

Transactions of the
***London & Middlesex
Archaeological Society***
*incorporating the
Middlesex Local History Council*

Volume 24

1973

Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate, London E.C.2

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Editor's Note:

In future Transactions will be published in annual volumes starting with this No. 24, 1973.

The Editors will be glad to consider papers for publication. New contributors should obtain a copy of 'Notes for Contributors' from the Editor before submitting a paper.



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London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

incorporating Middlesex Local History Council

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London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

incorporating Middlesex Local History Council

117TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDING
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1972

There were fourteen meetings, including lectures on 15th October: Architectural Development of the Medieval Castle in Britain, by H. G. Lord, M.A.; 12th November: The Heart of Roman London, by R. Merrifield, B.A., F.S.A.; 10th December: Mirror of London's History: early maps of London and the surrounding region, by Dr. Helen Wallis, M.A., D.Phil.; 21st January, 1972: Annual General Meeting and Presidential Address, Castles and Castle Building. From the Beginnings to 1204; 17th March: The Urban Society: some problems of seventeenth century London, by Dr. Valerie Pearl, M.A., D.Phil., (The George Eades Memorial Lecture); 18th March: Eighteenth Century Revolutions in English Architecture and Furniture, by Dr. Lindsay Boynton (a joint meeting with the Historical Society of the City Literary Institute); 21st April: The Significance of Strawberry Hill, by Dr. J. Mordaunt Crook; 29th September: Archaeological Air Photography: recent developments, by J. N. Hampton, F.S.A.; and visits on 2nd October: West Drayton Local History Exhibition; 23rd October: Sir John Soane's Museum; 4th November: The British Museum, The Parthenon and the Elgin Marbles; 12th February: Dr. Johnson's House and Middle Temple Hall; 15th April: Lullingstone; 24th June: whole day visit to Warwick.

The customary two Conferences were held and both were well attended. The Local History Conference was held on 20th November, the principal speaker being W. J. Smith, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., on The Resources of the Greater London Record Office and their value to the Local Historian. The Archaeological Conference was held on 4th March, and brief reports were made on excavations in the City of London and at Bedfont, Southwark, Putney and Fulham.

The Stow Commemoration Service was held at St. Andrew Undershaft on 26th April, the address being given by Professor F. J. Fisher. The Pepys Service was held at St. Olave, Hart Street, on 14th June, the address being given by Dr. A. L. Rowse.

Transactions Volume XXIII Part II was issued as well as three numbers of the News Letter.

Membership at 1st October, 1971 was 565 and at 30th September, 1972 was 587 made up as follows: Life Members 46; Honorary Members 9; Student Members 12; Junior Members 28; Annual Members 492. There are 37 Affiliated Societies. We record with great regret the death of our Vice President and former Director of Meetings Mr. William Wheatley at the age of 89.

An arrangement has been entered into with Messrs. Phillimore & Co. Ltd. of Chichester whereby they will market our publications and stocks have now been transferred to them.

The Society's accounts for the year show a deficit of £271, which is attributable mainly to the cost of publication of the Rocque map. Sales of the map are encouraging and there is good reason to believe that the cost will be fully recovered during the next year. In view of rising costs and the fact that administration expenses have already been reduced to a minimum, further deficits seem certain unless a substantial increase in subscription income can be achieved.

The Council wishes to record its sincere thanks to the honorary officers for their work during the year.

By direction of the Council,

S. W. HOWARD, M.C., F I B.,
Chairman of the Council.

E. E. F. SMITH,
Honorary Secretary.

LONDON & MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT for the year ended 30th September

117th Annual Report of the Council

LONDON & MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th September, 1972

117th Annual Report of the Council

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and attached Income and Expenditure Account with the books and vouchers of the Society as submitted by the Honorary Treasurer. We have verified the Bank Balances and Securities with the Society's Bankers. In our opinion and to the best of our knowledge, these Accounts together with the Notes, are correct and in accordance with the books and records of the Society.

IN, F.C.A.
UIRE, M.B.E.
Honorary Auditors.

(Signed) O. T. ALLEN, F.C.A.
I MACHINERY M

18th December, 1972

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EXCAVATIONS AT ALDGATE AND BUSH LANE HOUSE IN THE CITY OF LONDON, 1972

BY HUGH CHAPMAN AND TONY JOHNSON

SUMMARY.

This paper contains the reports of two excavations carried out in the City by the Guildhall Museum in 1972. The two sites have been published together as they both produced evidence of early military occupation. At Aldgate this earlier period was succeeded by a series of timber buildings during the second half of the first century and the earlier part of the second century A.D. One of these phases appears to have been burnt down in the Boudiccan disaster of A.D. 60. There were also possible indications that the Roman road to Colchester had originally left the City further to the south than its traditionally accepted course. At Bush Lane House the two earlier phases of timber buildings of probably military origin were succeeded by a period of domestic use which terminated in disaster, again probably at the hands of Boudicca. Finally, the site had a masonry phase relating to the Roman Palace complex.

The archaeological reports of the two sites are followed by a general discussion on the military origins and importance of London during the second half of the first century A.D. The opportunity has also been taken to publish a number of groups of Neronian and Flavian pottery in order to provide a comprehensive series for this period from the Roman city of London and help fill the gap caused by the shortage of published material.

EXCAVATIONS AT ALDGATE, 1972 BY HUGH CHAPMAN

The opportunity arose in the summer of 1972 for the Guildhall Museum to excavate a site in an area bounded by Duke's Place, Mitre Street and 20–30 Aldgate (Grid Ref. TQ 3352 8116). Demolition of the existing buildings had taken place in 1966–67 prior to the widening of Aldgate, and a proposal to level the remaining area for a playground for the adjoining Sir John Cass Primary School threatened to disturb any surviving archaeological levels.

THE POSITION OF THE SITE.

The site lies on the extreme eastern edge of the Roman city (Fig. 1) just inside the late second–early third century walled circuit. The Roman city wall runs under the pavement on the east side of Duke's Place and under the front of the buildings along the east side of Jewry Street.¹ The evidence for the position of the gate itself is not very strong but it appears to straddle the modern road, its northern edge lying under the pavement of 1–2 Aldgate High Street² and its south edge under the front of the buildings on the other side.³ The gate had therefore a maximum measurement across of c. 12 m and this suggests that it probably had only a single carriageway.⁴

It must be remembered, however, that these stone-built circuit defences did not exist during the first two centuries A.D., and that there is at present no indication that London received any earlier circuit defences. During most of the history of the site, therefore, the limits of the city in this area were unlikely to have been marked by any substantial physical boundary.

