with great Contentment, and with a Religious Emulation, how many of the Best of our Fellow-Subjects have gon before us in their most laudable and loyal Addresses to your Majesty in point of Time; And being dutifully Ambitious not to come behind any in point of Faithfulness and Affection; We humbly and heartily thank God, and Congratulate unto ourselves, the visible Truth of That Maxime, That our Kings never dye, and that the Best of them survive in your Royal Person, in the Blessing of whose Continuance and Reign among us The Safety and Happiness of the Nation is All wrapt up.

That your Majesty hath been pleased, out of a Fatherlike Vouchsafement and Condescension, to declare your Royal Intentions to Defend Both the Lawes and the Church of England, as it is now by Law Establish'd, and those members of it especially who have shewed themselves good and Loyal Subjects; And have Declared your Resolution (which is the Comble and the Crown of our other Blessings) never to lessen or to Depart from the Just and Sacred Rights and Praerogatives of the Crown, the constant Adhaerence whereunto does import the greatest Clemency and Tenderness to your People to be imagin'd; this was such an Act of Grace, as no King but Ours would ever have oblig'd a People with; and such as Any People but Yours (we only allude to the unnatural and unthankfull part of your Subjects whom Incomparable Clemency hath made unkind) would have thought they could never enough acknowledge or deserve.

May it therefore please your most Excellent Majesty, to accept of this Poor but hearty oblation of our Gratitude, for This and All other Effects of your Princely Goodness, which we will labour to Deserve from this time forewards, not only for ourselves, who have ever thought our Loyalty a principal Part of our Religion; But even for the most seduced and most averse of our Fellow Subjects, whose Defects of Christian Duety to God's Vicegerent upon Earth we will indeavour to supply with whatsoever is near and dear unto us, with whatsoever we Are or Have, in Defense of your Majesty's Sacred Person, and Royal Consort, and of the whol Royal Progenie, against All Plotters and Associators of whatsoever Denomination.

¹ P.R.O., S.[tate] P.[apers]44/56, pp.163-6; S.P.44/69, p. 127.

² Rochester to the Duke of Ormonde, 10th February, quoted by F. C. Turner, *James II* (London 1948), p. 242.

³ P.R.O., P.[rivy] C. [ouncil Register] 2/71, f. 6.

⁴ The text is taken from *The London Gazette*, no. 2006 (5th-9th February).

⁵ C. J. Fox, *A History of the early part of the Reign of James the Second* (London 1808), appendix I. xvi; cf. J. S. Clarke edit., *The Life of James the Second . . . Collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand* (2 vols., London 1816), II.3.

⁶ G. Burnet, *History of the Reign of King James II* (Oxford 1852), pp. 7-8.

⁷ J. Oldmixon, *A Complete History of Addresses, From Their First Original under Oliver Cromwell, To this Present Year 1710* (2nd edn., London 1710), pp. 13-88. Cited below as Oldmixon, *History of Addresses*.

⁸ The avalanche is best studied from the pages of *The London Gazette*, nos. 2007 (9th-12th February)—2029 (27th-30th April), excluding the coronation issue, no. 2028 (23 April).

⁹ Burnet, *History of the Reign of King James II*, p. 7.

¹⁰ See *The London Gazette*, nos. 2007-27, 2029. It is surprising that evidence from this government-inspired source has not attracted the attention of historians. True enough it only tells us what the Court wished us to know, but that is in itself of value. The secretary of state was usually responsible for the insertion of intelligence from home and abroad.

¹¹ For example, the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, the Earl of Plymouth at Kingston-upon-Hull, and Lord Jermyin, governor of Jersey. See P.R.O., S.P. 63/340, p. 53, S.P. 63/351, ff. 3, 11; S.P. 31/1, no. 20; S.P. 47/1, no. 161. Cf. Adm. 77/2, no. 133 and S.P. 8/2, part II, f. 1.

¹² R. H. George, 'Parliamentary Elections and Electioneering in 1685', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, xix (1936), pp. 167-95.

¹³ See below, p. 138. Cf. Earl of Plymouth to [Secretary Sunderland], Hull, 18th February. P.R.O., S.P. 31/1, no. 20.

¹⁴ For Henry Somerset, duke of Beaufort, see *D.N.B.*, and my article, 'The Commission for Ecclesiastical Promotions, 1681-84: an instrument of Tory Reaction', *The Historical Journal*, x (1967), pp. 24-5, 33, 40 note 140.

¹⁵ For John Grenville, earl of Bath, see *D.N.B.*, and Sir Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party 1640-1714* (Oxford 1965), pp. 92, 122, 205.

¹⁶ *The London Gazette*, no. 2012 (26th February-2nd March). Nor was this by any means the full extent of his services, see *ibid.*, nos. 2014, 2015, 2020.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 2013 (2nd-5th March). His further labours can be seen in *ibid.*, nos. 2015, 2016, 2017.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 2008 (12th-16th February).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 2018 (19th-23rd March). They were not the least politically conscious element in London society. Their inclination to Toryism was public knowledge, see my article 'The London Frost Fair of 1683-84', *The Guildhall Miscellany*, iv (1972), pp. 74, 77; cf. pp. 85-6.

²⁰ *The London Gazette*, no. 2010 (19th-23rd February).

²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 2017 (16th-19th March).

²² Oldmixon, *History of Addresses*, pp. 2-6.

²³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 33-88. *The London Gazette*, no. 1609 (18th-21st April 1681) *et seqq.*; no. 1839 (2nd-5th July 1683) *et seqq.*

²⁴ Sancroft's speech was not published at the time, but his autograph copy survives among his papers, see Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 32, f. 214. The text given in S.W. Singer edit., *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and of his brother Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester* (2 vols., London 1828), II, 471 is imperfect.

²⁵ Archbishop Dolben of York, Bishop Lamplugh of Exeter, Bishop Lake of Bristol and Bishop Croft of Hereford consulted Sancroft, Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 32, ff. 223, 227; 218, 243; 226; 244.

²⁶ E. Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop* (London 1956), p. 79.

²⁷ *The London Gazette*, no. 2008 (12th-16th February).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 2019 (23rd-26th March).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 2011 (23rd-26th February) *et seqq.*

³⁰ It would seem that Sancroft advised Archbishop Dolben to join with the laity. Dolben owned himself settled by Sancroft's letter of 19th February in his resolve 'to fall in with the body of this county, if they will agree upon such an addresse as may be fit for us to subscribe', though he admitted he foresaw difficulties. Dolben to Sancroft, 23rd February. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 32, f. 227. For examples of the clergy combining with the laity, see the addresses from the county of Glamorgan, the town of Beverly, and the liberty of Peterborough. *The London Gazette*, no. 2012 (26th February-2nd March).

³¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 2012, 2019, 2012.

³² *Ibid.*, nos. 2009, 2023.

³³ *Caroli τῶν Μακαρίτων ΠΑΛΙΓΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ* (Printed Anno Domini 1649). I have used Anthony

Wood's copy in the Bodleian Library (Wood 364, item 32). Wood has written on the title-page, 'Mr., afterwards Dr. Pierce (Thomas), the author'. He has also listed it at the front of the volume as 'Dr. Thomas Pierce his elegie on King Charles I'.

³⁴ See J. W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism 1643-1660* (Manchester 1969), pp. 22, 54 and note, 138, 187. Pierce to Bishop Fell of Oxford, 7 and 22 January 1683/4 (copies). Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, MS. volume of 'Miscellanea collected by Dr. Thomas Pierce, Dean of Salisbury, 1675-1691', pp. 124-5. Cited below as *Miscellanea*.

³⁵ Pierce later assembled a number of certificates attesting his ordination from Ralph Bathurst, who had acted as Skinner's assistant, and from his fellow ordinands, Arthur Charlett and Richard Baskett. *Ibid.*, p. 115 (copies).

³⁶ For a list of his *controversia* and other works, see A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, edit., P. Bliss (4 vols., London, 1813-20, IV, coll. 299-307. His contribution to 'Laudian' polemics is dealt with by R. S. Boshier, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (London 1957), pp. 30, 38, 47, 122, 154-5.

³⁷ M. Burrows, edit., *The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658* (Camden Society, n.s., XXIX, 1881), p. 513. A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised* (Oxford 1948), p. 28.

³⁸ J. R. Bloxham, *A Register of the Presidents, Fellows, Demies . . . and other members of Saint Mary Magdalen College, etc.*, (7 vols., Oxford 1853-81). V, 159, and note 't'. Cited below as Bloxham, *Magdalen College Register*. J. P. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland 1641-1702* (London 1958), pp. 5-6.

³⁹ *D.N.B.*, and J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (3 vols., Oxford 1854), I, 55; (?) II, 122.

⁴⁰ For Pierce's own account of his receipt of royal patronage, see Pierce to an anonymous correspondent, Salisbury, 8th September 1685. *Miscellanea*, p. 131 (copy). Charles had begun by recommending him for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. Oxford University Archives, Register Ta 27 (1659-71), p. 25; Charles II to Vice-Chancellor, Whitehall, 30th July 1660. Pierce was created D.D., on 7th August. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴¹ Bloxham, *Magdalen College Register*, V, 163, 181-94. For his general account of Pierce's career, see *ibid.*, I, 40-45; V, 158-72.

⁴² W. H. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis* (London 1879), p. 323.

⁴³ The phrase occurs in Pierce's letter to Bishop Fell of Oxford, 7th January 1683/4. *Miscellanea*, p. 124 (copy).

⁴⁴ For a ready guide to the Decanal Peculiars, see A. J. Camp's survey of their testamentary jurisdiction in *Wills and their whereabouts* (s.l., 1963), p. 81.

⁴⁵ *The London Gazette*, no. 2022 (2nd-6th April).

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ This development begins with the second issue of the new reign, see *ibid.*, no. 2008 (12th-16th February).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 2026 (16th-20th April).

⁴⁹ The text is reprinted as Appendix I.

⁵⁰ See Pierce's *Vindication of the King's Sovereign Rights* published early in 1684. It occasioned controversy, cf. Bodleian Library, MSS. Eng. hist.

c. 304, ff. 431-40; Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS. 27, 382, ff. 276-94.

⁵¹ He claimed to be 'very much the eldest of all His Majesty's domestick chaplains, and the most diligent in attendance for 25 years together'. *Miscellanea*, p. 125a: Pierce to Lord Chamberlain Mulgrave, 2nd January 1686/7.

⁵² That Sunderland retained an interest in his welfare is shown by Pierce's thanking him 'for having a mindfulness of my cause, and a care of my credit in particular'. Pierce to Sunderland, 17th July 1686, *ibid.*, p. 125a (copy).

⁵³ See my article, 'Cathedral Furnishings of the Restoration Period: A Salisbury Inventory of 1685' *W.A.M.*, 66 (1971), 147-55. Cf. Pierce to Jeffreys, 1st October 1685. *Miscellanea*, pp. 132-3 (copy).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125a.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵⁶ Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Miscellaneous Papers of Bishop Seth Ward, items 11-20. See E. A. O. Whiteman, 'The Episcopate of Dr. Seth Ward' (unpublished Oxford dissertation), chapter x and my 'William Sancroft, as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1677-1691' (unpublished Oxford dissertation), pp. 295-306.

⁵⁷ The text is published below as Appendix II.

⁵⁸ *The London Gazette*, no. 2022 (2nd-6th April).

⁵⁹ See Appendix II.

⁶⁰ Roger North's transcript of 'Instructions for a treatise to be wrote for undeceiving the people about the late Popish Plott', a paper apparently drafted by Lord Keeper North. Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS. 32, 518, f. 151.

⁶¹ Samuel Parker had the temerity to complain of Archbishop Sancroft on similar grounds. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 31, ff. 166 *et seqq.* The text has been prepared for publication.

⁶² *Miscellanea*, pp. 133-4. The memorandum is undated, but is copied into the volume immediately after the transcript of Pierce's letter of 1st October 1685 to Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys (*ibid.*, pp. 132-3), and develops the argument adumbrated in that letter.

⁶³ It may be compared with his other references of varying explicitness in *ibid.*, pp. 122, 124, 126, 127, 128-9.

⁶⁴ For Ward, see *D.N.B.*

⁶⁵ The charge was openly stated by Pierce in his letter to Sir Stephen Fox of 12th March 1683/4: 'I pray consider how late it was before the rebels would see their treason . . . Consider the great instant of their counterfeited conversion. Was it not when the King's Visitors would not suffer them to keep out martyr'd royalists any longer? Did the scales ever fall from usurpers' eyes (*antequam Hannibal erat ad portas*) until the King was at the gate and Hannibal Potter knocked at the dore, and a prospect of preferment shew'd itself from a new quarter?' *Miscellanea*, p. 127. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 112. The incident can be followed in F. J. Varley, *The Restoration*

Visitation of the University of Oxford and its Colleges (Camden Miscellany, XVIII, London 1948), pp. 3, 7-8. In fairness to Ward it should be stated that he was elected to the presidency two removes on from Potter's ejection.

⁶⁶ The point is best made in Pierce's letter to Thoresby of 27th December 1683: 'Many are seen to be more revengefull for having lost other men's livelihoods, out of which they were ejected as scandalous usurpers when the right owners were restored by the Commissioners of the King at his Restauration, than either thankfull for the Act of Indemnity or mollified by the advantages which the King hath been pleased to heape upon them'. *Miscellanea*, p. 122 (copy).

⁶⁷ The letter is dated from Salisbury, 8th September 1685. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 137-40.

⁶⁹ Sancroft had all along been sympathetic to Ward. Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Miscellaneous Papers of Bishop Seth Ward, items 11 and 14. Cf. Sancroft's later report to King James on the controversy. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 143, ff. 46-9.

⁷⁰ *Miscellanea*, p. 131 (8th September 1685); cf. *ibid.*, p. 125a (2nd January 1686/7).

⁷¹ James II's 'Leter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to heare differences in the Chapter of Sarum'. P.R.O., S.P. 44/53, p. 174.

⁷² Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 143, ff. 46-9.

⁷³ For Sawyer, see *D.N.B.* He had previously given legal advice on the Dean's claim that the King had the right to collate to prebends at Salisbury, not the Bishop, the foundation allegedly being a Chapel Royal. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 143, f. 147: copy of Sawyer's report.

⁷⁴ The report survives only as a copy in Sancroft's papers. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 89, f. 158. It is endorsed, 'The Attorneys General's opinion' (*ibid.*, f. 158 v). *N.B.*, Sawyer uses Pierce's unemended title!

⁷⁵ *E.g.*, Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 143, ff. 185, 186; 200, 201.

⁷⁶ See my 'William Sancroft, as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1677-1691', pp. 304-7 (*op. cit.*, note 56).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22, 25-8, 98, 117-9.

⁷⁸ Roger North's transcript of 'The speech intended for opening the Parliament, 1^o. Jac. 2^d, in case His Majesty had comanded the Lord Keeper to have spoke, and had not taken the whole upon himself'. Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS. 32, 518, f. 178v. On that occasion the King repeated the accession declaration with much applause.

⁷⁹ The text is that released to the press in *The London Gazette*, no. 2026 (16th-20th April).

⁸⁰ The text is taken from Pierce's copy entered in his *Miscellanea*, p. 125. I have retained the original capitalization, in conformity with the Bishop's address.

FURTHER NOTES ON CLAY TOBACCO PIPES AND PIPEMAKERS FROM THE MARLBOROUGH AND SALISBURY DISTRICTS

by D. R. ATKINSON

MY PAPERS ON the pipes and pipemakers of Marlborough (*W.A.M.*, 60 (1965), reprinted with additions, 1969) and Salisbury (*W.A.M.*, 65 (1970)) have stimulated many readers not only to report their own finds but also to keep an eye open for pipes themselves. Additionally, archaeologists, using the dating and typology have already found these guides to Wiltshire pipe types of value in dating associated artifacts from post-mediaeval levels, particularly pottery and glassware.

Considerable new information on the Marlborough pipes and makers was included as an addendum in the reprinted version of the Marlborough paper, though no new illustrations were then possible.

As a great deal more knowledge of the Salisbury pipes has been acquired in the three years since the paper was written (though no new documentary sources have been discovered) I am now combining all additional information on the pipes and pipemakers of the two areas and taking the opportunity of illustrating many marks and some new bowl types not seen before.

Edward Dowlinge

I am once again indebted to Mr. E. G. H. Kempson of Marlborough for this reference to a previously unrecorded pipemaker:

1672 December 9th. Edward Dowlinge, tobacco pipe maker, with his wife and family intruding into St. Mary's parish, Marlborough, from Norton St. Philip, to be sent back there.¹ Signed Rolfe Baglye, Christopher Lepyett, William Grenfield, Justices of the Peace. (Devizes newspaper cuttings in the Society's library.)

Nic Parris

Another previously unrecorded maker. W. Hodgkinson reports a stem mark from Salisbury (FIG. 1, No. 43). The mark is incuse and probably dates to *c.* 1720.

Joel Sanger

This maker used at least four different marks on stems. One was illustrated in the Salisbury paper (*W.A.M.* 65 (1970), fig. 2, No. 21). The other three are shown here in FIG. 1, Nos. 4, 5 and 5a. The earlier two read IOL and have the A and N joined. Joel Sanger also used at least four different moulds during his period of working, which on pipe evidence was from *c.* 1710-40. Some of his pipes were polished.

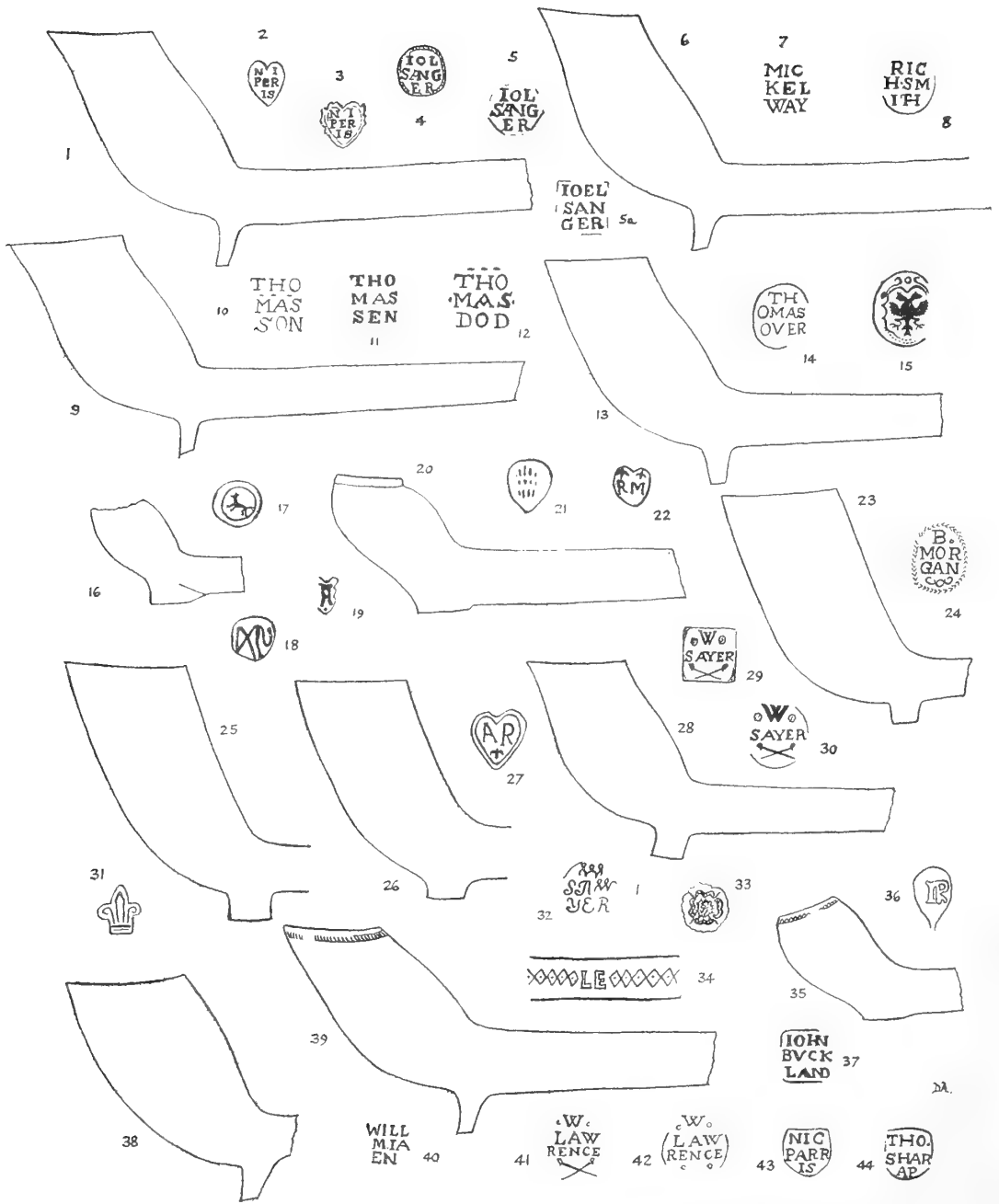


FIG. 1

Clay tobacco pipes and makers' marks from the Marlborough and Salisbury districts. Scale, 3:4.