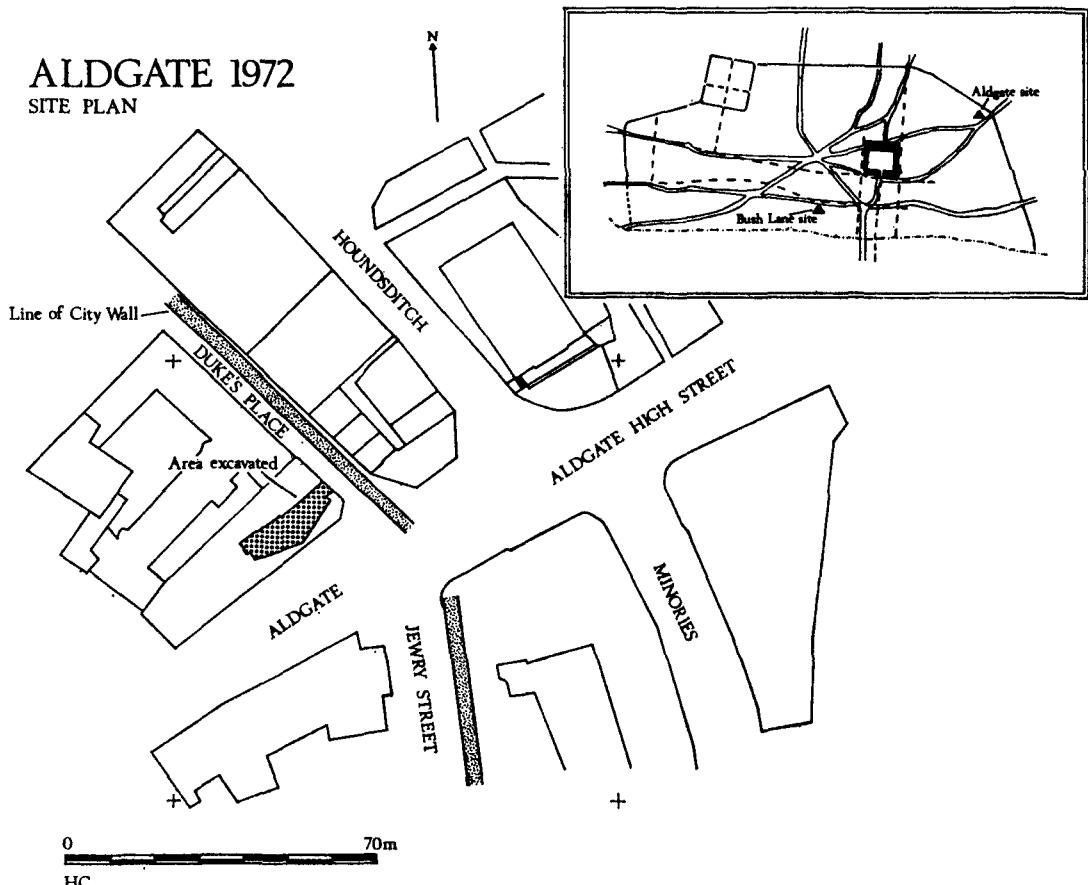


Fig. 1
Aldgate Site Plan

The relationship, however, of the site to the Roman road that led north-east along Aldgate and ultimately to Colchester, is a more complex problem. The interpretation of the site itself throws light on the formation of the line of this road and this is discussed below (p. 13), but several points must be mentioned here. The observation in 1953 of Roman road metalling under Aldgate High Street some 173 m outside the city,⁵ the obvious line of the modern road and the position of the gate indicate the accepted angle of approach of the road to Colchester and demonstrate, if nothing else, that this was its position by the beginning of the third century. For its course, however, on the inside of the city and its relation to the Roman street system we do not have any evidence, though it is likely that it continued on the same alignment for at least a short distance, probably as far as the present fork between the modern streets of Fenchurch Street and Leadenhall Street. The small size of the gate, when compared with that at Newgate for example,⁶ suggests that by at least the third century the route to Colchester no longer held the prominence that it must have had earlier.

The site, therefore, lay on the edge of the Roman city, just inside the walls and on the north side of the main route to Colchester. The modern widening of Aldgate meant that there was no chance of finding the northern edge of the Roman road, as this probably lies well towards the centre of the modern road.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SITE.

In June and July 1972 an area measuring 22·5 m in length and varying in width from 3·5 to 7 m was stripped and excavated. The area uncovered was somewhat less than half the available site.

It is clear from the general absence of late Roman levels and total lack of any medieval levels that the basements of the demolished late nineteenth century buildings had seriously reduced the surviving archaeological deposit over almost all the site. By good chance at the east end of the site against the retaining wall of Duke's Place, the deposit had survived as a sloping bank with a maximum depth of 1·92 m (Fig. 6), but elsewhere, apart from the fill of Roman features cut into the natural brickearth, the occupation deposits on top of this surface ranged from a depth of 300 mm to total removal. This lack of continuous stratigraphy and the difficulty of recording an unbroken section east-west through the site because of interruption by the surviving modern foundations (Figs. 5, 6), meant that most of the phases of Roman occupation and construction had to be dated, not by simple stratigraphical deposition, but by the pits and features which cut into them.

Though four post-medieval cess pits (P1, 2, 3, 5, Fig. 5) cut into the Roman levels, only one medieval pit (P4, Fig. 5) was found. This scarcity of medieval rubbish pitting, a feature normally very common on urban archaeological sites, is perhaps best explained by the fact that the site lay within the "Great Garden" of the Holy Trinity Priory whose building lay to the north and west, and that between the foundation of the Priory in 1108 and its dissolution in 1531, the area was under careful control and cultivation.⁷

THE DATING OF THE SITE AND ITS PHASES OF OCCUPATION.

The history of the occupation of the site falls into four main phases:

1. Pre-Flavian. The primary feature was a military V-shaped ditch cutting across the northern edge of the site. Two, possibly three, timber buildings were then built over the area. Occupation levels were also evident at the eastern end, and the area in between had been given over to rubbish pitting.
2. Flavian-early second century. The situation was now reversed, the eastern half of the site receiving a series of planned timber buildings, while elsewhere the buildings of the previous phase were cut through by pits.
3. Second-third centuries. No occupation levels survived except at the very eastern end of the site where a building had been demolished to make way for the city defences. Four rubbish pits also belong to this period.
4. Post-Roman occupation was represented by an early medieval pit, three brick-framed cess pits of the seventeenth century and a similar one of early Victorian date.

The most intensive period of occupation for which the evidence survives, lies therefore between the beginning of the Roman occupation in A.D. 43 and the early years of the second century. Because of the number of different phases of construction that took place within