N.I. Peris

Used at least four heart-shaped dies on stems, all reading N.I/PER/IS. Two are single framed, different sizes, one has double frame and the fourth a double frame with an outer, scalloped edge. Two are illustrated (FIG. 1, Nos. 2 and 3) and a typical pipe (No. 1). Some pipes were polished and his period of working was *c.* 1720–40. It is likely that the initials N I represent a husband and wife. Three letter marks are found on trade tokens in the 17th century and also occasionally in pipemakers' marks. In view of the large collection in Salisbury Museum, part of which dates from the 19th century, it is odd that no pipe for this maker was reported until about 1963 as they are relatively plentiful in the area.

A.R.

A previously unrecorded stem mark (FIG. 1, No. 27). It is in relief and is in the style of the earlier marks stamped on the heel in the 17th century. Dating, *c.* 1690. Maker unknown.

Tho. Sharap

Another new maker, previously unrecorded. One stem from Salisbury with incuse mark (FIG. 1, No. 44). A fine polished pipe from recent Southampton excavations also has this mark. *c.* 1720.

William Lawrence

This maker was working in London in 1697 and later moved to Winchester where he took an apprentice in 1715. Mark No. 42 was recently found at Marlborough and No. 41 at Hook, Hants. The one with crossed pipes below RENCE may be the earlier version, No. 42 apparently having had the stems of the pipes erased.

An incomplete mark, like the others on stems, is No. 40. One example of this has been found at Salisbury and another from recent Winchester excavations (Cathedral Green). Both are clearly not fully stamped but the Winchester example shows part of another letter after the A which is probably a W. If so, the mark in full could have read WILL/IAM.LAW/RENCE.

Two-headed eagle

Relief marks as No. 15 occur on thick stems of polished pipes at Salisbury. The double-headed eagle is the Arms of the City of New Sarum. Makers' marks using Borough Arms are rarely known at this early date (*c.* 1720–40). There are parallels in stem marks at Broseley (single lions in relief) and at Chester (pipes with inn signs stamped on the stem). Later in the 18th century, however, one Salisbury maker produced a decorated bowl (shape shown in FIG. 1, No. 38) which has the double-headed eagle on the back in relief and lines of fluting and beading round the rest of the bowl. These were quite widely distributed as examples occur also at Devizes.

Thomas Over

A polished spur pipe from Salisbury (No. 13) with mark No. 14 stamped incuse on the stem. The only other recorded examples of pipes by this maker are those from a well excavated at Bishop's Waltham, Hants.² I believe this is a Hampshire name. *c.* 1720.

L.E.

Impressed round the stem between two parallel lines with a row of diamonds (No. 34). This was probably made by Llewelyn Evans, Bristol, 1680. Several Bristol makers towards the end of the 17th century were producing London-type spur pipes with marks of this sort rolled round the stem and numerous examples of such marks occur at Port Royal, Jamaica.³ This example from Marlborough.

Obscure marks from Salisbury

No. 18 is stamped in relief on 17th century heel. It is difficult to ascertain the meaning of such a mark. I have seen one other example in a private local collection.

No. 19 is stamped in relief on a stem. It is an early pipe as it has a very wide bore. This looks like a trade-mark, and such marks occur very rarely on stems at such an early date.

Fox maker

No. 16, stamped on the heel in relief with No. 17 is the earliest pipe yet seen from Salisbury and by its size must date to *c.* 1600. The maker Fox of Amesbury is stated to have begun working as early as 1600 but none of the examples stamped with the Fox marks in Salisbury Museum or in private collections is earlier than *c.* 1630.⁴ This one, however, by its size alone, dates to the very beginning of the 17th century, thus confirming the earlier date suggested.⁵

R.M.

Relief stem marks as No. 22 have been found at Salisbury and one also from recent Winchester excavations (Wolvesey Palace). They are on thick stems with wide bore and must date to *c.* 1690. The mark is in the style of the earlier Sarum heel marks. Unknown maker.

Mickel Way

Several examples of mark No. 7 on bowl type No. 6 have been reported on stems from the Salisbury district and as previously stated they occur also at Shaftesbury⁶ and Hythe, Southampton, *c.* 1720–40. The only clue to this maker is that a John Way of Ringwood, pipemaker, was bondsman at the marriage at Ellingham of Martha Way to John Warn, pipemaker, on June 9th, 1737.

Unusual stem marks

One or two incomplete initials marks which cannot at present be identified and therefore are not illustrated have turned up at Salisbury. One relief design, stamped, without initials, shows a standing figure with a jug and cup but is imperfectly impressed. Another stem has a rich relief design of flowers, etc., impressed round the stem in a band $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width and dates to the mid-18th century. Similar decoration on stems of English pipes is known, though it is uncommon and is more often found on Dutch and other continental pipes.⁸

W. Sanger

Amend this name to read w. SAWYER. A new example of this incuse mark (No. 32), clearer than the solitary specimen previously seen, shows it to be W. Sawyer. The style of this stem mark, in incised script capitals is apparently unique. The thickness of the stem indicates a date around 1700. No W. Sawyer is yet recorded, but the family of pipemakers of this name lived at East Woodhay. Jane Sawyer was apprenticed to Thomas Hunt of Marlborough in 1671 and Bartholomew Sawyer was married to Mary Palmer of Romsey in September, 1728.⁹ Both stems come from Salisbury.

B. Morgan

Benjamin I or II, 1761–1819, the two being contemporaries. Only stem markings had previously been recorded (Thomson Collection, Salisbury; Davy Collection, Marlborough), but a bowl has now turned up at Salisbury stamped with this mark on the back (Nos. 23 and 24). The date of this bowl type is *c.* 1780–90. It is tall, thin-walled and brittle and had a short flat spur and thin stem. This is probably the only mark on the back of a bowl recorded from Sarum.

Although marks were occasionally stamped on the backs of bowls in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was not a common practice until the start of the 19th century. London makers favoured this method of marking from about 1800–1900 and provincial makers, in the south-east at least, followed suit. But a mark such as this is a rarity so far west. None of the 19th century makers at Sarum appears to have put marks on the back of the bowl, though the last William John Morgan had his initials, unusually, moulded in relief on the sides of some bowls (see *W.A.M.* 65 (1970) fig. 2, No. 26). In eastern England from the early decades of the 19th century names were sometimes moulded round the lip of the bowl in relief (seen from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, East Anglia, Surrey and Sussex).

Joseph Barns

Complete stem marks from Marlborough (not illus.) correct the earlier recording of a Joseph Arns. Location unknown but the mark also occurs at Winchester. *c.* 1720–40.

W. Barns

Marked stems of spur pipes from Marlborough. Doubtless belonged to the same family as Joseph Barns. A William Barns of East Woodhay, Hants., was apprenticed to a pipemaker in 1723.¹⁰ Mark not illustrated.

John Buckland

Pipes with this name stamped on the heel are found at Devizes and Marlborough, dating to *c.* 1660–70.¹¹ A similar stamp has now been found on stems from both areas. As some of these are quite thin, indicating a date of manufacture well into the 18th century, the inference is of a later member of the family, also called John, working and using the same type of mark possibly 50 years later (No. 37). One stem found has a piece of lead wire protruding from the flue, probably an early pipe cleaner!

Richard Smith

One example only of mark No. 8 on a thick stem with wide bore from Marlborough. E. G. H. Kempton records this maker from local archives in 1666 and 1698; he took John Pearce apprentice in 1668. Presumably he was one of several makers at Marlborough and Salisbury who normally did not mark his pipes. A large proportion of Marlborough 17th century heel pipes are unstamped (more than 50%) and a surprising number of spur pipes also lack any form of marking. The same applies at Salisbury where at least equal proportions of pipes in both 17th and 18th centuries were not marked.

Thomas Dod

Stems from Marlborough, Salisbury, and Hook, Hants., have mark No. 12 stamped incuse. Thick, with a wide bore, *c.* 1700–20. This maker and Edward Dod, whose pipes have an unusual curved, flat-based spur instead of the normal pointed variety, *c.* 1730, are probably related. Edward's pipes are recorded from Winchester, Old Basing and Hook, all in Hampshire, but not yet from any Wiltshire site.

*W. Sayer*¹²

This maker's products are unusually widely distributed and occur in large quantities at Salisbury, Winchester and at Southampton. There are references to the family at West Wellow (parish registers), and although still unconfirmed,¹³ this is a likely location for them as it stands on the main Salisbury-Southampton road. Some of the pipes are polished and the majority have a cross moulded inside the bottom of the bowl in relief. This mark was made by the stopper which was used to hollow out the bowl and does not appear in English pipes until about the 1730s.¹⁴ W. Sayer used at least three different moulds, one of which, and the

least common, has a peculiar flat stumpy spur instead of the usual pointed one (No. 28). I can record three from Salisbury and one each from Winchester and Southampton. Three different marks were also used, the commonest (not illus.) being the smaller of two circular dies. No. 30 shows the larger circular mark. I have seen only one specimen of the third, which has a square frame (No. 29). These marks were occasionally stamped inverted on the stem. All are incuse.

Thomas Smith

This maker was working at Salisbury from about 1690 to 1720 and used several moulds and at least three dies for his marks. The earliest bowl with mark on the heel was shown in *W.A.M.*, 65 (1970), fig. 2, No. 16. He made a variety of spur pipes, but one particular one is most unusual for Sarum because it has heavy milling round the lip (No. 39). The 'Thomas Hunt' type spur pipes are very rarely milled and the only other ones I can record are those of John Sims of Winchester¹⁵ (occasional) and one only of Thomas Hunt's found at Sarum. The marks used all have the same arrangement and size of lettering but, while the majority have a plain, oval-shaped frame, examples also occur with a double frame, pointed at the top, or with a scalloped oval frame (not illus.). They were occasionally struck inverted.

Gauntlet

In addition to the one example in Salisbury Museum of a spur pipe of *c.* 1700 with a single gauntlet on the stem I can now record an additional stem stamped with a gauntlet. Also one heel found recently has two gauntlets (from the same die) struck side by side. A tiny bowl from the river Thames at Putney (private collection) which I was shown recently dates from *c.* 1600, and is earlier than any gauntlet pipe so far seen from the Salisbury-Amesbury area. Like the Fox maker, however, the Gauntlets are *stated* to have worked from as early as 1600, though I can still find no documentary reference to confirm this. One bowl from Sarum shows an unusual form of Gauntlet mark, if it can be called that (Nos. 20 and 21). The mark is merely a pattern of dots on the heel, incised, and the pipe is not of the usual Amesbury type, being an altogether much cruder product.

Tudor Rose

Some large Salisbury 'heel' pipes have a fine relief tudor rose stamped on the heel, *c.* 1670-80, and this was also a popular and widely used trade-mark on Dutch pipes in the 17th century. One stem from Sarum has a relief mark of the same type, but inferior design (No. 33). These were probably made at Southampton, as fine polished pipes (spur type) with this mark on the stem have been excavated there in recent years. *c.* 1720-40.

Fleur-de-lis (No. 31)

More than one type of fleur-de-lis in relief is found on stems at Sarum, *c.* 1690-1700, and one, identical to a Sarum specimen, was recently excavated at Winchester (Wolvesey Palace). They more usually occur at Salisbury as heel marks, *c.* 1660-80.

R.R.

Heel marks *c.* 1650-70. This person used about four different dies for his marks, always heart-shaped and in relief (not illus.).

Thomas Mason

Stem marks of this maker have often been found in Salisbury but no bowl. I can now illustrate one, No. 9. Two marks, showing the different spellings found, are Nos. 10 and 11. The stems vary from fairly thick to very thin and the period of working was probably *c.* 1730-50. Lack of documentary records at Salisbury means that most of its makers can only be given approximate dating based on the forms of marking found and the types of bowl, stem thickness, etc.

Thomas Widdos

Of Marlborough. A stem was found recently at Queenhithe Dock in the River Thames.¹⁶

William Fery

Of Marlborough. A stem is reported from Grittenham and another from Salisbury.¹⁶

I.R.

A very small, early pipe from Marlborough with deeply incised initials (Nos. 35 and 36). This style of marking, single incuse initials without ornamentation or frame, was common at Bristol in the 17th century. This pipe does not belong to the same group as the early pipes marked I.R. which are found widely distributed in Britain and probably originate from London in the early days of pipemaking when the industry had barely reached the provinces, *c.* 1600–20, but is of the same period and probably represents one of the earliest Bristol makers.

Ed. Higgens

Pipes of this maker (Salisbury, 1698–1710) are common in the city, always stamped on the stem with two or three very similar dies. They are now reported in quantity from the Stroud area of Gloucestershire, including some with 'heel' marks, which do not occur at Sarum. I have not been able to see any examples, or drawings, however. If the stamps are the same the inference must be that Ed. Higgens worked somewhere in Gloucestershire before coming to Sarum (which may have been when he married in 1698).

F.R.

Nineteenth century spurs found at Marlborough with these initials moulded in relief are from pipes made by F. Ricks of Weymouth (Kelly's Directory, 1859).

J.N.

Nineteenth century spurs found at Marlborough with these initials moulded in relief are from pipes made by John Norris of Reading, 1828–39 (Directories) and 1847–48 (P.O. Directory).

Thomas Hunt

A clear signature of Thomas Hunt of Marlborough on the indenture of his apprentice, Rebecca Kingston (1667), which I have been shown through the kindness of Mr. E. G. H. Kempson, indicates that Thomas Hunt's mark No. 7 (*W.A.M.*, 60 (1965), p. 70, fig. 1) is actually a facsimile. I know of no other instance on clay pipes where a maker had his signature copied exactly and used as a maker's mark on his products.

Unmarked bowls—18th century

The spur types shown in No. 39 (*c.* 1690–1700) and 1, 6, 9, and 13 (*c.* 1700–50) are the normal shapes produced at Salisbury and Marlborough during the 18th century. The direct descendant of these was No. 38, which is the bowl decorated with the Salisbury double-eagle, fluting and beading, *c.* 1770. However, a few contemporary pipes of other types appear occasionally and should be mentioned.

No. 26 shows the style common in London and the south-east of England from *c.* 1700–80 (during this period of time there were of course variants).¹⁷ No. 26 is unmarked and was found in Sarum recently. No. 25, also found recently in the city, is a much larger version of the same type. It is beautifully finished (though not polished) and has a perfectly round, flat heel. These exceptionally large ones of the type were made at Bristol occasionally in the 18th century, which is probably where this one originates. London specimens are never as tall.

No. 23, the pipe made by Benjamin Morgan about 1790, appears in its shape to reflect the London influence as this was one of the bowl shapes being produced there and in the south-east at the end of the 18th century.

Richard Howell

Numerous stems with maker's name stamped in three lines, *c.* 1700–20, occur at Shaftesbury. Further examples are reported from a garden at East Knoyle and I can record one from Salisbury.

W S crowned

This mark is found at Winchester on medium stems with fairly narrow bore, *c.* 1750. Two specimens have been found in Salisbury. Maker unknown. The meaning of the crown in pipemaker's marks in England is obscure. This particular mark is incuse but most crowned marks are in relief, either stamped, or, in London and the south-east, moulded in relief on the sides of the base (this form is found as far west as Portsmouth).

¹ Exactly what this man was doing to incur such displeasure in Marlborough is not clear.

² The Contents of an Eighteenth Century Well at Bishop's Waltham, Hants., by K. J. Barton (Clay Tobacco Pipes by D. R. Atkinson), *Post-Medieval Archaeol.*, 3 (1969), 186; illus. p. 182.

³ *Clay Smoking Pipes Recovered from the Sunken City of Port Royal, Jamaica, 1966–67*, by R. F. Marx, Jamaica National Trust Commission, 1968.

⁴ See Nos. 2 and 3, fig. 1, p. 178, *W.A.M.*, 65 (1970).

⁵ *Victoria County History of Wiltshire*, IV, 244.

⁶ Clay Tobacco Pipes Found in Shaftesbury, by D. R. Atkinson, *Proc. Dorset Natur. Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, 91 (1970), 206–215.

⁷ Hampshire Marriage Licenses.

⁸ Adrian Oswald illustrates similar decorated stems from Nottingham and Oxford in *The Clay Tobacco Pipe—Its Place in English Ceramics*, *Trans. Engl. Ceramic Circle*, 1970, and Iain C. Walker in his paper *An Archaeological Study of Clay Pipes from the King's Bastion, Fortress of Louisbourg*, published by Information Canada, Publishing Division, Ottawa, Ontario, shows photographs of similar stems which have less ornate decoration.

⁹ Hampshire Marriage Licenses.

¹⁰ *The Archaeological and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes*, A. Oswald, *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, 1960. See list of makers.

¹¹ See *W.A.M.*, 60 (1965), 89, fig. 1, No. 15.

¹² In view of the frequent mentions of the two

names in the same close geographical area, in pipe-making contexts, it is not impossible that SAYER and SAWYER are spelling varieties of the same name.

¹³ The person working on these has not yet produced his results.

¹⁴ Iain C. Walker describes the process by which the bowl was hollowed out with this stopper in his paper *The Manufacture of Dutch Clay Tobacco Pipes*, *North-East Historical Archaeology*, 1, No. 1 (Spring 1971), published by the Council for North-East Historical Archaeology, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A. Pipes of Roger Andrus at Marlborough, *c.* 1725–50, and those by John Paul at Winchester, *c.* 1730–60, show the same feature, which is also found in most of the 'armorial' pipes of *c.* 1750–1800.

¹⁵ That a Winchester maker, while using the new 'Wiltshire' spur type from about 1690, continued the use of traditional milling round the lip of the bowl at first (he abandoned it later) is not really surprising, for Winchester makers in the last two decades of the 17th century were producing essentially London style pipes, one of which was the late 17th century south-eastern spur type which is normally found milled (though without stem marks).

¹⁶ With the exception of Thomas Hunt's, Marlborough-made pipes are rarely found outside the town.

¹⁷ *London Clay Tobacco Pipes*, D. Atkinson and A. Oswald, *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, XXXII (1969).

NOTES

A POLISHED-EDGE FLINT KNIFE FROM TIDCOMBE AND FOSBURY

In the summer of 1971 a polished-edge flint knife was found by Colin Doyle, a member of a party from the Fynamore School, Calne, who were walking over fields to the west of Fosbury Camp. It was picked up from the surface of the plough soil at the edge of a field (SU 31405678; Tidcombe and Fosbury parish). We are grateful to Mrs. D. L. Baker, the teacher in charge of the party, who was instrumental in bringing it to our attention. Colin Doyle kindly consented to us retaining it for initial study and has now generously presented it to the Society's Museum (accession no. 26.1972).

The knife (FIG. 1) is of slightly honey-toned grey flint and is 94 mm. in maximum length and 65 mm. in maximum width. It has been shaped by shallow flaking over both surfaces; on part of one surface grinding has clearly been used to supplement this flaking. All the edges have been finished to a varying degree by grinding. The broader end shows far the most extensive grinding, which here extends, on either surface, beyond the bevel of the cutting edge. While one of the long sides has a continuous polished edge, the grinding on the 'butt' end and on the other long edge has been merely used to provide a finishing touch to the secondary flaking. Modern plough damage seems likely to account for the loss of one corner of the broader end and some minor instances of chipping along the edges. These instances apart, the basically symmetrical shape is only interrupted at the 'butt' end, where there is a notch, shaped by secondary working from one face only, at the corner further from the continuously polished long edge. This could well represent early re-working of ancient damage, but might conceivably be an original and intentional feature. These knives have been interpreted as scrapers (Clark, 1929, 44), and if it is assumed that the better polished edges were the principal scraping ones, the removal of such a corner, projecting awkwardly between the thumb and forefinger of the user, could have made it easier to handle.