**ALDGATE 1972
PLAN PRE-FLAVIAN PHASE**

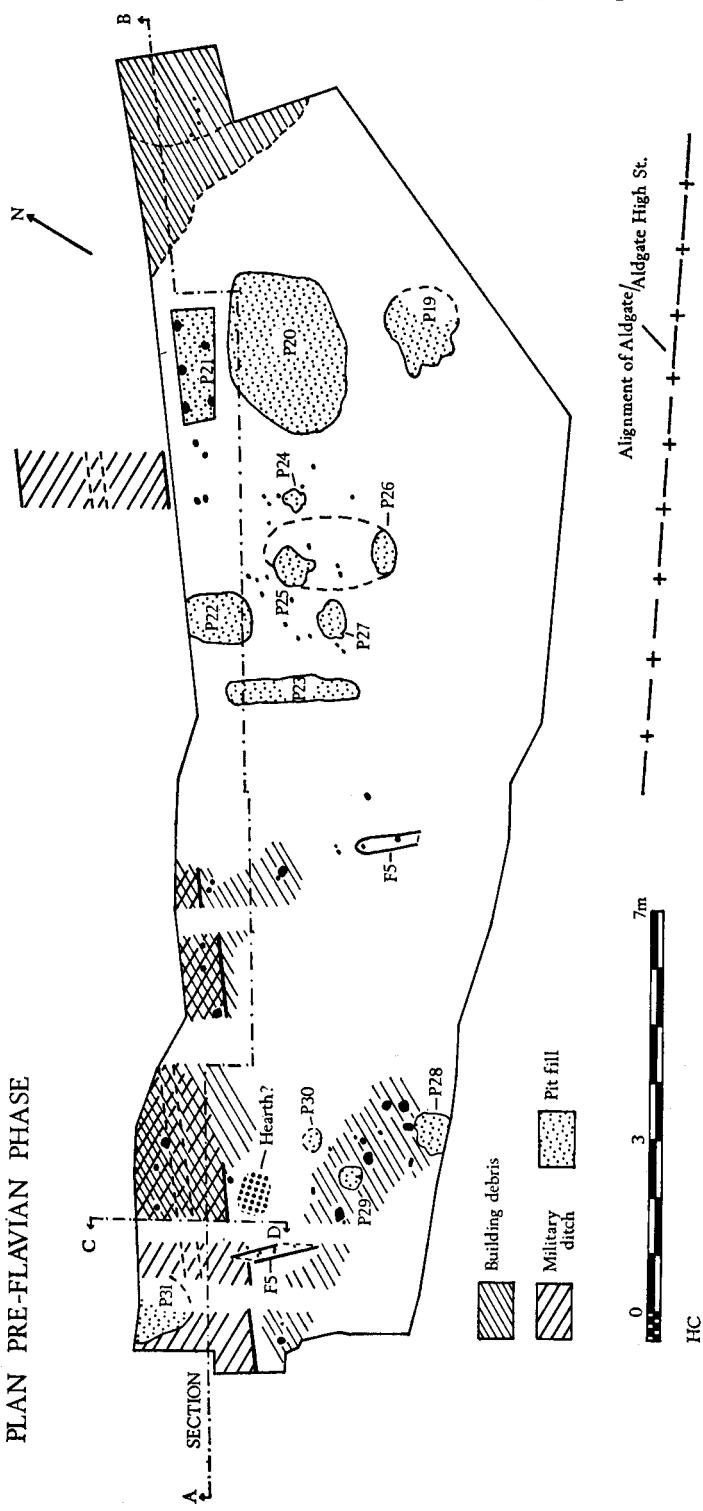
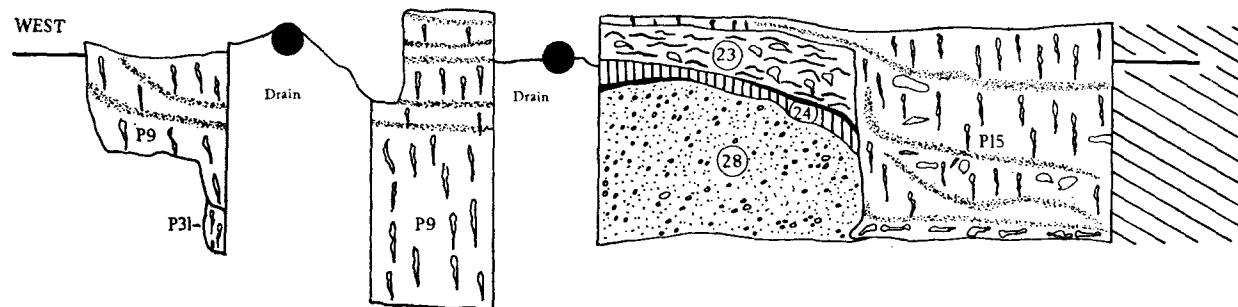
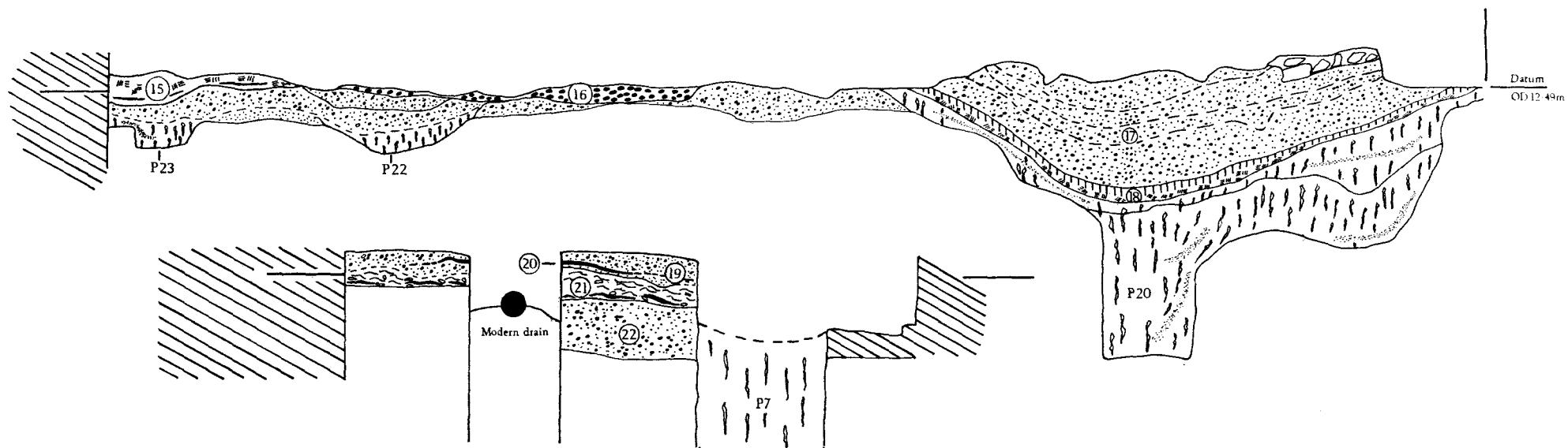
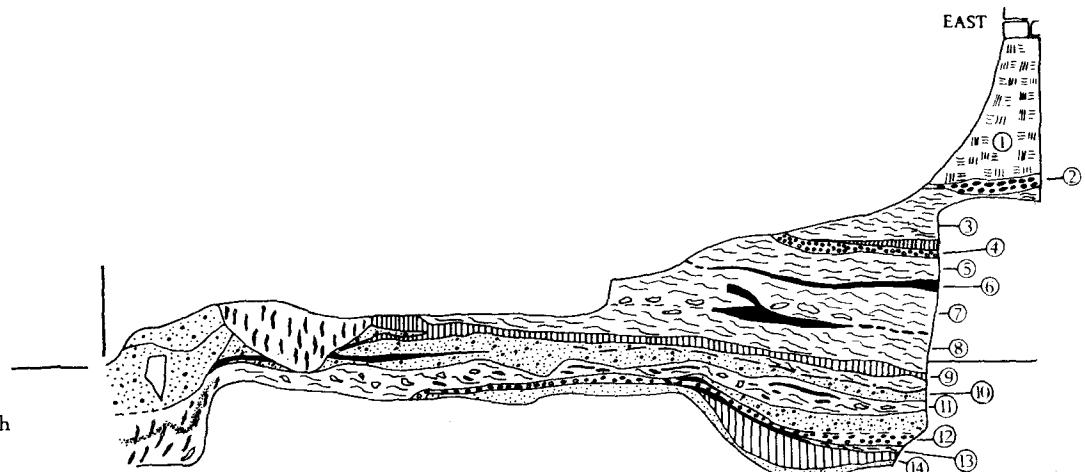
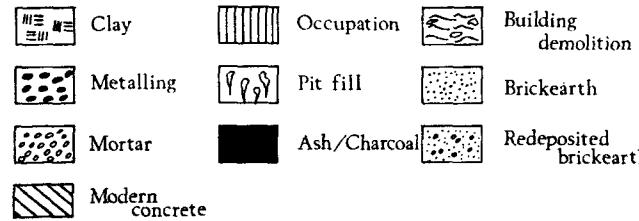


Fig. 2
Aldgate Plan—Pre-Flavian phase

ALDGATE 1972

SECTION A-B WEST - EAST



0 1 2m

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Fig. 6 Aldgate, Section A-B

this space of about 50 years, it is not possible to be too precise about their dating, and the fragmentary nature of the surviving structures does nothing to help this problem. It is clear, however, that there is a distinction between the nature of the occupation in the pre-Flavian period and that of the Flavian period itself.

The numbers for the layers (L), the pits (P) and features (F) refer to the two sections, A-B, C-D (Figs. 3, 6) and the plans for the relevant phase (Figs. 2, 4, 5). In the pottery report (p. 18) the coarse pottery from the different layers is arranged in the order that the layers are mentioned in the text, whilst the pits are grouped in chronological order of the date of their contents. References to the relevant page of the pottery report have not generally been given in the text, as this would very soon have become repetitive.

THE PRE-FLAVIAN PHASE (FIG. 2).

The earliest feature was a V-shaped ditch (F6, Figs. 2, 3, Plate 1) cut into the natural brickearth surface along the north edge of the site. Its length was traced for 8·8 m before it left the excavation, but during backfilling the opportunity was taken to cut mechanically a second section across the ditch farther to the east establishing a total length of 16·2 m. At the first section the ditch had a depth of 1·32 m with a width across the top of 1·82 m. The sloping sides narrowed down to a box-shaped gutter running along the centre of the bottom, 370 mm wide and 200 mm deep. As far as it was possible to tell, though much

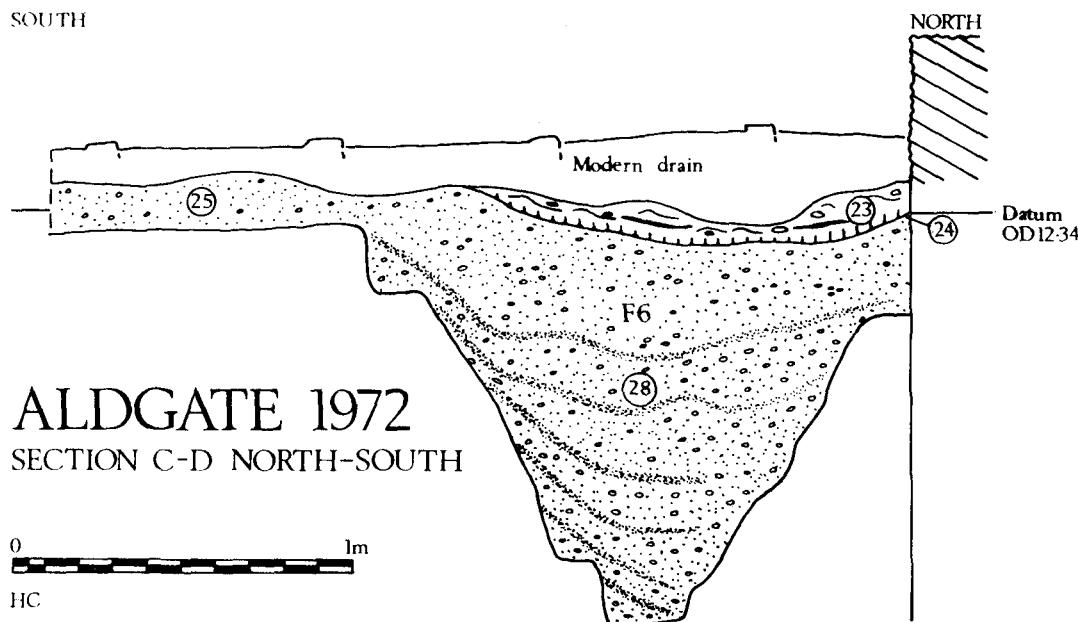


Fig. 3
Aldgate, Section C-D

of the profile of the ditch elsewhere had been destroyed by later pits (e.g. P9, 15, Figs. 4, 5), the digging of the sloping sides of the ditch and gutter at the bottom had not been regular throughout. The second section across the ditch showed a slightly different profile, having a width of 2·4 m and a surviving depth of 1·3 m. The evidence suggests that the ditch was