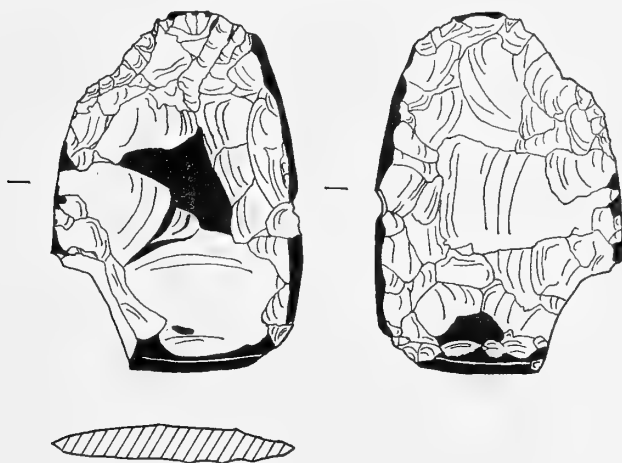


FIG. 1

Polished-edge flint knife from the parish of Tidcombe and Fosbury. Scale, 1:2.

First brought to attention by Sir John Evans (1897, 302–307), polished-edge flint knives have also been studied by R. C. C. Clay (1928, 97–100) and J. G. D. Clark (1929, 41–54). Piggott (1954, 285–286) considered the type an insular development and regarded it as an integral part of his British ‘Secondary Neolithic’ cultures. The associations of examples noted by Piggott (1954, 307 and 356) as well as at Windmill Hill (Smith, 1965, 105 and fig. 48, F152) and Creeting St. Mary, Suffolk (Wainwright and Longworth, 1971, 284) demonstrate the existence of knives with polished edges during the Late Neolithic period.

This particular example cannot be easily fitted into Clark’s classification. The trapezoidal outline is closest to his rectangular form IV, represented in this area by a sub-rectangular example from Pick Rudge Farm, Overton, Wilts. (Salisbury Museum, no. 1142). While this example is symmetrical and completely polished, its convexly curving edges bear a similarity to those of the Fosbury knife. It was found in association with a barbed and tanged arrowhead (note in *Archaeological Journal*, XII (1855), 285, and Shortt, 1960, pl. 15). The more rudimentary treatment of the superfluous edges betrays a more utilitarian approach in the manufacture of our example. A restriction of large scale polishing to two main edges is a feature of many polished-edge flint knives; including, within Devizes Museum’s collections, an example from King Barrow Ridge, Durrington (DM 1453; Clay, 1928, fig. on p. 98 and Laidler and Young, 1938, pl. VI, no. 80). The trait links ours to the triangular knives of Clark’s form II. An asymmetrical variant of this form from Sway in Hampshire (Salisbury Museum no. 2008; Shortt, 1960, pl. 15) seems worth pointing out in this connection. The disposition and relative proportions of its two principal polished edges strongly recall our example.

ALAN BURCHARD

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A FLANGED AXE FROM DURNFORD

The cast-flanged axe illustrated here (FIG. 1)¹ was discovered by Mr. R. Osgood of Middle Woodford in 1971 while ploughing at Highdown in the parish of Durnford at SU 133373. Mr. Osgood generously donated the axe to the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum where it has been allocated the accession no. 51/1971. Since the discovery of this axe came too late for its inclusion in the *Catalogue of Bronze Age Metalwork in Salisbury Museum*,² I now take the opportunity to note it here.

When discovered the axe possessed a fine patina, but a crude attempt at cleaning prior to its arrival in the Museum has resulted in the removal of part of this. The blade is therefore now slightly pitted on both sides and scratched on one.

The axe belongs to the ‘Arretton Down’ tradition and is believed to be typical of the earliest metalworking industry to develop in Southern Britain.³ It is undecorated,⁴ is 9·8 cm. long with a typical crescentic cutting edge 5·7 cm. at its broadest extent. The axe weighs 163·8 grammes.⁵ Its flanges curve gently from the cutting edge to the butt which, from the section (fig. 1), can be seen to be slightly asymmetrical in relation to the body of the axe. This could be due to slight miscasting, or more probably to faulty hammering during the later stages of manufacture. There is a very slight transverse central bevel on both sides of the axe 4·5 cms. from the butt end.

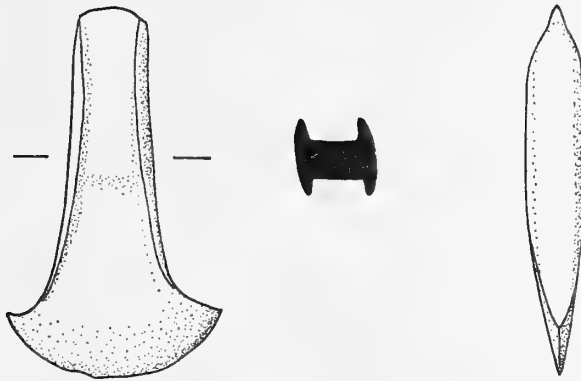


FIG. 1

Flanged bronze axe from Durnford. Scale, 1:2.

A carving of an axe of this type was discovered at Stonehenge by Professor (then Mr.) R. J. C. Atkinson in 1953 on stone 53 in close proximity to the dagger carving.⁶ Attention had previously been drawn to the concentration of finds of 'Arretton Down' or 'cast-flanged' axes in the Stonehenge district in a distribution map of such axes published by Sir Cyril Fox.⁷ The find spot of the axe here noted is within 3 miles of Stonehenge and this axe may therefore be regarded as a further addition to this concentration.

P. R. SAUNDERS

¹ I am indebted to Miss E. R. Muers (now my wife) for drawing the axe.

² Moore, C. N. and Rowlands, M., published by Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, 1972.

³ The type is described fully in Britton, D., *Traditions of Metalworking in the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain: Part I, Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, XXIX (1963), 286.

⁴ Compare the fine decorated flanged axe (Salisbury Museum acc. no. 33/1953) found 400

yards south-east of Stonehenge, Stone, J. F. S., *A decorated Bronze Axe from Stonehenge Down, W.A.M.*, LV (1953), 30-33.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. D. J. Algar for obtaining the weight of the axe.

⁶ The discovery and subsequent discoveries are described and Stone 53 illustrated in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, XVIII (1952; Dec. 1953), 236 and pl. XXV.

⁷ *The Personality of Britain*, 1938 (3rd edition), pl. III.

A BRONZE TERRET FROM COLD KITCHEN HILL

In the autumn of 1971 a bronze lipped terret was discovered during ploughing on the land farmed by Mr. M. E. Allard in the Whitecliff Down area of Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill. It was found at about ST 83313875, about thirty metres W.S.W. of the mound excavated by E. H. Goddard (1894, 279-291) in 1893; and in the general area investigated by R. de C. Nan Kivell (1925, 1926, 1928) in 1924-6. Within living memory this field seems to have remained unploughed until 1966. The terret was brought to the Society's Museum for identification through the good offices of Mr. H. D. Kitching. We are most grateful to Mr. Allard for his generosity in subsequently giving it to the Museum (accession no. 15.1972). It has been most kindly drawn for us by Mr. N. Griffiths of the Winchester Research Unit (FIG. 1).

The D-shaped terret, or rein-guide, consists of an oval ring, interrupted at a pair of 'terminals', which are themselves joined by a double base bar. The ring, which is oval sectioned and swells towards the 'terminals', has three pairs of lips mounted on its fore edge. Excluding these, the ring is 75 mm. across at its widest. The lips, as well as much of the body of the ring, have areas hollowed to take champlévé enamel inlay, now missing. On

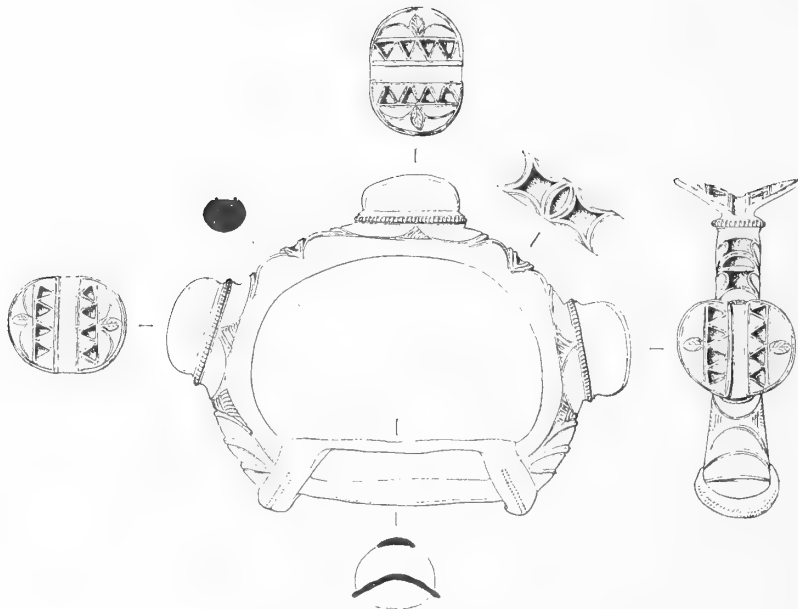


FIG. 1

Bronze terret from Cold Kitchen Hill. Scale, 2:3.

the body of the ring these areas show clear traces of red enamel; while the colouring of the inlay on the lips is uncertain, there are some faint suggestions of the former presence of blue enamel. Just above either 'terminal' are three overlapping folds. These folds, as well as the pairs of lips, have their edges emphasized by incised lines. Hatched triangles are incised on the sides of the ring below each pair of lips. A pair of parallel dotted lines encircled each terminal, though the rubbing of the reins has worn away almost all trace of them towards the inside of the ring. In one or two places the patina has been scraped through to the bare metal, presumably as a result of plough damage at the time of finding or during cultivation in the previous years.

E. T. Leeds has studied the development of terrets in this country (Leeds, 1933, 118-126). The positioning of the lips in the same plane as the ring would seem to place this example in his class c. This particular form of terret, with the lozenge-shaped base bar, curved underneath, has been distinguished by him as a type likely to have been the largest example of a set of five, the remainder having plain vertical bars (Leeds, 1933, 121-2). While the others seem to have been fastened on the horses' yoke, this type may have had a position somewhere on the line of the carriage pole (Stead, 1965, 43-4, and MacGregor, 1963, 31). The curve of the base bar and the axis of the ring suggest that this form was intended for fastening to a curved surface at right angles to the long axis of the carriage. Whatever its precise position, a strap must have been passed over the lower bar to hold it in position against the surface on which it was designed to rest. The second bar was evidently intended to hold this strap securely in its place. While an apparently rare feature on terrets of Leeds's classes c and d, this additional bar is a fairly obvious improvement. A similar idea seems apparent in the concealed bar terrets of Leeds's class g (Leeds, 1933, 122-3, and Kilbride-Jones, 1935), usually dated to the second century A.D. (Piggott, 1966, 12).

Terrets of class c have been attributed by Fox (1958, 126) to the first half of the first century A.D., though Simpson has preferred a dating later in the century (MacGregor, 1963, 24). A dating in the first century A.D. is supported by the champlévé enamel-work, a

technique of decoration which is held only to have come into general use from the beginning of that century (Brailsford, 1953, 53, and Fox, 1958, 142). Leeds felt that the terrets with large lipped mouldings were primarily the product of western craftsmen (Leeds, 1933, 47). A western origin for this terret is indeed suggested by its affinities to material from the Polden Hill hoard discussed below, and also by the use of the incised triangle pattern, strongly recalling the bordering of the mirror from St. Keverne, Cornwall (Fox, 1958, 103-4 and pl. 7) and generally reminiscent of the 'wave' motif often present on South-Western Third B 'Glastonbury' pottery.

Some of the examples from the Polden Hill hoard, dated by Fox to *c.* 1-60 A.D., are extremely close to our example (Harford, 1803, 90-93, and Fox, 1958, 131, note 18). Of special interest is the one illustrated by Fox (1958, pl. 71c). This is very similar in the general angularity of the decoration and in the technique of emphasizing the enamelled shapes by means of an engraved outline. Both use the hanging triangle motif. While this motif appears on the lips of the Cold Kitchen Hill terret, the design of the hourglass shapes and lentoids on the body of the Cold Kitchen Hill example is quite close to the overall pattern created by the sets of hanging triangles and intervening voids on the body of the Polden Hill terret. Fox's 'dangle' motif (Fox, 1958, fig. 83, no. 66), engraved on the outer portion of the lips, is found with the two halves forming a complete quatrefoil pattern on some of the Polden Hill examples (Fox, 1958, pl. 71c, and Leeds, 1933, pl I, no. 2); and it seems to have been a common motif on terrets of Leeds's classes c and d (Leeds, 1933, 120 and 125).

In discussing four-lipped examples of class c, Leeds stated that generally all the lips are of the same size (Leeds, 1935, 120). He mentioned one typological development, whereby the inner lips become smaller and the outer ones are depressed to form a disc from which the inner ones spring. Some of the Polden Hill terrets (Fox, 1958, pl. 71c and Harford, 1803, pl. XIX, no. 2), possessing lips of equal size but with the outer ones placed on a level plane, may illustrate the apparent beginning of this development. The Cold Kitchen Hill terret has a projecting oval disc, edged with interrupted beading set below the lips; comparison with the Polden example suggests that this feature may represent a decorative degeneration of the outer lips. Another form of development from the stage of the Polden example is represented by a terret from Kingsholm in Gloucestershire (Bristol Museum F768; Green, 1951, pl. XVa), where the inner lips have been compressed together to form a vertical keel placed between the two outer lips.

The close similarities between the Cold Kitchen Hill terret and this Polden Hill type have been discussed. The devolution of the lip ornament suggests that, while closely related, it may be typologically a little later. This is perhaps supported by the simpler and more straightforward decoration of the Polden Hill example: in particular, one might single out the use of the plain hanging triangle decoration on the body of the ring and the use of the quatrefoil pattern, without complicating motifs, on the lips. This could be explained as a variation in artistic standards, the more economical form of the Polden Hill example revealing perhaps better aesthetic judgment in its designer. Nevertheless our example seems in its decoration to try to venture, however less skilfully, beyond the decorative motifs represented in the Polden Hill example and this should argue for a later date. Such a conclusion may be supported by the technical improvement, the addition of a second base bar, present on the Cold Kitchen Hill terret.

ALAN BURCHARD

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THE SEAL MATRIX OF RICHARD CANO

Seal matrices of the 12th century are rare survivals and any new example is of great interest. It is therefore most fortunate that the bone seal matrix which was found at Old Sarum, Wiltshire (SU 13923229) in July 1971 has been acquired by the Salisbury Museum (192/1971). Ivory seal matrices of the early medieval period have been listed by A. Goldschmidt but there are no lists of seal matrices in other materials and no other bone seal matrices from the 12th century are known to me.¹

The seal matrix (PL. VI) is a pointed oval in shape, and in section the seal is convex so that the design in the centre is higher than the surrounding inscription thus producing a concave impression. At the top there is a loop handle. The height of the matrix is 45 mm., the width 27 mm., and the thickness 7 mm. In the centre there is a man standing holding a sword in his left hand and a shield in his right. He has a pointed helmet with a band around it and mail around the back of his head. His body is covered by a tunic down to the knees and wrists. The long kite-shaped shield is attached by a loop around his neck. The shield has a border and in the centre there is an equal-armed cross with dots between the angles of the cross. An animal, perhaps a dog, leaps up against the shield.

Around the edge of the seal there is the inscription in Lombardic capitals SIGILL RICARDI CANO DEBR indicating that this is the seal of Richard Cano. The meaning of the last four letters is not clear though it is possible that BR may stand for the beginning of a place name.

Personal seals, including those of barons and knights, are usually round. Almost all the seals, excluding women's seals, illustrated by C. H. Hunter Blair in his discussion of armorials on English seals from the 12th to the 16th century are round.² Personal seals of pointed oval shape do occur in the 13th century and later and may be derived from religious seals. The only other personal seal of pointed oval shape of the 12th century known to me is that of Giles of Gorham which depicts a standing figure of a man holding a sword and shield, though he is not fighting an animal.³

The standing knight was less common on seals in England than on the continent. Examples can be found in both France and Germany and it may be that the seal matrix is not English.⁴

The scene of a knight fighting an animal is known on other seals. The finest example of this scene is undoubtedly the reverse of the seal of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester (c. 1235) where a knight defends himself against a rampant lion.⁵ Another 13th century example is on the reverse of the seal of Hugh de Neville.⁶ Combat scenes occur on at least two 12th century seals. The earliest is the round seal of Richard Basset (c. 1129) where a knight fights a griffin holding a man in its mouth and there is a later example of a combat with a lion on the round seal of Roger de Berkeley (c. 1162).⁷

It is not easy to give the seal of Richard Cano a precise date. The shield carried by the knight does not display any heraldry. Heraldry on seals first appears in the second quarter of the 12th century and gradually became more common throughout that century though there are some equestrian seals recorded in Gray Birch with non-heraldic shields which are dated to the early 13th century. The epigraphy of the inscription does not suggest a more

precise date and the details of the shield, helmet, and sword, do no more than suggest the latter half of the 12th century. The analogies with the other seals would suggest that it is reasonable to date the seal to the middle of the 12th century.

J. CHERRY

¹ A Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Vol. IV (1926), nos. 56–59, 272.

² *Archaeologia*, 89 (1943), 1–26.

³ B. M. Photographs 1026 no. 11. Ref. no. XXXVI. 198.

⁴ For French examples see J. Roman, *Manuel de sigillographie française* (Paris, 1912), pl. XI, 1 (Abbaye de Saint-Victor, c. 1150), pl. XIV, 1 (Soissons, 1228). For German examples see E. von Berchem *Siegel* (Berlin, 1918), Abb. 37, 38, 39. These three and that of Saint Victor are all of pointed oval shape.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, 89 (1943), pl. VII, f. W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, Vol. 2, no. 6346, illustrated pl. X.

⁶ W. de G. Birch, *op. cit.*, nos. 12, 105–8. The reverse of this seal is illustrated in Durham Seals, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, XI (1914), 184.

⁷ *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, Northants Record Society, Vol. XV, pl. III, and G. Henderson, *Early Medieval* (1972), pl. 91 and p. 255, and B.M. Photos., 1027, no. 26.

NOTE ON A WILTSHIRE PIPEMAKER

A by-product of research related to the Bristol pipe-making industry at present being studied by the writer¹ was the noting in the Bristol Apprentice Rolls of the occasional non-Bristol pipemaker whose son was apprenticed in Bristol, either to a pipemaker or to a non-pipemaker, and whose name does not appear among the some 3,400 English pipemakers listed by Oswald in 1960.² Among these was one Wiltshire pipemaker, and it seems worthwhile to record him here, particularly in view of the considerable work at present being conducted on Wiltshire pipes by D. R. Atkinson.^{3–5}

The maker in question is *John Filder* of Bradford-on-Avon, whose son John was apprenticed to Richard Tucker of Bristol, a cordwainer, and his wife Mary on 12th December 1737.⁶ Assuming the son was in his early teens when apprenticed, his father must have been married and presumably working by the early 1720s. The Bristol Apprentice Rolls often indicate when the father of the apprentice was dead, but whether they do so consistently enough to allow one to assume that no reference to his being dead indicates he is still alive at the time the son is apprenticed is uncertain; it is therefore not certain here whether John Filder was still working by 1737, though it seems likely. In any event he can be dated to the first half of the 18th century, a time when pipemaking in Wiltshire appears to have been at its height, to judge by the Marlborough⁷ and Salisbury⁸ evidence.

IAIN C. WALKER

¹ Writer's Ph.D. thesis at present nearing completion for the University of Bath; see meanwhile I. C. Walker, *The Bristol Clay Tobacco-Pipe Industry* (City Museum, Bristol, 1971).

² A. Oswald, *The Archaeology and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes*, *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, XXIII (3rd ser.) (1960), 40–102.

³ D. R. Atkinson, *Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers of Marlborough*, *WAM*, 60 (1965), 85–95 (reprinted with corrections and additions, 1969).

⁴ D. R. Atkinson, *Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers of Salisbury, Wiltshire*, *WAM*, 65 (1970),

177–89 and pl. XI.

⁵ D. R. Atkinson, *Jeffrey Hunt Pipes*, *WAM*, 66 (1971), 156–61.

⁶ Bristol Apprenticeship Rolls, volume for 1724–40, f. 242. I am very grateful to Miss M. E. Williams, Bristol City Archives, for much help with these records.

⁷ Atkinson, *Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers of Marlborough* (*op. cit.*, note 3), 88, 94.

⁸ Atkinson, *Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers from Salisbury, Wiltshire* (*op. cit.*, note 4), 181.

WILLIAM CROWE

The New College living of Alton Barnes has had more than one incumbent of some distinction, and the acquisition by our Society's Library of *Lewesdon Hill and Other Poems* by William Crowe (1827) makes it appropriate to republish one of the less-known poems he wrote when he was there (1787–1829).