not open for long. There was no sign of silting in the bottom of the gutter, though just above it on the sides there were traces of a hard crusty weathered surface. The fill of the ditch (L28, 22) was very clean, being similar to the natural brickearth, but there were sufficient tip lines to indicate that it had been backfilled from the south side, presumably from the material of an associated rampart or bank. Only five (undateable) sherds came from the original ditch fill. The ditch is almost certainly military, and this is perhaps confirmed by the discovery of a bone grip of a legionary *gladius* (No. 12, p. 48, Fig. 22, Plate 5) found in the fill of the second section when it was being cleaned for recording. Several pits cut into the fill of the ditch, or, more accurately, into the debris of the building built above it (see below), but the remains of one pit (P31), lying below a later pit (P9) of Antonine date, was cut into the fill proper. The five dateable sherds from this deposit are of Neronian or early Flavian date.

Despite the fact that the remainder of the site lay on the south side of the ditch and therefore probably inside any fortification that the ditch may represent, no other features were found which can be definitely associated with this military phase. The rampart (L25) as well as filling the ditch had also evidently been spread across the area behind and over the top of three shallow pits or scoops (P28, 29, 30) cut into the natural surface, but apart from indicating that there may have been a gap between the end of the occupation within the fortified area and the filling-in of the defences, they do not add significant information. Apart from one pot sherd probably of Neronian date from P30, the pits were sterile, being filled with re-deposited natural brickearth.

After the filling of the ditch and the levelling of the rampart, the area received two, possibly three, timber structures. Their remains were fragmentary and the absence of contemporary occupation and destruction levels, except in one place, made it impossible to decide in which order they had been built.

The post-holes can be divided into two groups. One series running diagonally east-west across the site consisted of a series of six substantial holes (700–380 mm deep, 200 m diameter), of which four were in a line with the remaining two forming a group at one end. They were all filled with loose brown earth. This and the oval section at the top suggests that they had been deliberately withdrawn. With them was a series of smaller stake-holes (70 mm deep, 50 mm diameter), which must have been part of the same structure. A fragment of a dish of Neronian or earlier date came from the fill of the most easterly post-hole (No. 2, p. 18).

The second series of post-holes were placed for the most part on top of the fill of the ditch (L28) and though three larger holes (600–300 mm deep, 100–160 mm diameter) form a straight line, the remainder have no obvious pattern. Both an occupation level (L21, 24) and a destruction level (L23) of burnt daub and tile fragments of this building survived in the area where the fill of the ditch had sunk. A semicircular concentration of burnt earth heavily flecked with charcoal below the destruction level and in the area between the two major groups of post-holes suggested that this may have been the hearth area and that the two groups of post-holes represent a single building. A further building was indicated by the remains of two parallel slots (F5, 200–240 mm wide, 360 mm deep) cut for wattle-and-daub walls, running north-west south-east. They had been re-filled after the vertical stakes (diameter 40–70 mm) for the wattle “fence” had been driven in. No other features connected with this structure were found.

The evidence for the dating of the structures indicated by the post-holes comes from the material from the destruction level itself (L23) and the pits (P13, 14, 15, 16, 17, Fig. 4) which cut through the building debris. Both the material from L23 and the early pits suggest that the building had been burnt down by c. A.D. 60. The wattle-and-daub structure clearly pre-dates both the pit (P10) which truncates one of the two slots and the pits (P11, 12, Fig. 4) which were cut into the area between the two slots, and therefore it also belongs to this pre-Flavian phase, though it is not possible to say whether it came before or after the other building.

Occupation in the eastern half of the site during this period was characterised by the deposition of four layers (L11, 12, 13, 14) at the extreme end of the site and extensive pitting elsewhere. Two buildings were represented here. Layer 14 was an occupation deposit with a thin layer of destruction material above (L13), while L12 was a more substantial floor surface of pebbles mixed with what was probably mortar. Both the destruction level (L11) of this building, and the building below (L13), contained much burnt daub, charcoal and a few fragments of wall plaster. The small area that survived and was excavated within the boundaries of the site meant that apart from a series of five small stake-holes (40 mm diameter, 60–80 mm deep) in Layer 12, no structural evidence for these buildings was found. The nature of the destruction levels and the material from them show that these buildings had been destroyed by fire in the pre-Flavian period, and it must be suggested that one of these burnt levels owes its origin, like the burnt building at the west end of the site, to the Boudiccan destruction of the settlement in A.D. 60.

Pits of different kinds occupied the remainder of the area. Four shallow pits (P24, 25, 26, 27 and also see L27) with attendant stake-holes (average 55 mm diameter, 60 mm deep) had been cut and backfilled with very clean brickearth. One sherd came from P26, though slightly more came from L27, a further scoop of redeposited brickearth into which the pits had been cut. It is difficult to interpret their purpose or that of the stake-holes, as they contrast with the other pits where a succession of fills of different types indicated refuse disposal. The colourful and organic quality of the tip levels in the largest pit (P20) indicated that as well as a depository for a quantity of building material (buff-coloured *tegulae* and brick) the pit had also been used for the disposal of domestic rubbish. There was a fill of a similar nature in the pits P22 and P19 and in the long shallow pit or gully P23. The rectangular pit (P21) represented a rather different cutting having vertical sides and a flat, but sloping bottom (800–700 mm deep). The consistent vivid green fill that had formed a hard accretion on the sides, the regularity of the pit and the five substantial post-holes (200–300 mm deep, 100–120 mm diameter) in the bottom, suggest that it was probably a latrine pit and that the posts carried some form of superstructure.

FLAVIAN-EARLY SECOND CENTURY PHASE (FIG. 4).

During the succeeding phase the use of the site was reversed. The western half received a series of pits, while in the other, a series of buildings were erected aligned on each other and on the Roman road that led out of the city along Aldgate.

Some of the earlier pits of the previous phase (P19, 24, 25, 26, 27) had been sealed by a layer of cobbles (L16), perhaps in preparation for building, but no such precaution had been taken with the larger pits P20, 21. The result was that the part of the building that had been built over them, had subsided as the fill of the pits settled.

ALDGATE 1972
PLAN FLAVIAN PHASE

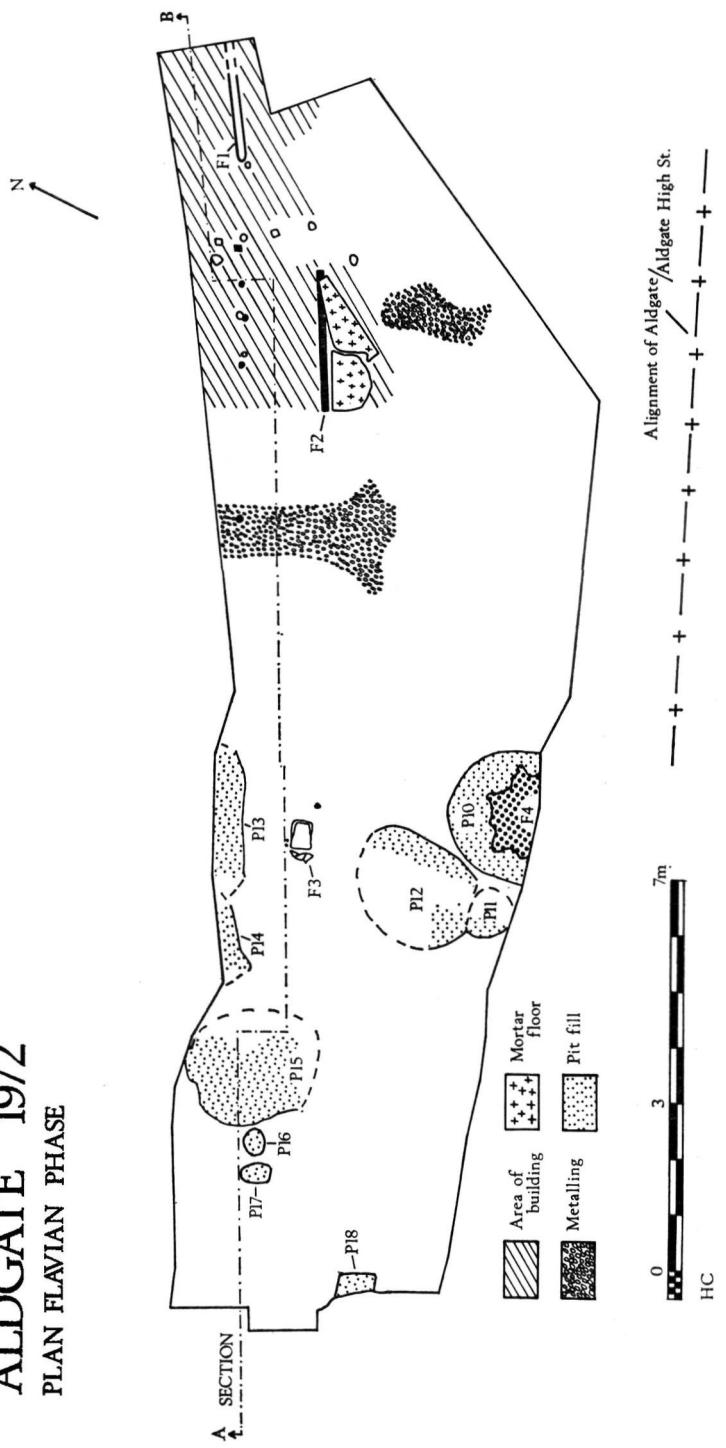


Fig. 4
Aldgate Plan—Flavian phase

Alignment of Aldgate/Aldgate High St.
— + — + — + — + — + — + — + —

The traces of this building consisted of a timber sleeper-beam (F₂, Plate 2) 100 mm wide, 110 mm deep and 2·56 m surviving length, that had remained as a dark brown stain. It had an *opus signinum* mortar floor on its south side and a clay floor and black occupation level (L₁₈) on the other. The clay floor level lay directly on top of the final fill of the pits P₂₀, 21, though the mortar floor had received a clay make-up level. It proved impossible to link this building with any of the other building phases that occurred to the east, as it had sunk below the general level of excavation, though a series of five post-holes (80–70 mm diameter, 200–400 mm depth) cutting through the clay floor level were part of its construction. The great degree of subsidence and a succession of massive dump levels (L₁₇) of late Flavian–early Trajanic date that had been used to level off this part of the site, suggested that the building had not been in use for a very long time and that subsidence had occurred quite quickly.

Fragments of a second building of similar construction lay to the east, and on the same alignment. The pre-Flavian buildings had been levelled off with a make-up level (L₁₀) and cut through by a slot for a timber sleeper-beam (F₁) 120–140 mm wide, 190–220 mm deep, 1·53 m long. In this case, too, the beam had remained *in situ* surviving as a crumbly brown deposit. A series of post-holes, sub-rectangular in section (c. 120 x 100 mm and c. 250 mm deep) ran in a line at right-angles to the west of the timber slot. The occupation of the building was represented by a layer of dense black occupation material (L₉), and its collapse and destruction by layer L₈, which consisted mostly of fallen wall plaster, and layer L₇ which was composed of burnt daub, charcoal, and ash. In the case of both this building and the one above, the insubstantial nature of the timbers suggested that they belonged to internal partition walls and not to the main walls of the buildings.

Further occupation during this period had taken place above the remains of the destruction of the second building described above. An occupation level (L₆) and charcoal flecked clay level (L₅) had been deposited. The small area available for excavation made it impossible to be precise about its nature, though it most probably represents a third phase of building.

One unexplained feature which appears to belong to this period was a small hearth (F₃, Plate 3) that lay well to the west of the buildings described above, and in an area surrounded by pits. The hearth was carefully made, rectangular in shape, 600 x 530 mm, having as its fire-platform a re-used portion of *tegula* that had clear signs of burning in a circular area in the centre. A low daub wall still standing to its original height (90 mm) had been built around three sides, and two stake-holes (40 mm diameter, 40 mm deep, and 100 mm apart) had been driven close to its northern edge. A small area of black ash (L₂₀) survived in the area immediately to the west.

The hearth lay above the occupation and debris (L₂₁) of the pre-Flavian building that lay on top of the fill of the ditch (L₂₂). It had been covered over by a layer of re-deposited brickearth (L₁₉). It proved difficult to date the feature, though it clearly post-dated the pre-Flavian building phase. The smashed remains of half of the body of a flagon with buff fabric and white slip came from the fill in the hearth and though the ovoid shape of the body suggests a date in the second half of the first century A.D., not enough remained of the vessel to give a more precise date. The pit P₇ (Fig. 5) which cut close to its eastern edge unfortunately proved to have had its top levels disturbed, but it is unlikely to have dated to before the middle of the third century. Nor, unfortunately, is it clear whether the pits

P₁₃, 14 which were also cut close to the hearth, pre-date or post-date it. More decisive perhaps is the fact that no occupation levels of any period later than c. A.D. 100 survived in this area due to the destruction caused by the basements of the modern buildings.

The hearth, then, can be assigned at least to the Flavian phase, though it was completely isolated and not associated with any building. No industrial wastes of any kind were found and its true purpose, whether domestic or for some more specialised task, remains unknown.

The remainder of the site to the west had nine pits dug into it (P₁₀, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). Apart from providing closely dateable groups of material, they deserve no special mention except for pits P₁₅ and P₁₀. In the case of the former the bottom fill of the pit was unusual in that it consisted entirely of fragments of animal bones⁸ and must represent the refuse from some specialised butchery operation (p. 51). The second pit, P₁₀, had a feature (F₄) which was possibly associated with the hearth described above (F₃), for after the final fill a rough hearth had been deliberately made by laying down a semi-circular patch of gravel. The red burnt colour of many of these stones and the thick layer of charcoal and ash on top indicated that the feature had been used as a hearth.

SECOND-THIRD CENTURIES (FIG. 5).

True occupation in this period is limited to traces of a substantial building near the top of the surviving bank at the east end of the site. Here the limited area excavated revealed an *opus signinum* floor (L₄) with a thin black layer of occupation material, and on top of this a clay level containing much collapsed wall plaster (L₃).

The mortar floor represented in fact two separate, though contemporary, floors divided by a rough trench, 500 mm wide, 90 mm deep. This was clearly a substantial building and the gap between the two floors is best interpreted as a robber trench for a stone wall. It is interesting to note that again this building appears to bear the same alignment as the timber structures of the Flavian period. Above the demolition of this building a layer of metalling (L₂) had been laid and on top of this a deposit of solid earthy clay material (L₁) survived as the final Roman deposit.

Though only a small area was excavated and therefore the evidence is not conclusive, this final deposit and its metalled base probably represents the tail of the bank that lay behind the Roman city wall. The wall runs close to the site under the pavement on the east side of Duke's Place (Fig. 1) and if the western edge of the pavement is taken as the inside face of the wall, the bank here would have had a width at the base of c. 7 m.⁹ It is suggested then that the building described above had been deliberately levelled and its stone walls robbed in order to accommodate the building of the city defences at the end of the second century A.D.¹⁰ Material (both samian and coarse pottery) from the building levels (L₃, 4) suggests a date in the second half of the second century and fragments of a Nene valley beaker from L₁ indicate a date in the late second-early third century for the bank.

A small surviving patch of metalling (L₂₆) above L₁₇, the dump levels on top of the Flavian building that subsided into P₂₀, contained material of the Antonine period, and suggests that once again the area was being prepared for building.

Elsewhere occupation on the site consisted of four pits: P₈ Hadrianic-early Antonine; P₉ c. A.D. 200; P₆ c. A.D. 250; and P₇ which is probably the same date as the latter, though its top level had been disturbed and the bottom level contained no dateable material.