Born in 1745, Crowe came of humble parentage. His singing voice and natural capacity took him as a poor scholar to Winchester and to New College, where he became a Fellow. On taking orders his first parish was Stoke Bishop in Dorset which lay at the foot of Lewesdon Hill. In 1784 he was elected Public Orator of the University of Oxford, a post which he held all his life. He soon moved to Alton Barnes and it was there that he published the poem on which his fame rested. It was considered by his contemporary poets as a worthy successor to James Thomson's *Seasons*.

Crowe must have been a striking personality. He usually made his way to Oxford from Alton on foot and could be seen striding ahead, with his coat and his few belongings slung over his stick. Even when engaged in his duties at Oxford at times of commemoration, in delivering the Crewian Oration or declaiming his English or Latin encomia on the distinguished personages honoured by the University, his unconventional manner and dress excited the notice, but certainly by the aptness of his phraseology held the attention, of his audience.

The poem that appears below was first published in 1827. It is a Latin poem mourning the loss of one of his sons and dates back to the time in 1815 when William, fourth son of his father, an ensign in the 4th King's Own Royal Regiment, lost his life in that inglorious action outside New Orleans which terminated the American War of 1812-1814. It was a totally regrettable action: a foolhardy frontal attack in close column was made on positions strongly prepared and held by the Americans in front of the Mississippi levee. In it two thousand men were lost by the British, and only seventeen by the Americans. Moreover the action occurred after the signing of the Peace of Ghent, but before the news of it had reached the combatants.

Through the instrumentality of Mr. Frank Lepper, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, we are fortunate in being able to include a translation of Crowe's poem, due to the able pen of Mr. F. C. Geary, a former Fellow of the same College.

INSCRIPTIO IN HORTO AUCTORIS APUD ALTON IN COM. WILT

M. S.

GULIELMI CROWE

SIGNIF. LEG. IV.

QUI CECIDIT IN ACIE,

8 DIE JAN. A.D. 1815. AET. S. 21.

Hanc Ego quam felix annis melioribus Ulmum
Ipse manu sevi, Tibi, dilectissime Fili,
Consecro in aeternum, Gulielme; vocabitur Arbos
Haec Tua, servabitque Tuum per saecula nomen.
Te, generose Puer, nil muneris hujus egentem,
Te, jam perfunctum belli vitaeque labore,
Respexit Deus, et caelestibus intulit oris.
Me tamen afflictum, me consolabitur aegrum,
Hoc Tibi quod solvo, quamquam leve, pignus amoris.
Quinetiam assidue hic veniam, lentaeque senectae
De Te, dulce Caput, meditando, tempora ducam:
Saepe Tuam recolens formam, moresque decentes,
Dictaque, tum sancto et sapienti corde profecta,
Tum festiva quidem, et vario condita lepore.
Id mihi nunc solamen erit dum vita manebit.

Tu vero, quicumque olim successeris Haeres
Sedibus his, oro, moesti reverere Parentis;
Nec tu sperne preces quas hac super Arbore fundo.
Sit tibi non invisus, sit inviolata securi,
Et quantum Natura sinet, crescat, monumentum
Egregii Juvenis, qui saevo est Marte peremptus,
Fortiter ob patriam pugnando: sic Tibi constans
Sit fortuna domus, sit nulli obnoxia damno;
Nec videas unquam jucundi funera Nati.

INSCRIPTION IN THE AUTHOR'S GARDEN IN ALTON, WILTS.

Sacred to the Memory of
WILLIAM CROWE
Ensign of the 4th Regiment
Who fell in battle
8th Jan. 1815 aged 20

This Elm in happier days with my own hand
I planted; now to your loved memory,
My dear son William, hallowed it shall stand.
It shall be called your Tree, and evermore
Through passing generations bear your name.
Yet no such tribute needs your noble soul,
For now, life's wars and troubles safely past,
God's care has brought you to the peace of Heaven.
Still may this humble token of my love
Bring consolation to my sorrowing heart.
Here will I often come, and pass the hours
Of lingering old age in thoughts of you,
Remembering your looks, your honest ways,
The words of worth and wisdom that you spoke,
With gaiety seasoned and the spice of wit:
This while life lasts shall be my comfort ever.

You, who some day will follow in my place,
I beg you to respect a father's grief:
Reject not my petition for this tree.
Let it be cherished, let the axe not harm it,
And, long as fate allows it, let it grow,
A noble youth's memorial, who fell
In battle bravely fighting for his country.
So may your own house thrive, by no loss threatened,
Nor may you live to mourn a dear son's death.

One of Crowe's walks on returning from Oxford is specially remembered. It was a fine day just before the Christmas of 1825. As usual he sat down to rest and enjoy the view from Adam's Grave before dropping down to his house below. With his telescope there were usually three notable objects that he could pick out in the distance: Salisbury Cathedral spire, Alfred's Tower over by Stourhead and the tower that Beckford had built at Fonthill. This time he was astonished only to be able to find two of them. Beckford's tower had fallen down.

Crowe towards the end of his life was advised on medical grounds to spend the winter in Bath and there he died in 1829. The new rector was Augustus William Hare. At Oxford, even as an undergraduate, Hare had attempted to extinguish the privileges of Founders' kin. This of course brought down on him the wrath of the Warden and Fellows for attacking the basis of the society to which they belonged. However by 1820 he was selected as one of the Schools Examiners at Oxford and settled into the ordinary life of a don. 'He was very eccentric. If excited in conversation, he would spring up in the midst of his talk, twirl himself rapidly round three times, and sit down again without pausing in what he was saying. After dinner at the house of friends he would rush up and down the drawing room in the vehemence of his spirits, and then cast himself upon a sofa, and throw up his legs in the air.' After much hesitation he was ordained, and on Crowe's death accepted the living of Alton Barnes. He was a real saint and at once endeared himself to the villagers. He never spared himself in anything that touched their material or spiritual well-being. He bought clothes for distribution to them and charged them only two thirds of their cost. He developed a type of sermon that they could all understand. The neighbouring church of Alton Priors, which had been served only once a month by a visiting priest, he took under his wing to the delight of the congregation.

Mrs. Hare, whom he had married only three months before his arrival, was eager to help her husband, totally unpractical as he was. She felt that she alone was able to understand his ways and always took charge and made the necessary decisions. 'The first thing to be done is to cut away a small clump of trees just before the windows, excluding all the light from the lower rooms.' Even though the new couple were helped into their house by one of Crowe's sons, who was curate of nearby Huish, any reference to the consecrated tree must have been brushed aside. There are now no elms in the rectory garden; and it seems pretty clear that 'the clump of trees' in front of the window must have included William's own elm.

One other detail throws fresh light on the most dramatic event in Hare's ministry at Alton. Crowe, unlike Hare, had harvested his own glebe. When in 1830 the Machine Riots broke out, with an ugly attack on the neighbouring farm, the new rector—or was it his wife?—took care to leave Crowe's machine out in the open field, so that it could be destroyed with those belonging to the farm. Consequently no serious attack was made on the rectory or its inhabitants.

But Hare had never been robust, and in 1834 he went to Italy in the hope of recovering his health. That was not to be, for he died in the following year. His influence, however, was long felt and his sermons remained alive in the minds both of his parishioners and of many of his clerical neighbours. One of these was Robert Kilvert, who acted as his locum while he was abroad and until his successor was appointed. Robert's school at Langley Burrell is probably best known from references to it in his son Francis's *Diary*.

E. G. H. KEMPSON

WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER

FOR 1971

WILTSHIRE IS EXCEPTIONALLY FORTUNATE in possessing an archaeological gazetteer which presents the record of monuments, excavations and chance finds within the county to the end of 1951, when the greater part of the Victoria County History, *Wiltshire*, I, i reached the final stages of drafting. The Archaeology Research Committee of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society has now in preparation a supplement to this gazetteer which will carry the detailed record to the end of 1970; it is hoped that this supplement will be published in due course under the aegis of the Society. From 1971 the record is to be kept permanently up to date by printing in each volume of *WAM* a register of the new information that has accrued during the previous year. The chronological range of the supplement and registers will extend beyond that of VCH, I, i to include material up to c. AD 1500. Appended to each register will be a bibliography listing publications of general as well as of specific relevance for the year under review.

The register, which makes its first appearance in the present (1972) volume, incorporates two of the customary features of previous volumes, 'Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire' and the list of accessions to the Society's museum at Devizes (apart from Natural History and post-medieval accessions, which will continue to appear in the Curator's annual reports). It also includes accessions of Wiltshire material in other museums, brief notices of excavation reports and other published matter and information from a generally wider range of sources than was formerly drawn upon in compiling the entries for 'Excavation and Fieldwork'.

In order to present the information in the most economical manner, some departures from the arrangement in VCH, I, i are necessary. Constant repetition of such terms as 'Bronze Age', 'Roman', etc., has been avoided by grouping entries chronologically into eight archaeological/historical 'periods'. Within each period listing is by civil parishes, following as closely as possible VCH practice with regard to name, alphabetical order and spelling. (Thus, for example, the parish of Wilsford near Amesbury will still appear as 'Wilsford (South)' and not in its present official guise of 'Wilsford cum Lake'. Discrepancies or potential confusion arising from changes in administrative boundaries or amalgamation of parishes since 1951 will be clarified as necessary, the final authority being the Ordnance Survey's administrative diagram for the county as revised to 1.8.1970.) Newly discovered field monuments (e.g., barrows, enclosures) are not listed separately but are included under the appropriate chronological group and parish. Following the same system, brief references to published excavation reports are inserted in the register, but without a summary of the results; the complete references, with names of authors and titles of articles, will be found in the bibliography.

For the purpose of facilitating cross-references between entries for the same year or between one year and another, the items in each annual register will be numbered serially, each number having as prefix the last two digits of the relevant calendar year (as 71/1, indicating the year 1971).

Accessions to museums are noted by the familiar short name of the museum, e.g., Devizes or Salisbury, followed by the accession number. For objects in private collections, the sources of information noted are museum records (e.g., Devizes Museum Daybook) or individual informants, not necessarily the owners. Particulars of attribution and location are as supplied by the museums, groups or individuals named.

Unless specified, dates of publication of monographs and journals referred to in the register and bibliography are those of or for the year under review; journals, even when appearing in a subsequent calendar year, will be included under the nominal year of issue (thus *Antiq J* 51, for 1971, published in 1972, is still included in the 1971 register and bibliography).

With one exception, abbreviations of the titles of journals follow the American Standards Association list Z.39.5-1963, as recommended by the Council for British Archaeology. For the Society's journal, however, the familiar and concise *WAM* is retained in preference to the cumbersome *Wiltshire Archaeol Natur Hist Mag*. Other abbreviations employed in the register are as follows:

C: century, as in C2, second century

cm: centimetre(s)

diam: diameter

DoE: Department of the Environment

DMV: deserted medieval village

E, N, S, W, etc.: points of the compass

ha: hectare(s)

ht: height

m: metre(s)

P (followed by a number): serial number of stone implement examined by the Implement Petrology Survey of the South-West

PP: in private possession

RB: Romano-British

SMARG: Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group

SPLAS: Swindon Public Libraries Archaeological Society

VCH: Victoria County History: *Wiltshire*

WANHS: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society

Acknowledgements. Many of the entries included in the register for 1971 have previously appeared in *Archaeological Review* 6 (for 1971) and in the *Annual Reports* of the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum for 1970-71 and 1971-72. Item 71/82 was first published in *Britannia* 3 (1972), 346.

PALAEOLITHIC

- 71/1 **Berwick Bassett**, Hackpen Hill. SU 12337313. Ovate hand-axe, stained and abraded. Devizes 13.1971.
- 71/2 **Dinton**. SU 0031. Two Acheulian hand-axes, from 'Dinton' and 'N of Dinton Wood'. Salisbury 81/1971, 83/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/3 **Salisbury (New Sarum)**, 32 New Zealand Avenue. SU 12703075. Ovate Acheulian hand-axe, dug up in back garden. Salisbury 58/1971
- 71/4 **Winterbourne Monkton**, Hackpen Hill, nr Glory Ann Barn. SU 125725. Large struck flake, stained and abraded. Devizes 43.1971

MESOLITHIC

- 71/5 **Amesbury**, SE of Stonehenge. SU 130418. Tranchet axe; 3 microblade cores; flake of Portland chert. See also 71/16. pp, Martin T. Green, Down Farm, Woodcutts
- 71/6 **Beechingstoke**, within Marden Enclosure. SU 090583. Microlith and notched blade. *Antiq J* 51, 215

- 71/7 **Bishops Cannings**, Bishops Cannings Down. SU 050663. Microblade core and core-trimming flake. See also 71/19. Devizes 1.1971
- 71/8 **Bromham**, Roundway Hill. SU 004648. Microblade core and two core-trimming flakes. See also 71/22. Devizes 2.1971
- 71/9 **Colerne**, E of Foss Way. ST 797704. Three blades; microblade core. See also 71/25. Devizes 6.1971
- 71/10 **Dinton**, Baverstock. SU 0231. Tranchet pick. Salisbury 85/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/11 **Roundway**, Roundway Hill. SU 006645. Butt of axe reworked as core; two microblade cores. See also 71/35. Devizes 5.1971
- 71/12 **Upavon**, W bank of R. Avon. SU 135546. Microblade core and graver, in material dredged from river. Devizes 12.1971
- 71/13 **Wanborough**, Foxbridge Farm. SU 20518411. Microlith from a bowl-shaped pit, 1.40 m wide and 0.40 m. deep, filled with soil and ash. The pit, 1.0 m. below present surface, was sectioned by a drainage-pipe trench. B. Phillips
- 71/14 **Wilsford (South)**, nr Starveall Plantation. SU 121404. Tranchet axe; two microblade cores. See also 71/40. Devizes 27.1971

NEOLITHIC

- 71/15 **Aldbourne**, E of Chase Woods. SU 222751. Flaked flint axe. Devizes Museum Daybook, no. 318
- 71/16 **Amesbury**, SE of Stonehenge. SU 131419. Complete flaked flint axe, edges partially blunted by grinding (FIG. 1). Found by Mr. B. Lewis. Scrapers and many waste flakes in same field (mainly at SU 130418). See also 71/5. pp, Martin T. Green, Down Farm, Woodcutts
- 71/17 **Avebury**, SE of Penning Barn. SU 086692. Discoidal scraper. Devizes 33.1971
- 71/18 **Beechingstoke**, Marden Enclosure. SU 090583. Report on 1969 excavations: *Antiq J* 51, 177-239
- 71/19 **Bishops Cannings**, Bishops Cannings Down. SU 050663. Scraper. See also 71/7. Devizes 1.1971
- 71/20 **Blunsdon St. Andrew**, Home Farm. SU 15958994. Pottery (Ebbsfleet style) and flint flakes from a pit cut by a gas pipe-line trench. The bowl-shaped pit, 0.75 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep, was lined with stones round the lower half; small burnt fragments incorporated in 5 cm. of black ash in the bottom of the pit suggested that the stones had been trimmed when in position. 0.30 m. N of the pit was a post-hole, 7 cm. across and set at a slight angle towards the pit. B. Phillips
- 71/21 **Broad Chalke**, Church Bottom. SU 040240. Partly polished flint axe. Salisbury Museum *Annu Rep 1970-1971*, pl. IIA. Salisbury 8/1971
- 71/22 **Bromham**, Roundway Hill. SU 004648. Three cores, 4 scrapers, 2 retouched flakes and waste flakes. See also 71/8. Devizes 2.1971
- 71/23 **Bromham**, Roundway Hill. SU 009653. Two scrapers. Devizes 3.1971
- 71/24 **Burcombe Without**, nr Grovely Hill. SU 077327. Greenstone axe of Cornish origin, Group XVI (P.1451). Salisbury Museum *Annu Rep 1970-1971*, pl. IIA. Salisbury 24/1971
- 71/25 **Colerne**, E of Foss Way. ST 797704. Thirteen scrapers (including 5 of beaker type), core, other worked flints and waste flakes. See also 71/9. Devizes 6.1971
- 71/26 **Durrington**, Durrington Walls. SU 150435. G. J. Wainwright with I. H. Longworth, *Durrington Walls: Excavations 1966-1968*. Neolithic finds: Salisbury 217/1971
- 71/27 **Durrington**, Larkhill. SU 147436. Neolithic settlement W of Durrington Walls: *WAM* 66, 78-82, 94-9, 122-4. Salisbury 258-63/1971
- 71/28 **Fovant**. SU 0029. Polished flint axe, butt broken. Marked 'Fovant' and 'South Newton'. Salisbury 86/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/29 **Idmiston**, Gomeldon. SU 190350 (approx.). Eight bell beaker sherds associated with a burial about 2.75 m. deep; found during building work. Salisbury 274/1971

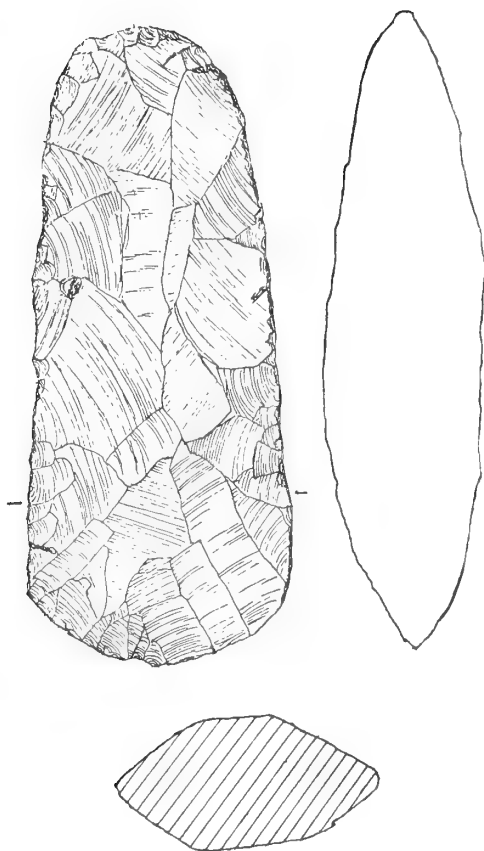


FIG. 1

Flint axe from the parish of Amesbury. Scale, 1:2.