ALDGATE 1972
PLAN LATE ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN PHASE

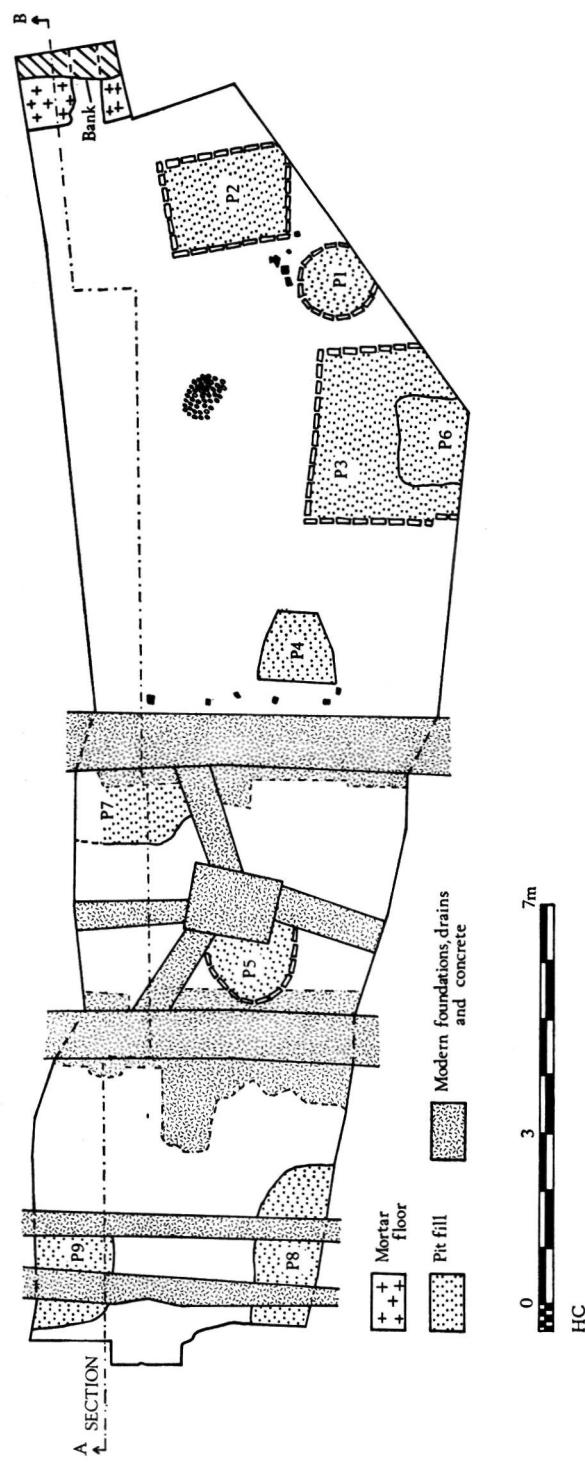


Fig. 5
Aldgate Plan—late Roman and post-Roman phase

A row of six post-holes roughly in a straight line across the centre of the site and dug into Level L15, and a group of similar post-holes to the east, perhaps also belong to this period. They were all sub-rectangular (70 x 55 mm) with flat sides that narrowed to a sharp point at a depth of about 90 mm, thus indicating that only the bottom section of the post-hole was present. Neither group was sealed by a stratified deposit. This and the fact that they differed in character from all the other post-holes on the site suggest that they were intrusive and related to some later building phase, whose levels had been destroyed.

POST-ROMAN (FIG. 5).

No true post-Roman occupation was recorded. The five features listed below all represent intrusions into the Roman levels. Only a portion of the total depth of each of the features can have survived.

P4. A sub-rectangular pit (1.32 x 1.2 x 0.7 x 1.2 m) containing a lime green deposit and tip lines of a darker brown organic material. Although there was some residual Roman material, there were also medieval sherds which dated the pit to the late eleventh–early twelfth century (p. 40).

P2. Rectangular cess pit (1.71 x 2.10 m) with one course of the brick frame surviving. The few sherds of pottery were residual (medieval and Roman) but a guinea weight of William III indicated that it was still open towards the end of the seventeenth century.

P3. Rectangular cess pit (3.12 x 2.69 m). The brick frame survived to a height of 380 mm. Material from the fill, particularly the clay pipes, indicated that it was open c. 1620–1680.

P5. Circular (diameter 1.42 m) brick cess pit or well. This was not fully excavated, though the bricks of which it was built and the one or two sherds from the top of the fill again indicated a date in the seventeenth century. A construction trench was evident.

P1. Circular (diameter 1.27 m) brick cess pit, probably not later than c. 1840 (p. 41). The brick-work survived to a height of 1.54 m and the cess pit had been trench built.

INTERPRETATION.

The site has several significant contributions to make to the history of the Roman city of London. The most important perhaps is the evidence it provides for an early military occupation. It has long been thought (p. 71) that the origins of London were purely military, but until the present time no secure evidence has been found. It is not possible to say any more about the type or extent of the fort that the presence of a military ditch in the Aldgate area now indicates, except that it was clearly only of a temporary nature and perhaps should be thought to have had the character of a temporary camp or supply base rather than a fortified legionary enclosure. Its closest parallels are the Claudian ditches protecting the invasion base at Richborough.¹¹

What is important, however, is its relationship to the London–Colchester Roman road. The angle, though *not* the position of the modern road is shown in Figs. 2, 4, and it is fair to assume that this represents also, within a few degrees, the line of the Roman road. The ditch clearly diverges from this line and bears no relation to it. All the archaeological evidence suggests that the ditch had been backfilled from the south side with rampart material, or at least the material that had originally been dug out of it. This, of course, would have lain behind the ditch inside the fortified area. The main area of the fort, therefore, lay to the south, across the road. It would be extremely unlikely, to say the least, for a ditched Roman fort to have a road traversing its area at such an angle, and therefore it is clear that

either the fort pre-dates the laying out of the road, or the road was elsewhere. The relevant positions of London and Colchester and the part they play in the story of the conquest, suggest that this road would have been one of the first, if not the first to have been established after the invasion in A.D. 43.¹²

Unfortunately, it is not possible to date the ditch precisely, though it clearly lies in the period before A.D. 60. By this time it had already been filled in, a small pit (P31) had been cut into the fill, and a building had been built and destroyed by fire on top of it. It cannot, therefore, belong to any temporary fortification that may have been started before Suetonius Paulinus arrived in London and took the decision to abandon the city to Boudicca in A.D. 60.¹³ The other time that London played an important military role was during the invasion itself in A.D. 43 and in the period immediately afterwards (p. 71). It is to this period that the fort, on present evidence, must be assigned.

The two or three buildings that were built over the area south of the ditch were also not aligned on the road (Fig. 2), unlike the later ones in the Flavian period (Fig. 4). All the evidence suggests that the road did not in fact run along this line in the pre-Flavian period. A clue to an alternative point of departure from the city, is provided by a concentration of burials farther to the south in an area around Haydon Street, east of the Minories.¹⁴ Only one burial is recorded from the line of the road along Aldgate High Street. The custom of placing cemeteries along the roads leading out of the town is, of course, well known, and though not all the burials in the particular area are early, a cemetery once established would have continued in use through-out the Roman period.

It is suggested then that the London-Colchester road was first planned to leave the city farther to the south through the Haydon Street-Haydon Square area. The successive phases of Flavian, and later, buildings aligned on Aldgate suggest that it was at this time, c. A.D. 70, that the position of the road was changed, and that it now left the city on its traditional course along Aldgate and Aldgate High Street. It was, of course, in this position at the end of the second century, when the gate itself was built. The Flavian period was a time of extensive planning and public building in London, and it is tempting to think that this re-alignment of one of the four major roads that left the city was associated with a major replanning of the complete street grid. It seems fairly certain, for example, that during the same period the nucleus of such a pattern had been laid out round the new basilica in the centre of the city.¹⁵

As has been shown the civil occupation of the site is divided into two phases. During the first of these, shanty buildings of timber and daub construction at both ends of the site, suffered a disaster when they were destroyed by fire (L23, 13). This can be assigned to the destruction caused by Boudicca in A.D. 60, when the evacuated city was left to face the onslaught of her rebellious forces. A further site therefore is added to the picture of the extent of occupation known during this period, and records the most easterly point recorded of a Boudiccan fire level.¹⁶

A rapid and strong recovery in the period after this disaster is characterised by buildings of a more substantial nature, using timber beams for partition walls and mortar floors of *opus signinum*. A succession of at least three buildings were constructed on the same alignment. Clearly these constitute ribbon development along what was the newly laid-out course of the road to Colchester. The number of buildings that were built within a space of perhaps some 80 years reflects both a picture of constant activity along a major road and perhaps also the frailty of the buildings themselves, and their vulnerability to destruction by fire.

Finally, there was a hint, and with the limited excavation that was conducted, it can be no more, that the building of the city defences at the end of the second century involved the deliberate destruction of buildings at the extreme eastern edge of the city.