Drawn by Barry Lewis

- 71/30 **Netheravon.** SU 11224686. Long barrow, orientated ENE–WSW, 60·0 m. long, 27·0 m. wide, 0·8 m. high, in artillery range. Previously unrecorded, though shown on Ordnance Survey drawing, 1808. N. V. Quinnell, Ordnance Survey
- 71/31 **Pewsey,** Denny Sutton Hipend. SU 158577. Barbed and tanged arrowhead. pp, Devizes Museum Daybook, no. 323
- 71/32 **Pewsey,** Pewsey Hill Enclosure. SU 16755765. Flakes and cores: *WAM* 66, 70. Devizes 51–52.1971
- 71/33 **Pewsey,** Pewsey Hill Enclosure. SU 16755765. Core. Devizes 16.1971
- 71/34 **Roundway,** S of Oliver's Castle. SU 00206447. Core. Devizes 17.1971
- 71/35 **Roundway,** Roundway Hill. SU 006645. Seventeen scrapers (including 2 of beaker type), flint knife of beaker type (broken), core and waste flakes. See also 71/11. Devizes 5.1971
- 71/36 **Roundway,** Roundway Hill. SU 015644. Two scrapers. Devizes 4.1971
- 71/37 **Sutton Mandeville.** ST 9828. Arrowhead. Salisbury 93/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/38 **Swindon,** Burmah Oil site. SU 16208264. Barbed and tanged arrowhead. B. Phillips

- 71/39 **?Tollard Royal**, ?Tollard Green. ?ST 9316. Large stone axe; two barbed and tanged arrowheads; three leaf-shaped arrowheads. Salisbury 87/1971, 92/1971, 195/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/40 **Wilsford (South)**, nr Starveall Plantation. SU 121404. Flints collected by Mr. R. S. Newall and the late Dr. R. C. C. Clay. Two flaked axes, 3 transverse arrowheads, 43 scrapers, 3 'fabricators' and 1 fragment, other implements and 2 cores. See also 71/14. Devizes 27.1971. Three transverse arrowheads. Salisbury 89-91/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/41 **Wilsford (South)**. SU 1339. Worked flints, not closely located. Devizes 29.1971
- 71/42 **Winterbourne Monkton**, Hackpen Hill, nr Glory Ann Barn. SU 125725. Worked flints. Devizes 43.1971
- 71/43 **Winterbourne Stoke**, on round barrow 3. SU 10084163. Flint flake from rabbit scrape on this bowl barrow. Devizes 25.1971

BRONZE AGE

- 71/44 **Amesbury**, round barrow 82. SU 18224097. Two ring-headed bone pins found in an urn exposed by a rabbit-scraper in 1924, probably in this barrow. Salisbury Museum *Annu Rep 1971-1972*, pl. IB. Salisbury 288/1971
- 71/45 **Ashton Keynes**. SU 033950. Abraded Bronze Age sherd and plano-convex flint knife; casual finds during excavation of RB site (see 71/77). I. A. Kinnes
- 71/46 **Bower Chalke**, Woodminton. SU 0022. Eleven sherds from a barrel urn with vertical raised strips of fingertip ornament. Salisbury 96/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/47 **Durnford**, Great Durnford, Highdown. SU 41331373. Flanged bronze axe. See Notes, *WAM* 67 (1972). Salisbury 57/1971
- 71/48 **Durrington**, N of Durrington Walls. SU 152441. Linear ditch; sherd of bucket urn in primary fill. G. J. Wainwright with I. H. Longworth, *Durrington Walls: Excavations 1966-1968*, 310, 324. Salisbury 218/1971
- 71/49 **Durrington**, Larkhill. SU 147436. Socketed bronze knife-blade, Thorndon type. *WAM* 66, 99-100. Salisbury 264/1971
- 71/50 **Figheledean**. Previously unrecorded round barrows: SU 14094634 (diam. 38 m, ht. 0.50 m); 14114636; 14144638; 14174640; 12694655; 16864727; 16884727; 16864721; 16894721; 16924722; 18354894. N. V. Quinnell, Ordnance Survey
- 71/51 **Figheledean**, Barrow Clump. SU 164468. Sixteen barrows, existing only as crop- and soil-marks, 10-30 m. diam., can be added to the three recorded in VCH, I, i, 174 (Figheledean 25, 25a, 25b) to reconstitute a major barrow cemetery. N. V. Quinnell, Ordnance Survey
- 71/52 **Figheledean**, Rifle Field Firing Range. SU 192493. Hoard of (probably) 25 socketed bronze axes; the 21 surviving, of Sompting type, are mostly unused and unsharpened. Discovered by Explosive Ordnance Disposal Section, Tilshead. Salisbury Museum *Annu Rep 1971-1972*, pl. I. Ten in Salisbury, 246/1971, and 11 in British Museum, P1971, 7-2, 1-12. Publication forthcoming
- 71/53 **Fittleton**. SU 15284944; 15324940; 15264926; 15354978; 15394979; 15444980. Barrow circles showing as crop- and soil-marks in Crawford collection and Ordnance Survey air photographs were surveyed. N. V. Quinnell, Ordnance Survey
- 71/54 **Milston**. Previously unrecorded round barrows: SU 18924594 (disc, diam. 45 m., ht. 0.20 m.); 18614700 (diam. 16 m., ht. 0.30 m.); 18884591 (diam. 20 m., ht. 0.30 m.). A. N. King, Ordnance Survey
- 71/55 **Pewsham**, S bank of R. Marden. ST 937741. Sherd from rim of urn with cord, fingertip and incised decoration. Casual find amongst later material eroded from river bank. Devizes 48.1971
- 71/56 **Wilcot**. SU 13723170. Large basal-looped spearhead (Devizes, DM 1109) picked up 'near Wilcot' in 1909 now known to have been found at this spot: *WAM* 66, 177

- 71/57 **Wilsford (North)**, Ell Barrow. SU 07305138. Socket-looped spearhead said to come from this long barrow: *Antiq. J.* 51, 298-9. Newbury 1961-2
- 71/58 **Winterbourne**, S. of The Croft. SU 167348. Four barrow circles revealed by parchmarks during drought. The effect was caused by rings of tightly packed flint nodules, evidently filling the tops of ditches. Three similar rings were seen in 1895-6 in this parish (*WAM* 33 (1904), 410-1). Two were concentric, with grave in centre, and are listed in VCH, I, i, 200 as round barrow Winterbourne 7. The third, not noted in VCH, lies partly under railway embankment. D. J. Algar and I. F. Smith

PRE-ROMAN IRON AGE

- 71/59 **Blunsdon St. Andrew**, Little Rose Lane. SU 13869223. Occupation layer, pits, gullies and hearth exposed by a gas pipe-line trench. Sherds and animal bones were recovered. Limits of settlement not determined; it may continue N for another 50 m. beyond the 45 m. length exposed. B. Phillips
- 71/60 **Durrington**, Durrington Walls. SU 150435. Settlement within the henge monument; G. J. Wainwright with I. H. Longworth, *Durrington Walls: Excavations 1966-1968*, 313-28. Iron Age finds: Salisbury 218/1971
- 71/61 **Durrington**, Packway Enclosure. SU 152441. Trapezoidal enclosure, previously unrecorded: Wainwright with Longworth, *op. cit.*, 307-28. Salisbury 218/1971
- 71/62 **Durrington**, Larkhill. SU 147436. Sherds and animal bones from two pits. *WAM* 66, 100. Salisbury 265-7/1971
- 71/63 **Ebbesbourne Wake**, Fifield Bavant Down. SU 0025. Grain rubber; samples of carbonized mixed corn, oats, barley and wheat from settlement (*WAM* 42 (1924), 457-96). Salisbury 95/1971, 98-101/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/64 **Figheledean**. SU 14164598. Sub-triangular enclosure with sides about 100 m. long and entrance at N, associated with a field system. N. V. Quinnell, Ordance Survey **New Sarum**: see **Salisbury**
- 71/65 **Pewsey**, Black Patch Field. SU 15555806. Further Iron Age pits were investigated during the third season of excavation of the Saxon cemetery (see 71/108). One pit, with possible traces of clay lining, yielded sherds of haematite ware. Finds are comparable with those from the settlement at All Cannings Cross. Devizes Museum
- 71/66 **Pewsey**, Pewsey Hill Enclosure. SU 16755765. Sub-circular enclosure, previously unrecorded, excavated 1969-70: *WAM* 66, 61-71. Devizes 51-52.1971
- 71/67 **Potterne**, cemetery. Finds encountered during grave-digging:
ST 99505905 (approx.). Material collected prior to 1960 includes sherds of haematite and thumbed-shoulder wares, a small pedestal base, cylindrical loom-weight, hemispherical clay spindle-whorl, perforated pottery disc, antler fragments. Noted in VCH I, i, 96. Devizes 39.1971.
ST 99555907. Pottery, including haematite ware and sherds with incised decoration, found to a depth of about 4 ft in a newly opened area of the cemetery. Devizes 38.1971
- 71/68 **Salisbury (New Sarum)**, Castle Hill. SU 14313247. A V-shaped ditch, 6 m. wide, 2.5 m. deep, running E, probably Iron Age, exposed by excavation for a new reservoir. Silting had occurred about equally from both sides. When half silted, a series of C1 chalk-pits had been dug into both lips of the ditch and were subsequently used for disposal of rubbish. No pits were seen except on the ditch line. Late RB material occurred in the ditch about 0.75 m. below present ground surface. Previous finds in area: *WAM* 56 (1955), 102; 57 (1959), 181. SMARG
- 71/69 **Swallowcliffe**, ?Swallowcliffe Down. ?ST 968254. Twenty sherds. Salisbury 172/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)

ROMAN

- 71/70 **Aldbourne**, Aldbourne Chase. SU 22427543. Sherds and a blue glass bead. B. Phillips
- 71/71 **Albourne**, Aldbourne Chase. SU 22717575. Sherds found in 1970. SPLAS
- 71/72 **Aldbourne**, Stock Lane. SU 23637413. Site of a substantial building in an arable field, marked by sandstone roofing tiles, flint, sarsen and chalk building material, and C2-4 pottery. Sandstone roofing tiles and pottery also noted in adjoining field, at SU 23787410. B. Phillips
- 71/73 **Alton**, Red Shore. SU 117648. Sherds and iron penannular brooch from excavations on Wansdyke, 1966-70: *WAM* 66, 135-6. Devizes 50.1971, 35.1972
- 71/74. **Alton**, West Stowell, Stanchester. SU 13806185. Identification of site of building reported in 1931: *WAM* 66, 74
- 71/75 **Amesbury**, Lynchets Road area. SU 159411. Twenty-two coins, including a very worn *as* of Commodus but otherwise ranging from Victorinus to Valens (pp). D. J. Algar
- 71/76 **Amesbury**, Stonehenge 'round barrow'. SU 122422. Piece of a colander, probably RB, small bone and piece of charcoal. Salisbury 91/71 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/77 **Ashton Keynes**. SU 033950. Excavations sponsored by WANHS and DoE were undertaken on an extensive crop-mark site in advance of destruction by gravel-digging. The ditch of a large rectangular enclosure produced early Roman material from the primary silt. A cutting across part of the rectangular ditch system dependent on this enclosure established a C2 date; a large pit in the area contained the major part of an imported amphora. The central part of a sub-rectangular enclosure was examined. The finds comprised late Roman coarse pottery with four stratified C4 coins. Three large pit complexes cut into the ditch had waterlogged basal deposits in which were preserved twig and bark fragments. I. A. Kinnes
- 71/78 **Atworth**. ST 856664. Material from the 1937-8 excavations of the Roman villa (*WAM* 49 (1940), 46-95), including 150 sherds of coarse ware, mortaria and samian fragments, miscellaneous bronze and iron objects, bone pins, shale armlet fragments, tesserae, wall plaster, tiles of stone and clay. Devizes 7.1971
- 71/79 **Atworth**. ST 856664. During the second season of the current excavations of the Roman villa, sponsored by WANHS and DoE, the complete extent of the N wing was uncovered and some preliminary trenches were opened on the S side of the complex. The full length of the N wing is 46 m. and its width 22 m. The general plan differs in many respects from that published in *WAM* 49 (1940), pl. I; in total the number of rooms was 22, but not all were contemporary. Three further rooms were uncovered this season, the cold room and stoke-hole for the hypocaust found in 1970, and one larger room (about 8 m. by 8 m.) added to the SW corner of the building and containing a small (2.5 m. by 1 m.) T-shaped oven, probably domestic. All floors in the S part of the building had been ploughed away.
- Room 36 produced a section similar to that recorded for Room 28. In Room 35 the stoke-hole for the hypocaust had been modified by the insertion of a circular feature which completely blocked the flue. The large foundation to N of Room 29 was shown to be that of an apse, obviously an extension to the room. The relationship between the N and E wings was investigated by re-excavating Rooms 17, 18 and 20, but the apparent divergence from the published plan was such that this area was not completed. The trenches to S produced evidence of some activity which requires further investigation. Some 50 coins, all C3-4, were recovered. J. G. P. Erskine
- 71/80 **Avebury**, S of Green Street. SU 113703. Sherds of coarse ware, not closely datable. Devizes 42.1971
- 71/81 **Avebury**, foot of Waden Hill. SU 10376855. Skeleton, boot nails and other material excavated in 1964 in the bank of the Winterbourne (*WAM* 61 (1966), 97-8). Devizes 22.1971

- 71/82 **Baydon**. SU 292772. Ermin Street was sectioned by the Newbury Museum Historical Group at a point SE of the modern village where a small roadside settlement has been largely obliterated by the M4 motorway. The Roman road, about 15.3 m. wide, was bordered by scooped ditches 1.8 m. wide. The SW ditch had been filled with soil and roughly metalled, perhaps for local access. Publication forthcoming in *Trans. Newbury Dist. Fld. Club.* S. D. Ford
- 71/83 **Beechingstoke**, within Marden Enclosure. SU 090583. Bronze disc brooch. *Antiq. J.* 51, 223
- 71/84 **Broad Chalke**, Knighton Hill, barrow 1. SU 049240. Four sherds from 1959 excavation (*WAM* 65 (1970), 82). Salisbury 221/1971
- 71/85 **Chisledon**, Badbury. SU 19468096. Further rescue work was carried out on the N end of the E wing of the large villa site uncovered during motorway construction in 1969. A bath house attached to the front corridor of the wing incorporated the cold plunge previously noted. Several rooms of the wing were sectioned, showing the build-up of various floor levels. This end of the wing had been deliberately levelled and a layer of small stones, tile fragments and loose tesserae laid over it. The only feature found in this layer was a small stone-lined gully. B. Phillips
- 71/86 **Cricklade**, Great Rose Lane. SU 13499264. A probable Roman road lying E-W, 5.9 m. wide, 0.6 m. thick and constructed of Coral Rag, was sectioned by a gas pipe-trench. A shallow ditch was visible on the S. B. Phillips
- 71/87 **Cricklade**. SU 1093. Possibly a Roman river port: *WAM* 66, 177.
- 71/88 **Dinton**. SU 0031. Twenty-three silver and bronze Roman coins, including a Claudius Gothicus and 18 barbarous minims, C4-5; probably a local hoard. Salisbury 103-8/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/89 **Durrington**, Larkhill. SU 147436. Excavation of settlement: *WAM* 66, 83-94, 100-27. Salisbury 265-72/1971
- 71/90 **East Kennet**, Cow Down. SU 121659. Sherds of C1-4 from a small area in a lynchet amongst ploughed-out 'Celtic' fields. *Devizes* 49.1971
New Sarum: see **Salisbury**
- 71/91 **Ogbourne St. George**, Smeathe's Ridge. SU 162758. Iron spearhead with bronze band forming lower portion of socket. *Devizes* 23.1971
- 71/92 **Pewsey**, Pewsey Hill Enclosure. SU 16755765. Pottery from secondary deposits in Iron Age ditch: *WAM* 66, 68-9. *Devizes* 51.1971
- 71/93 **Potterne**, nr. Rangebourne Mill. ST 99925973. Bronze coin of Constantine II, found in sewage-pipe trench. *Obv.*: FL CONSTANTINVS IVN N C. Laureate bust facing right. *Rev.*: GLORIA EXERCITVS. Soldiers with legionary standard. *MM.*: CONST. pp., *Devizes Museum Daybook*, no. 370
- 71/94 **Purton**, South Pavenhill Farm. SU 077876. Bronze coin of Constantine I, found in mud on a tractor wheel. *Rev.*: SOLI INVICTO COMITI. London mint. pp., *Devizes Museum Daybook*, no. 345
- 71/95 **Purton**, Dogridge. SU 081875 (centre). Tesserae, tiles and sherds of C2-4 found during construction work in 1970. At SU 08028753 an occupation layer containing sherds, tiles and animal bones was exposed in a builder's trench. SPLAS
- 71/96 **Salisbury (New Sarum)**, Castle Hill. SU 14313247. Late RB material; see 71/68
- 71/97 **Salisbury**, Southampton Road allotments. SU 157294. Bronze fibula with angular head-loop and longitudinally fluted bow, C2-3. Salisbury 62/1971
- 71/98 **Stockton**, Stockton Earthworks. ST 973362. Twenty-three Roman boot nails. Salisbury 109/1971
- 71/99 **Wanborough**, Foxbridge Farm. SU 20458415. A layer of black occupation soil over 100 m. long and as much as 0.60 m. deep was sectioned by a drainage-pipe trench. Near the centre were the foundations of a building consisting of chalk walls and floors. Sherds were of C2. B. Phillips

- 71/100 **Wanborough**, Liden Stream. SU 20278557. Sherds found beside the remains of a rectangular enclosure after recutting of the stream bed. The bank of the enclosure on the S side of the stream is 1.0 m. high. B. Phillips
- 71/101 **Wanborough**, St. Paul's Drive. SU 19238506. A cremation in a C2 grey ware pot. B. Phillips
- 71/102 **Wanborough**, Lyncroft Estate. SU 19338522. Construction work on this new housing estate, situated on the edge of the RB town site, has so far revealed four late RB inhumations (three orientated W-E, the other N-S), two cremations (one in a C2 pot), ditches, two roads and a large quantity of C1 pottery. B. Phillips
- 71/103 **Wilcot**, Draycot Farm, The Nap. SU 14606320. Trial excavations of buildings: *WAM* 66, 71-3
- 71/104 **Winterbourne Monkton**, Hackpen Hill, nr. Glory Ann Barn. SU 125725. Sherds of late C1 to late C3/early C4 from a newly ploughed area of downland W of the Ridgeway. Types include a bead-rimmed vessel, a flanged bowl, a late mortarium, and samian. A chisel-ended socketed implement, a small pruning hook and other pieces of iron work came from the same area. *Devizes* 43.1971

EARLY MEDIEVAL (c. AD 450-1000)

- 71/105 **Alton**, Wansdyke. SU 117648. Excavations at Red Shore, 1966-70: *WAM* 66, 129-46
- 71/106 **Grafton**, Wilton, The Croft. SU 26726157. Saxon small-long brooch: *WAM* 66, 178. To investigate the possibility of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the vicinity of the find-spot a magnetometer survey was undertaken in the summer of 1971 in the field immediately N and W of the garden of The Croft, but no significant anomalies were detected. *Devizes Museum*
- 71/107 **North Newnton**, Woodbridge Inn. SU 133571. A magnetometer survey was undertaken in the hope of locating burials additional to the Anglo-Saxon double interment recorded in *WAM* 47 (1935), 265-7. Series of traverses in the field N of the A345, between the inn and the R. Avon, and on the verge in the SE corner of the crossroads failed to produce results. *Devizes Museum*
- 71/108 **Pewsey**, Black Patch Field. SU 15555806. Excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery continued for a third season under the direction of F. K. Annable and A. M. Burchard and on behalf of WANHS with financial assistance from DoE. The areas between the cuttings of the two previous seasons were opened out, so that total excavation of an area of some 1,000 sq. yds. has now been completed. Within this area there appears to be a nucleus of richer and more deeply cut graves. Two additional trial cuttings suggest that a NW limit of the cemetery may have been reached, but indicate its continuance further to the SW. Of the 12 graves located this season, six were adult burials, two being accompanied by spearhead and shield-boss, one by amber beads and three without grave-goods. The most interesting of the six child burials was accompanied by a gilded bronze button brooch, a bronze belt buckle, an iron knife and glass and amber beads; another had a bronze pin-and-earscoop amongst its grave-goods. A total of 40 graves, containing 42 burials, has now come to light. The finds remain consistent with a date centred round the mid C6. *Devizes Museum*
- 71/109 **Savernake**, Wansdyke. SU 193665. Excavation at New Buildings, 1967: *WAM* 66, 134-5
- 71/110 **Swallowcliffe**. ST 9627. Sherd of grass-tempered ware. Salisbury 172/1971 (*ex* Clay coll.)
- 71/111 **Wilton**. Trenches were dug under the direction of Mr. D. H. Hill in the hope of locating the Saxon defences on two sides of the town.

SU 09383139. SW of St. John's Chapel and parallel to the trial trench reported in *WAM* 66, 191. Similar layers were recorded as well as a ditch 7 m. wide and cut at least 1 m. into the river gravel. The centre of this ditch, which was not visible on the ground, was 11 m. S of the wet ditch shown on the 6-inch OS map. Only the upper layers were excavated, owing to the presence of water; there were posts and possibly wattle-work below water level on the S side. This ditch may be related to the bank previously noted. No dating evidence was obtained.

SU 09443120. SW of the church of Sts. Mary and Nicholas a trench was cut across a bank in an orchard. The bank proved to be a midden/ash heap of C18-19. Below it was a thick turf line, suggesting that the site had remained uncultivated for a considerable period. At a lower level were stone fragments, possibly a foundation of a medieval building. Here also the water level prevented further excavation.

The idea that Wilton may have been a promontory burgh with a single bank and ditch linking the Rivers Nadder and Wylde on the NW and with natural water boundaries elsewhere remains a possibility (*cf. Archaeol. J.* 127 (1970), 188). SMARG

MEDIEVAL (c. AD 1000-1500)

- 71/112 **Alton**, Alton Barnes church. SU 10796202. At the request of the PCC, soil was removed from 5 m. of the N wall to a depth of 1 m. The plinth of large roughly chamfered oolitic limestone blocks, placed on small sarsen stones, was uncovered. Small greensand rubble filled the two bays, separated by a limestone pilaster. Further work may remove the soil from the full length of the N wall. N. P. Thompson
- 71/113 **Bishops Cannings**, Glebelands. SU 03856420. C14 French counter from the garden. *Obv.*: AVE MARIA GRACIA P; dolphin. *Rev.*: +AVE, in spandrels. Devides 15.1971.
- 71/114 **Clarendon Park**, Clarendon Palace. SU 183133. 112 fragments of C13-14 inlaid and colour-coated floor tiles picked up before Borenius's excavations. Salisbury 50/1971
- 71/115 **Durnford**, church. SU 13623831. C13 inlaid floor tile with lion passant to right in a foliated circle. Salisbury 110/1971
- 71/116 **Edington**, Longlands Close, High Sands. ST 923528. Silver halfpenny, probably of Edward III, from garden. *Obv.*: +EDWARDVS REX ANGL. *Rev.*: CIVITAS LONDON. pp., Devides Museum Daybook, no. 376
- 71/117 **Figheldean**, Knighton. SU 15324553. A DMV of about 1 ha was surveyed. A. N. King, Ordnance Survey
- 71/118 **Grimstead**, E. of St. John's church. SU 214265. Trial trenches yielded a quantity of mid C12 coarse pottery. Ash and burnt clay suggested a kiln nearby. Continuing. M. D. Truckle
- 71/119 **Lacock**, Naish Hill. ST 931691. Interim report on excavation of tile and pottery kilns: *WAM* 66, 179-81
- 71/120 **Ludgershall**, Ludgershall Castle. SU 263512. A final major season for DoE saw the completion of work in the available parts of the N ringwork where the development of the C13 residential buildings was established, a complex beginning with late C12 mural towers to which were progressively added a hall (?) over undercroft, and various chambers and latrine towers; a great hall of the 1240s was built within the courtyard to the S. All of this superseded a mid-late C12 arrangement, the major feature of which was a massive keep under a hall. Earlier still, an uncompleted keep superseded timber and stone rectangular buildings and a hall which must be C11. The earthworks seem to have been there already in C11.

The defences of the S ringwork were further studied, and C12 wooden buildings in three phases were discovered within it. A C12 dewpond and a huge timber-lined cellar were excavated. Prolific and rich finds characterized all periods. P. V. Addyman

- 71/121 **Mere**, Woodlands Manor. ST 816312. Two C13-14 costrels, without lugs and with patches of green glaze, found c. 1940. Salisbury Museum *Annu Rep* 1970-1971, pl. IIIC. Salisbury 13-14/1971
- 71/122 **Minety**. SU 011911. Trial excavation of an area of intensely black soil known to contain wasters was carried out by J. Musty and D. J. Algar. A considerable quantity of pottery (pans, jugs, bung-hole pots, pipkins, lids, cooking-pots, skillets and other shallow dishes) and cox-comb ridge tile were recovered, but no kiln structure. A subsequent proton gradiometer survey defined a possible site for the kiln. Sherds of a Saintonge jug were associated with the wasters. The whole assemblage is provisionally dated to C14. SMARG
- 71/123 **Salisbury (New Sarum)**, Franciscan Friary. SU 14732964. A sewer trench gave a section of the N precinct wall of the Friary together with the open drain which ran immediately outside it, parallel to St. Ann Street. The wall was of mortared flint, 0.45 m. wide, offset on a foundation of ashlar and chalk blocks twice the width. The drain was 1.7 m. wide and the timber stakes which had supported one side were still preserved below water level at 2 m. from the present ground surface. At the lowest level there was a fine grey mud with a few medieval sherds; above this, gravelly silts with C17-18 objects, including some fragments of leather shoes. C19 building rubble infilled the drain at this point; further W it is known to survive as an arched brick culvert. It was still shown as a water course on Gilmour's Map of Salisbury, 1835. No trace of the Friary buildings was revealed. SMARG
- 71/124 **Salisbury**, East Harnham. SU 14162885. During road widening a C13-14 site was sectioned. Levelled areas totalling 10 m. in width, possibly to be interpreted as yards, and a pit 2 m. deep were revealed. The pit contained oyster shells, tiles and sherds including fragments of a cooking-pot with an internal flange to support the lid. SMARG
- 71/125 **Salisbury**, Scots Lane, Toone's Court. SU 14403020. Following the excavation in 1967 (*WAM* 63 (1968), 114), a watch was maintained on the site during demolition of the surviving buildings. About 40 blocks of carved stone of C12 were retrieved from the late C16 chimney. The fragments included several capitals, voussoirs and sections of column with spiral mouldings. It is thought that the pieces came originally from Old Sarum. SMARG
- 71/126 **Salisbury**, Old Sarum. SU 13923229. C12 bone seal matrix of Richard Cano. See Notes, *WAM* 67 (1972). Salisbury 192/1971
- 71/127 **Salisbury**, Old Sarum Castle. SU 138327. Late C12 lead counter. Salisbury 219/1971
- 71/128 **Salisbury**, R. Avon at Crane Bridge. SU 14132985. C14 circular lead pilgrim badge with pierced design: a mitred bust (? St. Thomas of Canterbury) facing and on each shoulder a sword with point upwards. The pin, cast with the badge and fixed in the upper margin at the back, is missing. Salisbury Museum *Annu. Rep.* 1970-1971, front cover. Salisbury 16/1971
- 71/129 **Salisbury**, 88 Milford Street, SU 147299. Ridge tile finial with chevron cresting, thumb-print strip decoration and traces of green glaze, the globe repaired with recent cement. Probably made in the Laverstock kilns and believed to have been the last surviving medieval ridge tile finial to have survived on a roof in Salisbury. Salisbury Museum *Annu. Rep.* 1971-1972, pl. IIIA. Salisbury 223/1971
- 71/130 **Swallowcliffe**, Vine Cottage. ST 966269. Parts of a Norman iron prick spur. Salisbury 51/1971

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- McCarthy, M. The Naish Hill Kilns: an Interim Report. *WAM* 66, 179-81.
- Piggott, S. An Archaeological Survey and Policy for Wiltshire. Part III, Neolithic and Bronze Age. *WAM* 66, 47-57.
- Simpson, D. D. A. (ed). *Economy and Settlement in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain and Europe* (Leicester University Press).
- Stalley, R. A. A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture: a Study of the Buildings Erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102-1139. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 34, 62-83.
- Thompson, N. P., et al. Archaeological Research in the Pewsey Vale. *WAM* 66, 58-75.
- Thompson, N. P., et al. A Bronze Basal-looped Spearhead from Wilcot. *WAM* 66, 177.
- Thomson, T. R. Cricklade, the Roman River Port of Corinium. *WAM* 66, 177-8.
- Wainwright, G. J., et al. The Excavation of a Late Neolithic Enclosure at Marden, Wiltshire. *Antiq J.* 51, 177-239.
- Wainwright, G. J., et al. The Excavation of Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlements near Durrington Walls, Wiltshire, 1970. *WAM* 66, 76-128.
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REPORTS AND ACCESSIONS

REPORT OF THE CURATOR FOR 1971

MUSEUM FABRIC

SOME NECESSARY REPAIRS were carried out to the museum building, including roof alterations and the removal of a chimney-stack and a dormer window above the Assistant Curator's flat. In December the flat was vacated and the Council decided to convert this additional accommodation into a laboratory workshop and further storage areas for museum and library use. Central heating is to be installed, and plans and estimates are to be prepared for submission to Council early in 1972. The museum entrance up to the first floor landing and the ceiling of the Neolithic room have been redecorated.

THE COLLECTIONS

New display units, complete with interior lighting, were installed during January and February in the new Roman Room, and some progress has since been made with interior displays. The work is inevitably slow, for with so many other museum commitments it is difficult to give time to the task other than in short periods. Pottery and metalwork to be included in the room require repair and conservation.

In collaboration with Dr. I. F. Smith, Mrs. Eve Machin has continued her re-examination of the Society's large collection of flints. Following reclassification of many specimens, new catalogues for the Neolithic and Mesolithic are being prepared. Mrs. Betty Walker has also made further excellent progress with the cleaning and assembly of Anglo-Saxon skeletal material from the Black Patch, Pewsey, excavations.

In August the Marlborough bucket returned to the museum following a long absence during restoration in the British Museum laboratory. We extend our warmest thanks to the technicians at the laboratory for their skilful repair of the iron cross-piece over the mouth of the bucket. It is now on permanent display in the Iron Age room.

The collections were made available to BBC television on two occasions during sequence filming for a series of programmes entitled 'Out of the Past'.

SPECIALIST LOANS

Following a request from the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and the University of Bradford, the Society's collection of faience beads was made available for neutron activation analysis in order to obtain information concerning trace element constituents in the beads.

A collection of stone chips recovered during investigations at Stonehenge by H. Cunningham in 1880 and by Professor W. Gowland in 1903 was lent for examination to Mr. G. A. Kellaway, Institute of Geological Sciences, London.

A quantity of broken vessels of Romano-British date from the site of Westbury Ironworks was sent for repair to the Bath Academy of Art, Corsham. The work was carried out by students under the supervision of Miss J. Escritt, Conservation Officer, Bristol City Museum.

The Society's excavation equipment was lent on three occasions for use during excavations: at Lacock (a medieval tile and pottery industry), at Atworth (a Roman villa), and at Ashton Keynes (a Romano-British enclosure).

SCHOOL AND EDUCATIONAL LOANS

Thirteen groups of archaeological and geological exhibits were lent to Wiltshire schools and individuals for teaching purposes. Other groups of finds were also lent on special request to BBC television for use on educational programmes and to societies and groups outside the county.

PUBLICATIONS

Mr. N. Griffiths has continued the provision of drawings for inclusion in the projected Iron Age Catalogue, and over 1,000 separate objects have now been drawn for eventual publication. The text of the *Guide to the Wansdyke Region* is now complete.

The Assistant Curator has continued to edit the *Bi-Annual Bulletin* issued to Society members.

Short notes provided by the Curators and included in *WAM* 66 (1971) are:

F. K. Annable: Introductory section for 'Research and Excavation in the Pewsey Vale'.

A. M. Burchard: 'An Anglo-Saxon Brooch from Grafton'.

EXCAVATION AND FIELDWORK

For three weeks during June a third season of excavation was undertaken by the Society and directed by the Curators at Black Patch Field, Pewsey. Further burials were recovered, bringing the total of excavated inhumations up to 42. A number of Iron Age pits came to light in the cemetery area. For a summary of the findings, see (in this volume) Wiltshire Archaeological Register for 1971, 71/65 and 71/108. The Society is grateful for a grant-in-aid of £100 made by the Department of the Environment towards the cost of the dig.

With the generous help of Mr. A. J. Clark, Department of the Environment, a magnetometer survey was undertaken at Naish Hill, Lacock. The area has for some years been suspected as the site of a medieval pottery industry and additional finds of medieval sherds reported from ploughland this year made another effort to trace the site of the kilns worthwhile. Fortunately this time strong anomalies indicative of clay structures were detected and this led to excavations being undertaken in the summer, resulting in the discovery of tile and pottery kilns of 13th century date.

Excavations also continued at the Romano-British villa site at Atworth. Both digs were administered by the Society but financed by the Department of the Environment. The Society is also indebted to Major Sir Gerard Fuller, Bt., for a second generous gift of £200 towards digging costs at Atworth.

Small-scale magnetometer surveys were carried out by the Curators at North Newnton and at Wilton, near Great Bedwyn. Saxon burials and grave objects have previously been recorded at these localities and the surveys were made in the hope of tracing other cemeteries within the Pewsey Vale. The surveys were unproductive, but work is to continue at a later date.

Following discovery of a number of sites of Iron Age, Romano-British and Saxon date in the Pewsey Vale, the Archaeology Research Committee has organized a long-term programme of field investigation within the Vale, initially within a short radius round Pewsey. Society volunteers have been organized into groups to walk selected fields and plot surface finds of pottery and other occupation debris on OS 6-inch maps. Careful search and recording over a number of years will, it is hoped, bring to notice unrecorded sites and throw light on settlement within the Vale in prehistoric and early historic times. The Archaeology Research Committee is grateful to farmers who have given permission for our volunteers to walk their fields.

LECTURES

The Annual Open Meeting of the Society was held this year in collaboration with Group XII of the Council for British Archaeology. The guest lecturers were Dr. Colin

Renfrew of Sheffield University, who spoke on 'Wessex and the Radiocarbon Revolution' and Mr. Rex Wailes, who spoke on 'Some Industrial Monuments'.

An exhibition of finds from excavations in progress in Wessex was also arranged and included grave-groups from the Pewsey Saxon cemetery, displayed by the Society. The Archaeology Research Committee is again indebted to the Board of Governors, Devizes School, for use of the assembly hall and facilities for providing refreshments.

The annual winter lectures, sponsored by the Society and Bristol University, were held in the museum lecture hall during March and April. The theme of the series was 'Problems associated with Wessex, from the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age'.

The Curator gave a series of 14 lectures on Iron Age and Roman Wessex to a Bristol University Extra-Mural group at Melksham. He also gave further outside lectures to schools and societies in the south-west. Both Curators led archaeological walks in the North Downs area for Society members and local organizations.

VOLUNTEERS AND STUDENT ASSISTANCE

Mr. Andrew Babbidge spent a fortnight during the summer working as a trainee/assistant. He was reading for the post-graduate diploma in Museum Studies at Leicester University at the time.

Miss Fiona Cameron, a graduate of Birmingham University, has been working voluntarily in the museum since September.

Valuable assistance with photography has been given by Mr. S. Gadsby, who was responsible for photography during the Society's excavations, and by Mr. Francis Carver, who has continued throughout the year the tasks of making a photographic record of the Society's collections and of dealing with outside requests by the public for illustrations of archaeological material.

As noted above, Mrs. E. Machin and Mrs. Betty Walker have continued to assist with the work of the Museum. Mr. R. S. Barron also has always been on hand to advise on geological identifications. Redecoration and carpentry work was carried out by Mr. R. Bennett.

SLIDE PROJECTOR AND SCREEN

The September *Bulletin* contained an appeal by the Curator for contributions towards the purchase of an adequate slide projector and screen for use in the Society's Lecture Hall. The response was excellent, and a sum of over £100 was recovered in donations. Advice is now being sought on the best types of projector and screen, and purchase should be made early in 1972. We offer grateful acknowledgement to all our members who subscribed so generously to the appeal.

PURCHASE GRANTS

Two Anglo-Saxon silver pennies, struck at the Wiltshire mints of Great Bedwyn and Malmesbury were amongst the Elmore-Jones collection of early English coins auctioned at Sothebys. These were acquired by the Society, and your council is exceedingly grateful for a gift of £77, half the cost of these pieces, provided through the Victoria and Albert Museum Purchase Fund. Following discussions in Council this year it was agreed to dispose of some of the Society's duplicate and unprovenanced coinage, and to use the money obtained for the purchase of additional specimens from Wiltshire mints and other important pieces.

FIELD ARCHAEOLOGY OFFICER FOR WILTSHIRE

For some considerable time your Council has been pressing the Wiltshire County Council to give consideration to the appointment of a Field Archaeology Officer to relieve the staff of Devizes and Salisbury Museums of some of the work of recording, survey, and

field investigation so necessary in a county which is abundantly rich in archaeological and architectural remains. We welcome the extraordinarily good news that such an appointment is to be made in April, 1972.

GROUP VISITS AND SCHOOLS

Twenty groups, mainly consisting of University and Training Colleges, and fifty-one school parties also visited the Museum during the year. In most cases guided talks were given by the Curators.

Excluding school parties, the annual attendance, with comparable figures for 1970, was as follows:

	1970	1971
Adults	2,128	2,313
Children	2,019	2,059
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,147	4,372

Admission receipts amounted to £281.31.

SPECIALIST VISITORS

M. G. Fulford (Southampton University), Roman colour-coated wares; T. Gunstone (Birmingham City Museum), Anglo-Saxon and ancient British coins; Mrs. V. Swan (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments), Romano-British pottery; I. Goodall (Cardiff University), medieval ironwork; Dr. Anne Ross, late Celtic sculpture; Dr. H. McKerrell (National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), faience beads of the Wessex Culture period; D. J. Bonney (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments), Anglo-Saxon grave finds; W. Birtnall (Cardiff University), Early Iron Age bone material; B. Vyner (Cardiff University), Romano-British material; M. Avery (Queen's University of Belfast), Iron Age 'B' pottery; G. A. Kellaway (Institute of Geological Sciences), stone chips from Stonehenge; Dr. Morna Simpson, Anglo-Saxon grave finds; Dr. D. P. S. Peacock (Southampton University), pottery from Old Sarum; Mrs. M. Guido, Iron Age, Roman and Saxon beads; Miss A. Wardman (Queen's University of Belfast), La Tène I brooches; Miss J. P. Alcock, Roman figurines.

Finally, our congratulations to Mr. A. M. Burchard, who was successful in passing the examination for the final part of the Diploma of the Museums Association.

ACCESSIONS TO THE MUSEUM

Accessions of prehistoric, Roman and medieval material are listed in the Archaeological Register for 1971, together with their accession numbers. Grateful thanks are extended to the following individuals and organizations whose donations are here specified *by their reference numbers in the register*:

Atworth County Primary School (78); P. Bowerman, Esq. (32, 66, 92); Master P. Bunyon (34); H. J. Case, Esq. (43); B. Dieckmann, Esq. (17); Mrs. J. Holloway (67 - part); Mrs. K. R. Jones (113); Mrs. E. Machin (7, 8, 11, 19, 22, 23, 33, 35, 36); Mrs. E. Machin jointly with Mrs. P. A. Slocombe (9, 25); R. S. Newall, Esq. (14, 40 - part, 41); W. J. Osmond, Esq. (81); D. Parmenter, Esq. (4, 42, 104); H. K. Rees, Esq. (91); Dr. I. F. Smith (1, 12, 90); A. G. Stratton, Esq. (73); G. A. G. Webb, Esq. (55); Mrs. N. Willis (80); J. W. T. Winchcombe, Esq. (67-part).

POST-MEDIEVAL

- Bill of Payment of North Wilts. Banking Company, enclosed in a stamped envelope bearing a one penny red stamp. The Bill is dated 8th November, 1864, and the envelope is addressed to Mr. Hurst, Bootmaker Devizes. Miss C. Siviour 8.1971
- 'Blick' Typewriter, made approximately 1890. Mounted on a wooden base, with wooden cover and leather strap, and accessories. Labelled, BLICKENSBERGER, NEWCASTLE ON TYNE. Miss E. Miles 9.1971
- MADE IN U.S.A. 7 NO. 70989. Sewing machine in working order, 'Wellington' model of Bradbury & Co. of Oldham. Labelled, PATENT LOCK STITCH HAND MACHINE, and numbered 14600. D. J. Foster, Esq. 10.1971
- Stem of clay pipe with stamp of Edward Higgins, ED/HIC/EN, pipe-maker of Salisbury. Still working in 1710. J. F. W. Sweet, Esq. 14.1971
- Three glazed and decorated sherds, 16th-18th century. Part of a group of surface finds to the east of Inglesham Church, Inglesham parish. SU 20609845 approximately. R. S. Allnatt, Esq. 18.1971
- Collection of ? chalk, stone and glass marbles. Found by workmen beneath the floor of 48/9 Oxford St., Ramsbury. Miss C. B. O'Grady 19.1971
- Lemonade Bottle, A. J. TAYLOR & CO. OF CHIPPENHAM. This firm of Mineral Water Manufacturers recorded as in production 1911-1939. A. G. Graham, Esq. 24.1971
- Stem fragment, clay pipe. Stem bears beginning of inscription E.SO BRO Probably Edward Southorn of Broseley (died 1876). D. E. Essex, Esq. 31.1971
- Pair of pattens. From a house at Beechingstoke. A. Rose, Esq. 32.1971
- Fragment of spur clay pipe with stem stamp RG. D. E. Essex, Esq. 34.1971
- Bowl of clay pipe bearing heel stamp /EF/R.Y.H/VNT. From the garden of Broadleas Park, Devizes. Mrs. E. M. Parkins 35.1971
- Glass bottle, marble stoppered type. Embossed A COOMBE & SON, MELKSHAM. On reverse, BEAVIS SHAPE, POWELL & RICKETTS MAKERS BRISTOL. c. 1931-39. Found in garden of 35 Hylands, Potterne. Miss M. J. Hawkins 36.1971
- Iron ox-shoe. Inscribed on shoe as found on Overton Hill, Wilts. From collection of the late W. G. Holloway. Mrs. J. Holloway 39.1971
- Bowl fragment of clay pipe, 19th century. Found in the area of Roundway Hill, Roundway parish. Donor Unknown 41.1971
- Bowl fragment of clay pipe with crude heel stamp of Jeffrey Hunt, 17th century. From a garden in Hartmoor Road, ?No. 42, Devizes. R. Neale, Esq. 44.1971
- Five bowl and heel fragments of clay pipes of makers Jeffrey and Thomas Hunt, and Richard Greenland. One stem bears the stamp WIL/IAM/(?)ER. Surface finds at Blackland, and Calstone, Calne. SU 018686 and 025687. Mrs. E. Machin 45/46.1971
- Two wooden openers for marble stoppered lemonade bottles. Donor Unknown 47.1971
- Brass button of the Board of Ordnance. On the face a heraldic shield bearing field pieces below three cannon balls in low relief. Date, 1782-1802. From the garden of 70 New Road, Studley, Calne Without. J. Overy, Esq. 53.1971
- Silver holder for mineral water bottles, probably intended for round-based bottles of Apollinaris. Mrs. J. W. Rooke 54.1971

Silver trinket case. Oval shape with hinged lid and four small triangular legs. Lid is inscribed: 1861, 1911, RB and WILTSHIREMEN IN LONDON. A souvenir of the 24th dinner of the Wiltshiremen in London.