THE FINDS

THE SAMIAN WARE

BY GEOFF DANNELL

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Cunliffe 1968:</i> | B. W. CUNLIFFE, Ed., <i>Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent</i> . London. |
| <i>Cunliffe 1971:</i> | B. W. CUNLIFFE, <i>Excavations at Fishbourne</i> . London. |
| <i>Frere 1972:</i> | S. S. FRERE, <i>Verulamium Excavations, Vol. 1</i> . London. |
| <i>Karnitsch 1955:</i> | P. KARNITSCH, <i>Die verzierter Sigillata von Lauriacum</i> . Linz. |
| <i>Knorr 1905:</i> | R. KNORR, <i>Die verzierten Terra sigillata-Gefäße von Camastatt und König-Grinario</i> . Stuttgart. |
| <i>Knorr 1912:</i> | R. KNORR, <i>Südgallische Terra-sigillata-Gefäße von Rottweil</i> . Stuttgart. |
| <i>Knorr 1919:</i> | R. KNORR, <i>Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts</i> . Stuttgart. |
| <i>Knorr 1952:</i> | R. KNORR, <i>Terra-sigillata-Gefäße des ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen</i> . Stuttgart. |
| <i>Stanfield and Simpson 1958:</i> | J. A. STANFIELD and G. SIMPSON, <i>Central Gaulish Potters</i> . Durham. |
| <i>Wheeler 1926:</i> | R. E. M. WHEELER, <i>The Roman Fort near Brecon</i> . London. |

(FIG. 7).

1. (PIT 11).

375. Red-brown slip, thick; paste, pink-red with calcareous inclusions. Neat double-bordered ovolو with straight tongue ending in trident tip. Below, a straight wreath of V-shaped leaves. The main decoration consists of panels. To the left, a large medallion containing a dog, O.1971. Small trifid leaves terminate the corner tendrils. Next, a narrow panel with the lioness O.1573A above two sets of circles, which are themselves above a dog, closest to O.1922. Then, another medallion, with the same lioness, followed to the right by a St. Andrew's Cross motif, with small palm leaves. Finally, below, a similar but finer straight wreath.

The ovolо is close to that of GERMANVS (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 35.80). Most of the detail can be found on form 29s bearing the PA NN stamp. The dog, O.1971 is at Kreuznach (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 48A) as is the palm leaf. The lioness is on a London vessel (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 48B). The wreaths are close to those given by Knorr (*ibid.* 48C and 1919, Taf. 63C). The circles are so common as not to signify, but PASSIENVS used them (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 49E). However, there are close connections too with a pair of 37s ascribed by Knorr to MEDDILVS (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 39D and E). Knorr notes that PASSIENVS and MEDDILVS shared a similar stipuled bud, but in addition, the winged figure O.274 on the Bregenz bowl D., is on a stamped 29 by PASSIENVS from Moulins (*cf.* Cunliffe, 1971, Fig. 135.98). The only individual motif linking this bowl with MEDDILVS is the leaf-ornament (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 54.17). For the Emerkingen bowl E, similar links exist with stamped work of PASSIENVS. The lanceolate leaves are on a 29 at Mainz (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 640), while there is an S motif at Brecon (Wheeler, 1926, Fig. 69, S31). An interesting thing about these parallels is that the straight wreaths clearly differ, one being fine, the other coarse, as on the present bowl. Close comparison of designs on vessels stamped by MEDDILVS and PASSIENVS leave little doubt of a connection (*cf.* Knorr, 1952, Taf. 40D with 48C basal wreaths). The real question left unresolved is the significance. Hartley has recently suggested that the PASSIENVS workshop may have started in the Claudian period, and ended its life around A.D. 75 (Cunliffe, Ed., 1968, 139, 100). For MEDDILVS, he suggests Neronian at the earliest (Frere, 1972, 218, S2). A 29 with the familiar MEDILLV stamp from Leicester (1958, B XIV (2)) however, can only just be Neronian, and on this evidence the potters probably started working within a few years of each other.

A mould-maker common to both, apparently made 37s for them, giving strength to Hartley's case for a terminal date in the early Flavian period. MEDILLV is known to have signed moulds (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 40A) and a decision on whether it is a pre- or post-cocturam signature is vital.

Date: c. A.D. 75-90. South Gaulish.

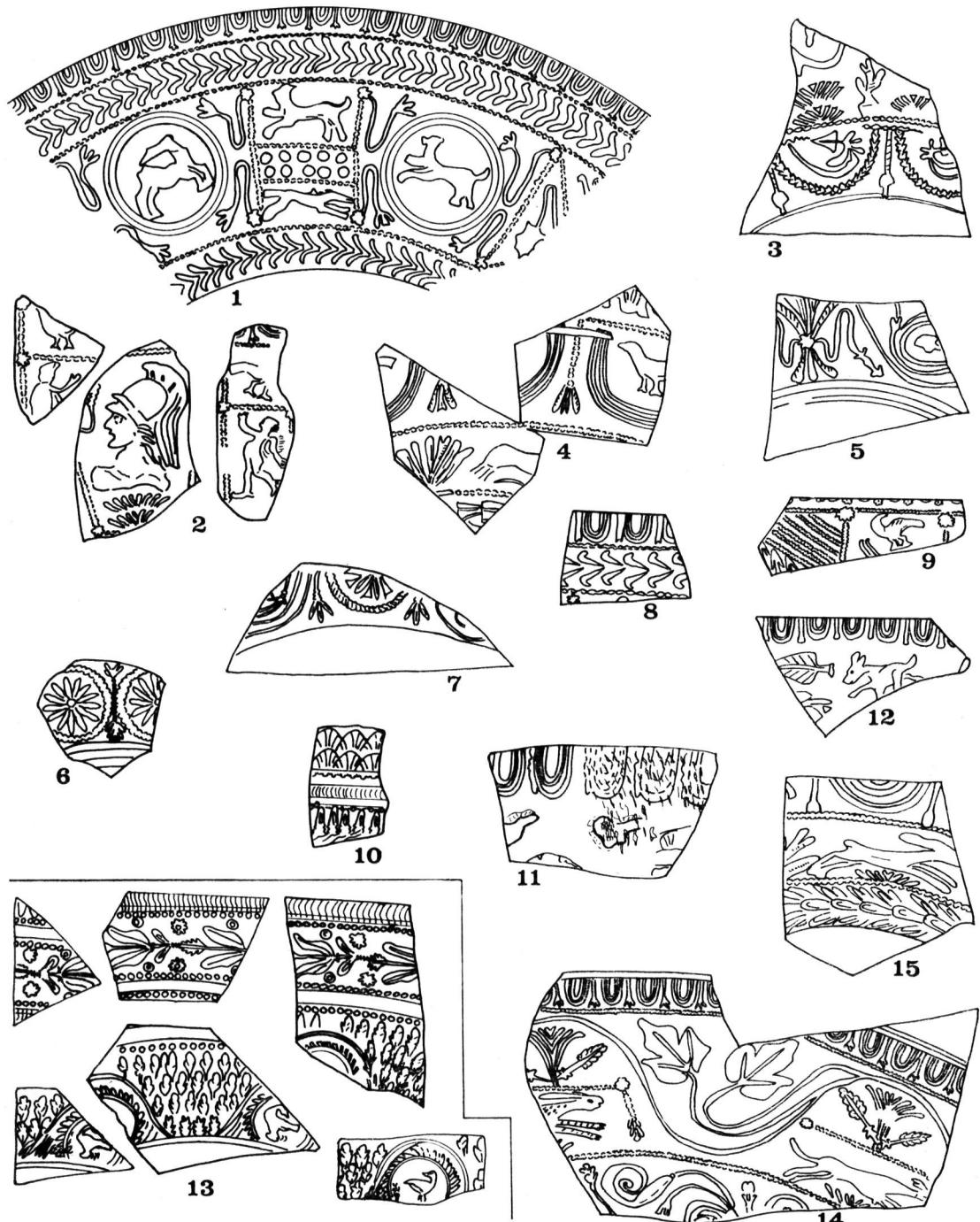


Fig. 7
Aldgate. The Samian ($\frac{1}{2}$)

2. (LAYER 17).

37. Slip, red-brown, thick and hard-fired; paste, pink, coarse with fissures and yellowish calcareous inclusions. Double-bordered ovolو with tongue to the left ending in trident tip. Panel decoration; in the centre, a portrait bust O.1208 above grass tufts; on either side there are demi-panels, to the left, a bird O.2248, above a dancing man O.352. To the right, the bird is O.2293 above a satyr O.722. The ovolо and birds appear widely in the work of BIRAGILLVS, the bust is that used by MERCATOR, and the other figure types are used by the later workers in the GERMANVS shop.

Date: c. A.D. 85-110. South Gaulish.

3. (LAYER 17)

37. Slip, red-brown, slightly overfired, bright; paste, pink, with fine white inclusions. Free style animal scene above basal zone of wreathed festoons enclosing cordate stipuled buds, with large pomegranates or poppy-heads for swags. Perhaps the style of PASSIENVS (*cf.* Cunliffe, 1971, Fig. 128.20), the whole of the basal wreath could be his. The upper scene is similar to the designs of GERMANVS, and perhaps there is an inter-relationship to be worked out here. Certainly there is a group of potters who made 29s (including PASSIENVS and MEDDILVS who both have sharply differing early and late styles, see No. 1) who appear to have have mouldmakers producing 37s. VITALIS should perhaps be added to the immediate grouping as another associate.