F. K. M. Carver, Esq. 55.1971

NUMISMATICS

Silver commemorative medal of Coronation of George V and Queen Mary. *Obv.* Crowned heads of monarchs. *Rev.* Shield with castle on halved background, ROYAL BOROUGH OF DEVIZES, R. A. CAIRD, MAYOR. From collection of donor.

H. Colley, Esq. 26.1971

Papal lead bulla of Martin IV, 1281-1285 A.D. *Obv.* MAR/TINVS/PPIII. *Rev.* SP(A)SPE. Heads of St. Peter and St. Paul facing. Found in a house in Bradford-on-Avon.

Mr. Perkins 30.1971

NATURAL HISTORY

Antlered skull of deer. Mounted on a wooden back-board.

Miss S. Rooke 37.1971

Fragmentary fossil of *Inoceramus*, embedded in a flint. From Golden Ball Hill, Alton. SU 12476400.

Dr. I. F. Smith 20.1971

An upper and lower molar of *Mammothus primigenius*. Lower molar petrified to dark stone, upper to light coloured stone. Found north of road to Cerney Wick in South Cerney parish, Gloucestershire, at a depth of 20 ft. in blue clay. SU 065966.

J. W. Covey, Esq. 21.1971

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR 1971

Membership of the Society has shown a further increase, and has now reached a total of 1,049, made up as follows: Individual 696; Family 180; Life 50; Student 12; Junior 18; and Institutional 93. Thanks are due to those members who have encouraged their friends to join.

Since the results of the Public Enquiries into the Salisbury car-stack proposal and the Devizes Link Road became known a watchful eye has been kept on future developments by the Society's Amenity and Conservation Committee whose work in general has been helped considerably by the co-option of additional Committee members, also by the appointment of more vigilantes.

As in previous years, the Society has benefited from the ready co-operation of the various departments of the Wiltshire County Council, also the close liaison with other kindred bodies which has been mutually beneficial.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1972

The Annual General Meeting of the Society, covering the period 1st January to 31st December, 1971, was held on the afternoon of Saturday, 13th May, 1972, at Lackham Agricultural College, by kind permission of the Principal, Mr. P. Walters, M.Sc.(Agric.).

In the morning and again after tea a number of members visited the gardens and museum with its interesting collection of old farm implements.

The President took the chair. Attendance was less than in the previous few years, seventy-four members being present. After thanking Mr. Walters for allowing the meeting to be held at Lackham and opening the grounds and museum for the Society's members,

the President referred to a development of considerable importance of which Council wished to inform members and get their preliminary reactions. The County Council had expressed the desire to have a single body to deal with on museum matters and, to this end, had invited the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum and the Society to examine the possibility of merging. Since both bodies were largely dependent on County Council grants and as it had been indicated that, if a merger could be brought about, sympathetic consideration would be given to increasing these grants, the Society's Council and the Council of the Salisbury Museum had felt that this was a matter over which they should seek to meet the wishes of the County Council. With this end in view a joint committee had been set up to examine the whole question of merging. A number of meetings had already been held and considerable progress made. Both Councils had accepted the suggestion that, rather than set up an entirely new body to assume responsibility for the two museums when merged, the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, with a name that clearly embraced the county as a whole, would be the appropriate vehicle for the merger. This would in no way imply that we were taking over the Salisbury Museum. Some changes would have to be made in the Society's Rules so that the objects of Salisbury Museum, which were in many ways similar to ours, might be covered. Other points which had been the subject of discussion were the future policy as regards the running of the museums themselves, also the position of the New Sarum Society, which had been formed with the intention of raising money to build a modern museum for Salisbury. This had, however, been found to be too costly a project. The Executive Committee of that Society had now recommended a change of name to Friends of the Wiltshire Museums. This had been welcomed by the Joint Committee. While there were still a number of points to be resolved, the Joint Committee had made good progress. It had been decided that one of the most pressing needs was for a properly equipped Conservation Centre and this, together with other priority items, was to be submitted, in the form of a paper, to the County Council so that these requirements might be considered for inclusion in the County Council budget for 1973/4.

The President concluded by expressing the hope that he had succeeded in giving a clear broad outline of the plans on which Council was working, and he emphasized that no proposals for a merger could become effective until they had received the approval of members of the Society in a General Meeting, also of the members of Salisbury Museum. He then invited members to comment. After a brief but valuable discussion the Meeting agreed that the Joint Committee should continue with its work.

The Treasurer, in presenting his report, explained that the financial position had shown a very marked downward trend. The excess of expenditure over income had increased by £1,165 over the previous year. Of this sum £514 represented the cost of essential roof repairs, while printing and stationery costs had gone up by £268. Although the total paid out on salaries, tax, national insurance and superannuation was £6,111 against £5,466 the previous year, the actual increase to the Society, after taking into account the Wiltshire County Council's grant, was £173. One item which was showing a regular annual increase was the cost of the *Magazine* which now accounted for £1.92 out of each member's subscription. This was a matter which merited very serious consideration. He went on to point out that the cost of carrying out essential repairs and maintenance to the Society's premises might vary appreciably from year to year, when looked at over a five-year period the financial outlay was very considerable, and there was still much work to be done. On the credit side it was encouraging to note that the Museum entrance fees had improved by £30, and the profit on the sale of publications went up by £118. It was a matter of satisfaction that the valuation of the Society's investments had increased by £8,502.

After the accounts had been adopted, the Meeting received the reports of officers.

The following officers were re-elected to serve for a further year: Hon. Librarian, R. E. Sandell, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.S.; Hon. Assistant Librarian, K. H. Rogers, B.A., F.S.A.; Hon. Editor, Isobel F. Smith, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

Miss K. G. Forbes and Mr. E. G. H. Kempson were elected to Council.

Consideration was given to two resolutions proposed by Mr. Grant King. The first

one, calling for an addendum to Rule I whereby a clause stating that at all times the general policy and decisions of the Society should be completely independent of political, religious, and other sectarian or extraneous interests, was defeated by a large majority. The other one, relating to Great Porch House and Monday Market Street, Devizes, received unanimous support.

A recommendation by Council that, since the number of members on whose written request the Secretary shall call a Special General Meeting had remained at ten since 1877, when membership was some 340, the number should now be increased to 25, was supported.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY, 1971

BOOKS BOUGHT

Historic Towns. This contains an account of Salisbury by K. H. Rogers
 Lyneham Tithe Award
 Complete Peerage, volumes 3, 5, 8
 Manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath (Historical Manuscripts Commission, volume 4)
 Industrial Archaeology in Wiltshire
 Beaker Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland; D. L. Clarke
 Treasures from the Ashmolean Museum
 Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum; W. G. Searle

BOOKS GIVEN

	<i>Donor</i>
Littlecote 1900	C. Blunt
M4 Geological Report; J. H. Tucker	Author
An Idler on the Shropshire Borders; I. Gandy	Author
Drawing Archaeological Finds for Publication; Conant Brodribb	Publishers
Thoughts on Peace and War; T. Murry (Rector of Ashton Keynes)	Mrs. K. H. Rogers
Stourhead	A. J. Mitchell
The Stourhead Landscape	A. J. Mitchell
Through the Kennet and Avon Canal by Motor Boat; C. H. Smith	R. E. Sandell
A Guide to British State Tontines; F. Leeson	Author
Abstracts of Wiltshire Inclosure Awards, ed. R. E. Sandell	Wiltshire Record Society
Henry Wansey and his American Journal; D. J. Jeremy	Miss J. de L. Mann
Little Bedwyn Sale Catalogue	Miss C. O'Grady
An English Rural Community (Batheaston)	Miss J. de L. Mann
Discovering Regional Archaeology, Wessex; L. Grinsell and J. Dyer	Authors
Notes on the Parish Church of Great Wishford; Lady Paskin	Author
Spinning, Woollen and Worsted; W. S. B. McLaren	K. G. Ponting
Enclosure and Landscape Change (thesis); C. P. Simmance	Author
Is thy name Wart?; C. J. Pennethorne Hughes	Mrs. Wheatley
How you got your name; C. J. Pennethorne Hughes	Mrs. Wheatley
Civil Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre; ed. M. T. Clanchy	Wiltshire Record Society
Three notebooks from the J. W. Brooke collection	Mr. and Miss Brooke
Cottage by the Springs; John Baker	R. E. Sandell
Art of the European Iron Age; J. V. S. Megaw	Adams and Dart
Cloth Industry in the West of England; J. de L. Mann	Clarendon Press and Author
The Woollen Industry of South-West England; K. G. Ponting	Author
Archaeologia 103	R. E. Sandell
Durrington Walls 1966-68; G. J. Wainwright and I. H. Longworth	R. E. Sandell
William Butterfield; Paul Thompson	Norris Thompson
The Honeybee Times, Nos. 1-192	Wiltshire Beekeepers (Per Dowager Countess of Radnor)

PAMPHLETS BOUGHT AND GIVEN

1816 Wiltshire Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture	Dr. Renton
1873 Sun Fire Office Proposal	Dr. Renton
Negatives of Odstock and Bemerton	Dorset County Museum
Photographs of Great Porch, Devizes	N. Thomas
61 Letters from Sir Richard Colt Hoare to Lysons	Bought
Account of Right of Way dispute at Farley, 1901-3	Miss Bray
Un tumulus du Bronze Ancien: Kernonen en Plouvorn	Author
Seven children at one birth; Ellen Ettlinger	Dr. T. R. Thomson
Memorial Service to Sir Michael and Lady Peto	Miss Foxon
Photographs of Devizes	Bought
Air photographs of Corsham, Chippenham, Calne, Bowood	A. C. Beech
Coloured print of Corn Exchange and distant view of Devizes	K. G. Ponting
The Wool Trade; lecture by K. G. Ponting	K. G. Ponting
Special Characteristics of West Country Woollen Industry	K. G. Ponting
Old Fulling Methods	Canon R. Dudley
The Bonshommes of Ashridge and Edington; G. E. Chambers	

ACCESSIONS TO THE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, 1971

Farming: Whitaker family of Bratton, 13 vols. of accounts, 1810-1916, and 30 deeds, 1656-1871; Collingbourne Kingston, 4 account books, 1903-20.

Deeds: c. 150, Salisbury, Collingbourne Kingston, Wilton, Mere, Downton, Donhead St. Mary, Berwick Bassett, Preshute, Southwick, Ludgershall, Rowde, Calne and Cherhill, 18-20 c.

Manorial: Tidcombe with Oxenwood, 1711-89.

Parish and parish council: West Grimstead, 1805; Hilmarton, 1723-1943; Imber, 1709-1967; Kingston Deverill, 1770-1918; Manningford Abbas, 1539-1921; Manningford Bruce, 1662-1960; Preshute, 1841-1884.

Business: Woodman of Malmesbury, 6 shopkeeper's day books, 1827-38, and account ledger, 1847-70; Thomas Harris, plumber, painter, glazier, of Warminster, account book, 1836-52; William Kirk, currier, of Warminster, account book, 1838-57.

Maps: Estate map, Boreham, mid-19 c.

Misc.: 35 sale particulars, 1904-65.

WILTSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY

The 1971 Annual General Meeting was held on Saturday, 12th June, at South Wraxall Manor, near Bradford-on-Avon, by the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Lese.

At the meeting it was unanimously agreed that the annual subscription, which had not been raised since 1959, should now be £3.00.

It was also reported that Miss Thelma E. Vernon had submitted her resignation after eight years as Honorary Secretary. The President thanked her warmly for her work for the Society and emphasized her success in raising the membership during her term of office. Mrs. N. D. Steele was elected in her place. The retiring member of Committee was Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Floyd. It was with regret that the Society learned of his death later in the month. Dr. I. Geoffrey Moore, Ph.D., F.I.C.E., F.I.Mech.E., was elected to fill the vacancy for a four-year term.

Miss Susan Reynolds, Fellow and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, gave an address on 'Social Structure and the Origins of Parliament'.

Publications during 1971 included Volume XXV, for 1969, Mr. R. E. Sandell's *Abstract of Wiltshire Inclosures Awards and Agreements*, published in June, and Volume XXVI, for 1970, Mr. Clanchy's edition of *Civil Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre 1249*, published in October. Volume XXVII for 1971 will probably be Miss Ransame's edition of *Wiltshire Returns to the Bishop's Visitation Queries*. Besides publishing two new volumes, Volume III (Antrobus Deeds) was reprinted. The year saw a good sale of publications, with Volume XXVI and Volume VIII (Andrews and Dury's Map) as the best sellers. The membership by the end of the year was 272. Of this number, 153 were private members, 63 were Institutional members from the United Kingdom and 56 were Libraries of Overseas Universities.

N. D. STEELE

REVIEWS

Bronze Age Metalwork in Salisbury Museum, by C. N. Moore and M. Rowlands.
18 cms. × 24 cms. Pp. 72 + 16 pls. Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum Occasional
Publication, 1972. £1.25

The publication of museum collections in comprehensive form, particularly in the provinces, constitutes a rare occurrence in our present day. The appearance of a new catalogue from Salisbury museum of all their Bronze Age metal work and associated grave finds is thus not only welcome, but calls for our congratulations to all those responsible for its production.

The volume begins with brief, but stimulating chapters which discuss the periods represented by the collection. Perhaps wisely at the present time, the authors confine their introductions to summarising the development of metallurgical techniques from the earliest introduction of copper daggers into Wessex during the Beaker phase, and henceforward the evolution throughout the Bronze Age of weapon types, their typology, chronology, distribution and regional and Continental affinities. I found the chapter on the Wessex Culture particularly useful for rapid reference as a statement of the present situation concerning this 'phenomenon' of the Wessex Bronze Age, especially when the entire concept of the Wessex Culture as we have understood it for so long is now being brought into question. If nothing else, the introductory chapters to this Catalogue serve to indicate that any assessment of the Wessex Bronze Age will never be valid until it is based upon full factual knowledge derived from examination of individual finds and grave groups which still lie buried and unpublished in museum collections.

The Catalogue proper is divided into two sections dealing respectively with metalwork associated with burials, and single unassociated metal finds and hoards. There is an Appendix listing spectrographic analyses of bronzes where these have been made, an Index of sites, and finally the complete illustrations on sixteen plates of line drawings.

It is perhaps with the general quality and planning of the text and drawings that the most obvious criticism of this volume is to be found, and unhappily its authors appear to have been badly served by their printer. The layout of pages is slap-dash and haphazard, and sometimes unnecessarily wide spacing between chapters and sections gives an impression of inconsistency and fragmentation; a dull type face and an unimaginative positioning of section headings also leave the reader feeling that the volume is of low quality. A similar lack of clear thinking is evident in the compilation of the text by the authors. Although a Bibliography is included at the back, bibliographical references are haphazardly incorporated with the notes to each section, causing unnecessary duplication. The use of the Harvard system of referencing throughout would have made for greater textual precision and would have considerably improved the appearance of the printed page.

Some criticism must likewise be made of the drawings, of which a number are thin to the point of being ghostly. A more serious fault, however, concerns the smaller figures, particularly amongst grave groups, which are over-reduced to a degree where recognition of detail becomes difficult. This could have been avoided, particularly as many of the illustrations are overspaced. Given a little thought, figures might have been so arranged as to allow for an increase in scale of some of the smaller objects. It is regrettable, on the other hand, to see plate headings and sub-titles crammed in at top and bottom of the plates, as though their inclusion was made as an after thought. I note also the omission of scales to each of the plates. They would have been useful for quick comparison, at the same time reducing the need for continuous back reference to the text. Finally, with publications of this kind, which are to be handled repeatedly by students and researchers, may we plead for

good binding and hard covers. Just by using this catalogue for review I find that its semi-stiff cover is beginning to part company with the text.

These are regrettable criticisms which need not have arisen had forethought been given to the overall layout of the volume, and had there been closer collaboration between printer and authors at the printing stage. They are certainly not intended to deter prospective buyers of the catalogue, which is a remarkable achievement for a museum of limited staff and the most meagre financial resources. We look forward to another such volume in the not distant future, and meanwhile, let all museums take note of the urgent need for comprehensive catalogues of their collections.

F. K. ANNABLE

The Roman Land Surveyors, An Introduction to the Agrimensores, by O. A. W. Dilke. Pp. 260, 33 pls., 53 text-figs. David and Charles, Newton Abbott. £3.90.

An interesting and useful book. Professor Dilke, after an historical survey, gives an account of the Roman surveyors, their training, instruments, units of measurements, and maps. There follows a full description of centuriation, with a detailed account of the Orange cadasters.

In Roman Britain there is no evidence of centuriation at the colonies, and indeed no evidence at all up to the present, except that at Frindsbury on the Medway and at Ripe in Sussex. As regards town plans there is evidence of street plans sometimes following ancient *limites*, but this is limited to Continental Europe and Northern Africa. It has been shown recently that the mediaeval streets of Winchester do not follow the Roman plan.

As to our own county, no centuriation has been discovered, but the Roman surveyor is much in evidence as shown on our own map of Roman Wiltshire in the Society's Library. The roads are surveyed in straight lengths with defined angulation points, and the approach to Roman villa farms is generally by an exact perpendicular from the road. We have one probable example of Roman survey lines, at Wanborough, shown on the map facing p. 210 of W.A.M. LVII.

The following figures are given for those of our members on the lookout for evidence of the agrimensor's work.

1 pes = 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. = .97 ft. = 29.57 cm.

1 passus = 5 pedes = 58 in.

1000 passus = 1 Roman mile

1 actus = 120 feet

1 jugerum = $\frac{5}{8}$ acre = .252 hectare = 28,800 sq. ft.

1 century (of normal size) 20 × 20 actus = 200 jugera

(the pes was slightly shorter after the 3rd century A.D.)

The book is well produced and well illustrated. The index is adequate, and the bibliography, especially of the Gromatics, is excellent.

T.R.T.

Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead. 1718–1838, by Kenneth Woodbridge. Pp. 320, 55 pls., 2 text-figs. Clarendon Press, 1970. £5.

Wiltshiremen interested in the history of their county must often be thankful for the circumstances which in 1717 caused the London banker, Henry Hoare, to acquire the Manor of Stourton. The event had two important consequences: *Stourhead*, the loveliest and one of the earliest landscape gardens in England, and Colt Hoare's *Histories of Ancient and Modern Wiltshire*.

In *Landscape and Antiquity* Kenneth Woodbridge briefly narrates the major events of two men's lives, almost equal in length and together spanning about 120 years: first Henry Hoare II, who owned Stourton from his father's death in 1725 until his own death in 1785; then his grandson and great-nephew Colt, whose reign at Stourton lasted from 1785 to 1838. Each squire contributed much to the splendour of our county; Henry by his romantic garden, Colt by his writings. In effect we have, between the covers of one book, two biographies and accounts of two distinct achievements; Hoare's Bank, which paid for the material part of both, is almost the only connecting factor. To mask the fissure which gapes between the two subjects the book is put forward as a dissertation on 18th century culture, but the device is not wholly convincing.

In spite of this minor blemish the book is as entertaining as it is instructive. After an admirably concise topographical, cultural and genealogical introduction the reader is enchanted by accounts of the acquisition of Stourton *c.* 1717, and of the decorous mansion which Henry Hoare erected in place of the broken-down relic of the departed Lords Stourton. Sadness at his wife's death in 1743 probably caused the second Henry Hoare to start the work for which he is remembered: the development of the hill-girt source of the River Stour into a romantic landscape, a full-sized, three-dimensional composition, realising in actuality the ideas of landscape painters like Claude and Poussin. The evolution of this great project is described in detail; pictorial and literary influences, interesting collateral matter and the contents of Henry Hoare's letter-books being skilfully woven together in a literary tapestry depicting the country life of a rich 18th century businessman and connoisseur.

It is fortunate that Colt Hoare, the crown-prince in this idyllic scene, developed not into a spoiled wastrel as so often happens in such circumstances, but into a sensitive and reasonable human being and no mean scholar. After being educated at a private school and at home, Colt came of age in 1779 and immediately received an allowance of £2,000 a year and a separate establishment in London. Hard-working, firm of purpose, intelligent and heir to a large fortune, Colt seemed to stand on the threshold of a useful if unadventurous life of commerce seasoned with philanthropy; and when his grandfather's will debarred him from his expected place as a partner in the Bank (lest failure in the City should entail the ruin of his beloved Stourhead) one might have expected Colt to seek an outlet for his ambition in politics. Why he did not do so remains unexplained. Instead, Colt's ambitions were literary, and being too rational to imagine himself a genius and worldly enough to see that his wealth gave him advantages denied to many scholars he rightly addressed himself to the study of topography. From 1785 to 1791 he travelled in Italy, Switzerland, Spain and Germany and did the things expected of a rich Englishman on the Grand Tour, and much more besides. In drawing he was competent and prolific, returning from Italy with 900 of his own sketches as well as many others which he commissioned and bought. His large collection of books on Italian history and topography was ultimately acquired by the British Museum.

Returning to England at the age of 33, Sir Richard (as Colt became when his father died) applied himself to the duties and pleasures of a wealthy landowner—shooting, improving the estate, enlarging the house and, perhaps in pious memory of his grandfather, adding a Gothic cottage to the landscape garden. To the house he added a library and a picture gallery, and he was fortunate in having Thomas Chippendale to make a good deal of the furniture.

Colt showed independence and originality in his Italian travels and it is amusing to speculate that if he had been able to go on with this work he might have founded the British School at Rome a hundred years in advance of its time, and might himself have covered the ground, literally and figuratively, which was to be covered a century later by Thomas Ashby. However, the Napoleonic wars made it impossible for an Englishman to travel in Europe, and Hoare accordingly turned his attention to Wales. His first visit was in 1793 and for many years thereafter he spent the summers exploring that country, crowning his researches in 1806 by publication of *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A.D. MCLXXXVIII*, a commentary on Giraldus Cambrensis, expanded by Hoare into an

exhaustive historical and topographic study of Wales, printed in two volumes, admirably illustrated by many maps and by engravings from his own drawings. It is a work of serious scholarship, still of great value to Cambrian topographers, and tantalising to those of Italy. But this was only an *hors d'oeuvre*. Colt Hoare's real greatness stems from the perception and humility which made him ready not only to support, but also to learn from, William Cunnington of Heytesbury, a man of humble birth but of great natural ability, who for his health was obliged to exchange the indoor life of a merchant for some out-door occupation. For this reason Cunnington had taken to exploring and excavating the prehistoric burial mounds which lay in their hundreds on the South Wiltshire downs. The circumstances which led the Rich Baronet to join the Ingenious Tradesman in his researches, and to appreciate his qualities, throw much light on Colt Hoare's character and ability; they deserve more detailed examination than they receive.

The last part of the book contains a sympathetic sketch of the aging scholar peacefully residing at Stourhead, promoting the studies of a group of friends and assistants and presiding over what today would be called an Institute of Historical Research, dedicated to the publication of the two great books which bear Colt Hoare's name, the *Histories of Ancient and Modern Wiltshire*.

Landscape and Antiquity is pleasing in appearance, readable, informative and interesting. It is especially valuable in showing how immense a quantity of source material is stored away at Stourhead, in the Society's rooms at Devizes, in County Record Offices, at Hoare's Bank and elsewhere, upon which there must one day be constructed a comprehensive biography of an unusually gifted and attractive person.

G. U. S. CORBETT

The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1840 to 1880 by J. de L. Mann.
Pp. 371 + xvii, O.U.P., 1971. £3.50.

The woollen industry within the counties of Gloucester, Wiltshire and Somerset is the subject of Miss Mann's welcome book—the worsted industry hardly ever made any significant impact within the area. There are many difficulties in the way of writing the history of any industry, especially over a period which witnessed fundamental change in its technology, its methods of production, its economic structure, together with a host of other concomitant changes. For the West of England cloth industry, however, the difficulties are exacerbated by the problems posed by the available evidence—to say nothing of the familiar problems arising from evidence which no longer exists, especially the records of the firms in the industry. Firstly, major series relating to the industry's output are difficult to construct, partly because the export component, being included in national totals, is difficult to identify precisely. In addition, it is far from easy to estimate the size of the domestic market. Secondly, and, varying in extent over the long period concerned, there were very important local differences within the industry making generalization hazardous—Gloucester is not to be thought of in the same terms as Wiltshire and neither in turn should be confused with Somerset. Thirdly one must be very careful to distinguish internal shifts within the industry as its more rural and smaller scale units decline in the face of competition from the large mills of the towns, so that what at first sight might appear to be net growth of output, or capacity, may turn out to be nothing more than a transference from one part of the industry to another. Insofar as these problems are soluble, then Miss Mann succeeds, as the constructed statistical appendices on exports, employment, production costs, wages and the volume of production demonstrate. Should anyone wish to engage in the application of econometric techniques to the textile industries then he would be well advised to digest this volume thoroughly, multiply the difficulties by some factor dependent on the intended range of the industries to be included and then, dare one say it, spare us all from the sort of exercise recently performed for the British and American cotton and wool textile industries.

In so rich a volume, with so much detailed analysis rigorously related to such wide ranging evidence (the reviewer has examined one undergraduate paper on 'sources and methods' in which the candidates were required to display their prowess by producing a commentary on one reproduced page from this book), it is difficult to select some themes without appearing to slight others. Inevitably, one major theme is the increasing difficulty experienced as a result of the Yorkshire industry's successful competition with, as its concomitant, the secular decline of the industry in the West Country. Given the chronological treatment employed, then these are topics which emerge as the narrative unfolds, rather than being treated as analytical set pieces—a device one might respectfully suggest which might profitably be used for a future paper. Yorkshire competition, apparently unfeared before the 1720s had, from that point on, become increasingly evident in the export markets for the cheaper cloths and by the 1750s the trade in some types of cloth had been lost—losses which were to be underlined in the following decade. The West of England, however, continued supreme in producing the finer sorts of cloth and indeed, faced by a failing export trade, the industry concentrated its activities within this stronghold. Yet it is very important to note that through successful price competition in the lower grade woollen cloths, Yorkshire was already posing serious problems for the West of England industry well before the impact of the technological revolution in processing and the use of steam power became at all relevant to the analysis of Yorkshire's success. When they *did* become relevant, then Miss Mann has valuable comment to offer. As she points out, until 1800 steam power was agreed not to be important in either Yorkshire or the West Country where adequate water power was available. Yet, as it became increasingly so, the price paid for coal in the two regions was so disparate and so much to Yorkshire's comparative advantage. Relevant evidence on coal prices to manufacturers is to be found on pp. 155–6 and pp. 190–2, and is especially valuable. Yet though the inference is obvious, there remain doubts about the precise role of relative coal prices. What one would like to know, in order to explore this matter more fully is what proportion of total costs of cloth production were attributable to the cost of coal, since the smaller that *proportion* was, then the less important would be the kind of cost per ton disadvantage suffered in areas allegedly disadvantaged. The danger here, of course, is one of the excessive employment of hindsight—if businessmen at the time thought and behaved as though higher coal prices than those paid by their competitors were important, then for the historian that is the truly relevant fact. Should such speculation result in a suggested diminution in the importance of actual coal prices, this would, in any case, reinforce Miss Mann's view that this apparent disadvantage was merely one amongst many factors relevant to explaining the relative decline of the West of England cloth industry. It is very important, as she shows, to realise that its entrepreneurs were to a considerable extent the victims of their own success following their concentration upon the older types of superfine cloth developed in response to the earlier impact of Yorkshire competition. Whatever were the national disadvantages under which they laboured in a new regime of mechanization, their response was too late—'far too easy going up to the period of severe post 1826 competition', they still remained 'faithful for too long to the older types of cloth' (p. 193). And again, 'it was not so much the superior advantages of the north as the prosperity of the west in its diminished field of production up to the late sixties, which in the end led to its further decline' (p. 195). In short it was, with conspicuous exceptions, entrepreneurial failure which goes furthest in explaining how the west was lost and it is interesting to see the West of England's relative and eventually absolute decline as a microcosmic prelude to the larger debate about the late problems of the whole British industrial economy in which much has been made of entrepreneurial shortcomings.

By any standards and for whatever portion of the almost two and a half centuries which she covers, Miss Mann's book is a major contribution to the history of the wool textile industry and, insofar as any work of history can ever be said to be definitive, then it is likely to be so for the West of England cloth industry for many years.

William Butterfield, by Paul Thompson. Pp. xxix, 526, 25 colour plates, 392 other illustrations. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971. £10.

Victorian buildings have frequently been judged as being unworthy of consideration and are sometimes dismissed with disapproval. But there is a growing interest in this period which is notable for firmly held religious beliefs, and large and increasing congregations in places of worship. The Industrial Revolution meant that there was no shortage of money, and the 19th century was therefore a period of church building and development. Numbers of churches were restored, and many new buildings of architectural merit were erected at this time by men whose vigour, strength and conviction introduced new thinking and led to the development of a distinctive 19th century style.

William Butterfield was perhaps the outstanding character of this age and Paul Thompson's book leads the way by providing a study in depth of the life and work of this distinguished architect. This scholarly work goes fully into the character of this austere and somewhat forbidding man and his professional way of life. It covers in great detail much about Butterfield's work, showing how he devised his own very personal style by his knowledge of and delight in construction, and by the use of colour, pattern and texture in the buildings he designed. Dr. Thompson not only describes developments but also puts forward theories on the significance of them.

Even professional architects and historians may find the book somewhat lengthy to study in detail, but many will look at Victorian architecture, particularly churches, with new interest and understanding as a result of its publication. This is not only a complete biography but a penetrating insight into the period. Particularly interesting are the chapters in the first part of the book which deal with Butterfield's early life and upbringing, providing an illuminating insight of a young man growing up into what was, at that time, the newly recognized profession of architecture.

Butterfield's links with the West Country are of special interest—his first major commission was to build a non-conformist chapel in Bristol for his uncle, W. D. Wills, the tobacco manufacturer. A full list of works carried out in this and other parts of the country appears in the 24-page catalogue at the back of the book. It includes not only churches and chapels but also colleges and schools, estate housing, parsonages and other commissions as well as a large number of restorations. A further chapter gives information about Butterfield's designs for sculpture, stained glass, furniture and embroideries.

W. M. EVANS

OBITUARIES

Lt.-Col. Charles Murray Floyd, OBE, a former member of the Society's Committee, died in June 1971. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and served in the BEF, 1939-40; he was mentioned in despatches and awarded the OBE (Military Division) in 1945.

He held the office of High Sheriff of Wiltshire during 1962-63 and had been, since 1965, a member of the Wiltshire County Council, where he represented Holt and had served as Chairman of the Library and Museums Committee and as Vice-Chairman of the Finance and Co-ordinating Committee.

His special interest was natural history and he was a former President of the Royal Forestry Society of England and Wales, a member of the Royal Commission on Common Land, of the Nature Conservancy, of the Council for Nature (former Chairman of the Conservation Corps) and was instrumental in launching the Wiltshire Trust for Nature Conservation. At the time of his death he was on the Committee of the Natural History Section of this Society and had recently retired from the Committee of the Wiltshire Record Society.

An appreciation of his services to natural history will be found in Part A of the present volume, p. 38.

Group Captain Gilbert Stuart Martin Insall, VC, MC, the discoverer of Woodhenge, died in February 1971. It was Insall's observation in 1925 of the crop-marks revealing the rings of post-sockets within the Woodhenge ditch that led to excavation by the late B. H. and M. E. Cunnington in 1926-28.

Group Captain Guy Mainwaring Knocker, RAF, the son of Col. C. G. Knocker, ASC, died on 9th September 1971, aged 72. Knocker was educated at Haileybury and RMA, Woolwich, and directly after being gazetted to the RGA was transferred to the RFC. He served in both wars with distinction and on retirement in 1946 was employed by Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, then Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, on the important Saxon dig at Thetford and at other places, including Cricklade, where he carried out sections across the western wall. He had a natural aptitude for the drawing of pottery. He had served for a time on our Committee and on that of the Cricklade Historical Society.

Knocker was President of the Ashton Keynes Branch of the British Legion and Chairman of the Ashton Keynes Branch of the Chippenham Division Conservative Association. He will be much missed at Ashton Keynes and it is much regretted that he was unable to complete the excavation of the medieval site on Hall Close.

William E. V. Young, a member of the Society since 1928, died in November 1971. He was the elder son of Edward Tom Young of Ebbesbourne Wake, the last of five generations of blacksmiths to work in the Old Forge on the Cross set up by Joseph Young in 1741 and renowned for his ornamental wrought-iron work. A short account of the family's history by W. E. V. Young appeared in *WAM* 62 (1967).

After service in India and Mesopotamia during the First World War, William Young returned to Ebbesbourne Wake and embarked on an archaeological career in the course of which he took part in many of the important excavations carried out in Wessex and the south-west during the 1920s and 1930s. He first worked with Dr. R. C. C. Clay, at the Iron Age settlements on Fifield Bavant and Swallowcliffe Downs and on other sites. Subsequently

he acted as archaeological foreman for Miss D. M. Liddell (at Hembury Fort, Devon, and Meon Hill, Hampshire), for Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Cunnington (at Yarnbury Castle, Woodhenge and The Sanctuary) and for H. St. George Gray (at the Meare Lake Village and other sites in Somerset). Young's long association with Avebury began in 1925 when Gray, who had been appointed to direct excavations at Windmill Hill on behalf of Alexander Keiller, insisted on having his services as foreman. Young served in this capacity throughout Keiller's annual excavations at this site; from 1934, when work began on the West Kennet Avenue and Avebury, he was permanently employed by Keiller until the excavations were brought to a close by the Second World War. After the war Young was appointed Curator of the museum set up by Keiller at Avebury and held this post until his retirement in 1965, when he returned to Ebbesbourne Wake.

In addition to the family history mentioned above, he contributed a number of articles and notes to *WAM*: 48 (1938), 150-60—with B. Laidler; 53 (1950), 311-27; 57 (1959), 229-30; 57 (1960), 400; 58 (1961), 30; 58 (1962), 219-22.

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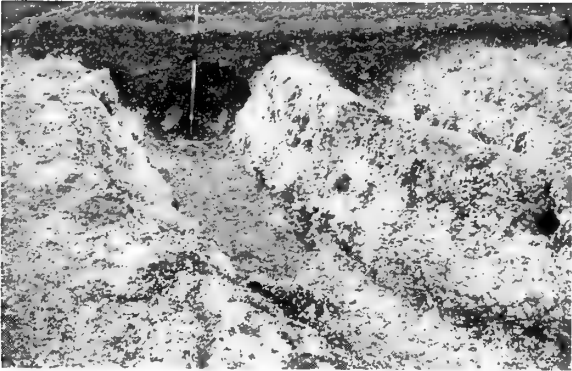
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PLATE I



a



b



c

- a. General view from the east.
- b. Section BO.
- c. Pottery from Pit 1 (sherd with knob below rim on right).

PLATE II



a



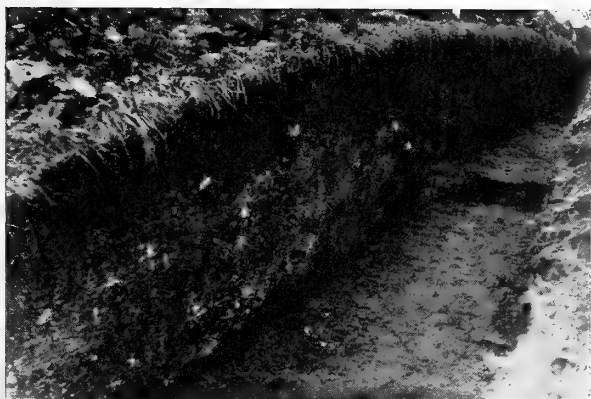
b



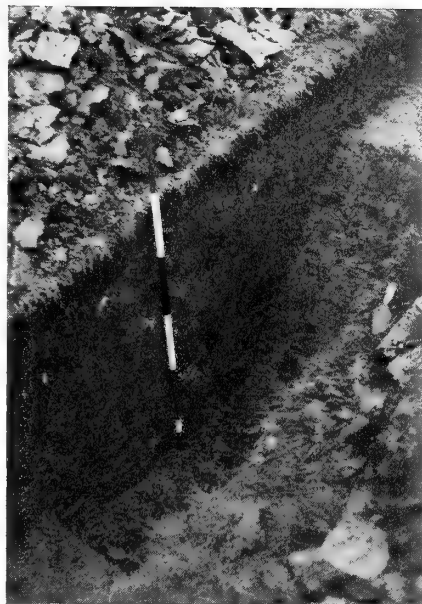
c

- a. W.XI. Clay bank, fill and robbed wall trench.
- b. Area W.IX, trench X, west face. Shows wall and clay bank with intervening fill of mixed soil. Pitched stones at base.
- c. Area W.IX, trench X, east face.

PLATE III



a



b



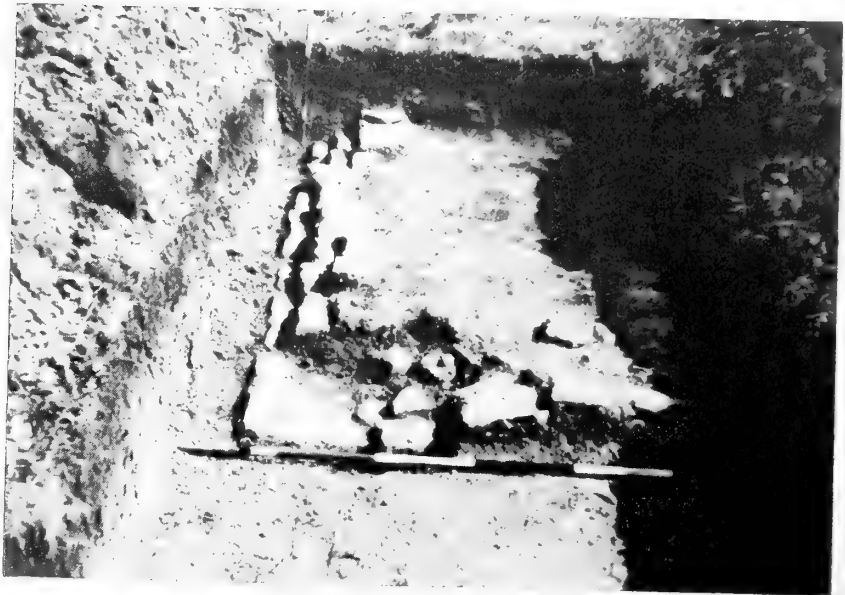
c

- a. Trench R.V. Robbed wall and clay bank with darker fill between.
- b. Trench R.V. Ditch cleared.
- c. Trench R.I. Track in section, with surface uncovered in nearer part of trench.

PLATE IV



a



b

- a. Trench K.D, looking north.
- b. Trench K.F, looking north.

PLATE V



a



b

- a. View from N.E. corner of the borough, showing extent of maximum flooding.
b. East side of the borough, looking south. *Ph. J. K. St. Joseph, Cambridge University Collection; copyright reserved. By courtesy of the Society for Medieval Archaeology.*

PLATE VI



The seal matrix of Richard Cano. Scale, 3:4

The Magazine

The Magazine is at present issued once a year. It is issued free to members of the Society. Contributions, editorial correspondence and books for review should be sent to the Editor at The Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes. Back numbers of Magazines can be obtained from the Honorary Librarian, with the other publications listed below.

Notes for the guidance of contributors will be found on pp. 207-8 of Volume 60 (1965).

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- A GUIDE CATALOGUE OF THE NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE COLLECTIONS AT DEVIZES MUSEUM, *by* F. K. Annable and D. D. A. Simpson. 1964. Post free, £1.40.
- A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT STONE MONUMENTS OF WILTSHIRE: STONEHENGE AND AVEBURY, *by* W. J. Harrison. No. LXXXIX (1901) of *W.A.M.* 91p.
- WILTSHIRE INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM: HENRY III, EDWARD I AND EDWARD II. 70p.
DITTO. EDWARD III. 70p.
- DEVIZES BOROUGH ANNALS, EXTRACTS FROM THE CORPORATION RECORDS, *by* B. H. CUNNINGTON. Vol. II, 1792 to 1835. 91p. (Vol. I is out of print.)
- WILTSHIRE BIRDS, *by* L. G. Peirson. 29p. Supplement. 10p.
- THE MACROLEPIDOPTERA OF WILTSHIRE, *by* Baron de Worms. Pp. xv, 177. 1962. £1.31.
(Members £1.06.)
- PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF CRICKLADE, *by* W. B. CROUCH. 1961. 66p.
- A HISTORY OF SAVERNAKE FOREST, *by* The Marquess of Ailesbury. 1962. 69p.

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