Date: c. A.D. 75-90. South Gaulish.

4. (LAYER 17)

37. Slip, red-brown matt; paste pink, with coarse yellowish inclusions. The decoration is in four horizontal bands. The ovolо is double-bordered, narrow, and in high relief, with a straight tongue on the right. The tip is bent to the right. Below, a festoon design enclosing a bird O.2267. Next, an animal chase with stylised grass tufts, and finally a basal wreath of four leaves. Poorly moulded, and the ovolо might well be a single impression stamp. The bird is shared by both the penultimate (MASCVVVS, MERCATOR, L. COS VIRILIS) and the ultimate (NATALIS group) South Gaulish potters. The ovolо is close to that developed by the NATAILS group (*cf.* Knorr, 1912, Taf. XXIV. 4 and 6).

Date: c. A.D. 90-120. Banassac?

5. (LAYER 8)

29. Slip, red-brown, overfired; paste, red-pink, coarse. Lower zone: winding scroll with leaf-tree ornament and a small Nile goose O.2244 variant. MEDDILVS has all of the decorative details (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 54.14, 15, 16 and 42).

Date: c. A.D. 70-85. South Gaulish.

6. (PIT 20)

29. Slip, red-brown, shiny, overfired; paste, pink-red, fine with calcareous inclusions. Lower zone: part only, with a row of rosettes in the style of BASSVS and COELVS. Their details, as Knorr, 1952, Taf. 10F and 1919, 13C for the small leaf.

Date: c. A.D. 50-65. South Gaulish.

7. (PIT 15)

29. Slip, red-brown, crazed by overfiring; bright; paste, pink with both yellow and white inclusions. Lower zone: only the basal area remains, showing a winding scroll containing rosettes in wreathed medallions, with trifid-leaf terminals. The rosette appears on a 29 from Bregenz (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 85F), together with a leaf wreath and a four-pronged motif. The wreath is on a bowl stamped by AQVITANVS at Vechten, while the pronged motif is common in his work (*ibid.* 9.48). The tendril ends from the present vessel are on the Knittelsheim 29 (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 3B). What is probably the rosette appears on a small fragment from Vechten (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 8E).

Date: c. A.D. 50-65. South Gaulish.

8. (PIT 15)

37. Slip, red-brown, overfired, bright; paste, red-pink, fine. Double-bordered ovolо with straight tongue to left ending in bifurcated tip. Below, a straight wreath of V-shaped leaves with turned-back tips. Both the ovolо and the wreath were eventually taken up by the NATAILS group, but this sherd is a bit earlier than their main production.

Date: c. A.D. 90-120. Not Montans ware. South Gaulish.

9. (PIT 9)

37. Slip, red-brown, very hard-fired and glossy; paste, red-pink and very hard. Panel decoration, with very fine oblique bead rows above barley-ears. To the left, a bird O.2298. There are close connections with a bowl from Brecon (Wheeler, 1926, Fig. 72.S77). The details can be seen on a bowl by IOENALIS (Stanfield and Simpson, 1958, Pl. 41.478). The ovolo has unfortunately been cut off, but it ended in a small rosette.

Date: c. A.D. 100–130. Les Martres-de-Veyre?

10. (LAYER 27)

29. Red-brown slip, rather matt; paste, pink, fine, with small white inclusions.

Upper zone: superimposed palmate leaves.

Lower zone: striated rods.

A bit difficult to place from small, damaged decoration, but NIGER used the rods on small bowls (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 62D).

11. (PIT 9)

37. Brown-red slip, overfired; paste, pink-red with white inclusions. Large double-bordered ovolo, with segmented or corded tongue to the left. The three ovolo impressions to the right have all the appearances of coarse wood-grain, but as this appears also on the unclear detail below, it looks as if the mould was damaged in some way, rather than the poinçons were made of wood. Probably the work of HELENIVS (cf. Karnitsch, 1955, Taf. 60–61).

Date: c. A.D. 190–220. Rheinzabern.

12. (PIT 9)

37. Orange-brown slip, hard-fired; paste, orange-pink with fine white inclusions. Small double-bordered ovolo with tapered, plain tongue to the left. Free-style design with dog O.2029 and segmented leaf. COBNERTVS style.

Date: c. A.D. 160–190. Rheinzabern.

13. (PIT 21)

29. Red-orange slip, bright; paste, pink and hard-fired. Smudged in removal from mould.

Upper zone: straight wreath, very close to the design by CELADVS and MVRANVS, except for the addition of small roulettes (cf. Knorr, 1952, Taf. 15C and D).

Lower zone: Wreathed medallion containing birds O.2249 and 2295, but smaller. Very similar to the Mainz bowl (Knorr, 1952, Taf. 45G).

The work of the CELADVS and MVRANVS shops.

Date: c. 50–65. South Gaulish.

14. (PIT 11)

37. Red-brown slip, bright; paste, pink, a little coarse with fairly large calcareous inclusions. Neat, double-bordered ovolo with straight tongue to right, ending in trident tip, bent to the right. Below, an extended scroll with large ivy leaves in the upper concavity. The lower spaces are filled with divided panels. To the left, a "tree-ornament" above a hare O.2074, to the right, a dog O.1925. A third, and presumably final, zone has a very tight scroll ending in small buds. The ovolo is similar to that of MEMOR (if Hartley is right about the Rottweil bowl, Fundberichte aus Schwaben, XVII, Taf. IV, 1). The leaf is on a late Flavian 37 at Cannstatt (Knorr, 1905, Taf. IX, 6), but there the ovolo is more like that of MERCATOR.

Date: c. A.D. 85–110. South Gaulish.

15. (UNSTRATIFIED)

37. Red-brown slip, matt; paste, pink-red. MERCATOR style. His basal wreath, grass tuft, column and hare (Knorr, 1919, Taf. 57.12, 13, 20 and 22). Note the difference in the treatment of the paws of the hare with the preceding sherd.

Date: c. A.D. 85–110. South Gaulish.

THE OTHER ROMAN POTTERY

BY JOANNA BIRD

(FIG. 8, 1-24)

LAYER 25 (NERO)

Round-shouldered jar

1. Coarse micaceous dark-grey fabric, grey grog temper; hand made.

FROM POST-HOLE OF PRE-FLAVIAN BUILDING (NERO)

Cup, form Camulodunum 53B:

2. Fine micaceous brown fabric, dark-grey surfaces; lightly burnished.¹⁷

LAYER 21 (NERO)

Ring-neck Flagon

3. Micaceous soft cream-buff fabric, chalk and brown grog inclusions.

Bead-rim Jar

4. Coarse micaceous dark-grey fabric, some shell and flint inclusions; black surfaces.

Carinated Cup

5. Fine sandy micaceous grey fabric.

LAYER 23 (NERO-VESPASIAN)

See also Amphora Stamps, No. 2 (p. 000, Fig. 18).

Necked Jar

6. Fine sandy micaceous light-grey fabric.

Bead-rim Jars

7. Coarse sandy grey fabric, burnished vertical lines on exterior; burnt.

8. Coarse pale grey fabric, dark-grey grog temper; grey-white slip on exterior.

Storage Jars

9. Coarse sandy pale-grey fabric, dark burnished surfaces; hand made.

10. Sandy micaceous light-brown fabric, some chalk and red grog inclusions; burnt.

11. Fabric as No. 10, but unburnt.

Cup imitating Samian form 27

12. Sandy micaceous light-grey fabric, some chalk inclusions.

Bowl imitating Samian form 29

13. Fine sandy micaceous pale-grey fabric; decorated with incised lattice.

Dish

14. Coarse micaceous sandy brown fabric, burnished dark-grey surfaces.

LAYER 12 (NERO)

Cup-mouthed Flask

15. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric, burnished dark-grey surfaces. The handle has been inserted through the wall. A hole was bored in the neck after firing, perhaps to ease pouring. The form is unusual; an example in a Romano-British glazed fabric was found at Puckeridge, Herts.¹⁸

Collared Flagon

16. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric, yellow-cream surfaces; Verulamium region.

Necked Jars

17. Micaceous sandy grey fabric, grey surfaces.

18. Coarse sandy light-grey fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

Bead-rim Jar

19. Coarse micaceous pale-grey fabric, grey grog temper; drab-brown surfaces. Burnished wavy-line decoration.

Ovoid Jar

20. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric.

LAYER 13 (NERO)

Necked Jars

21. Coarse micaceous sandy light-grey fabric.

22. Coarse micaceous sandy grey-brown fabric; surfaces burnt.

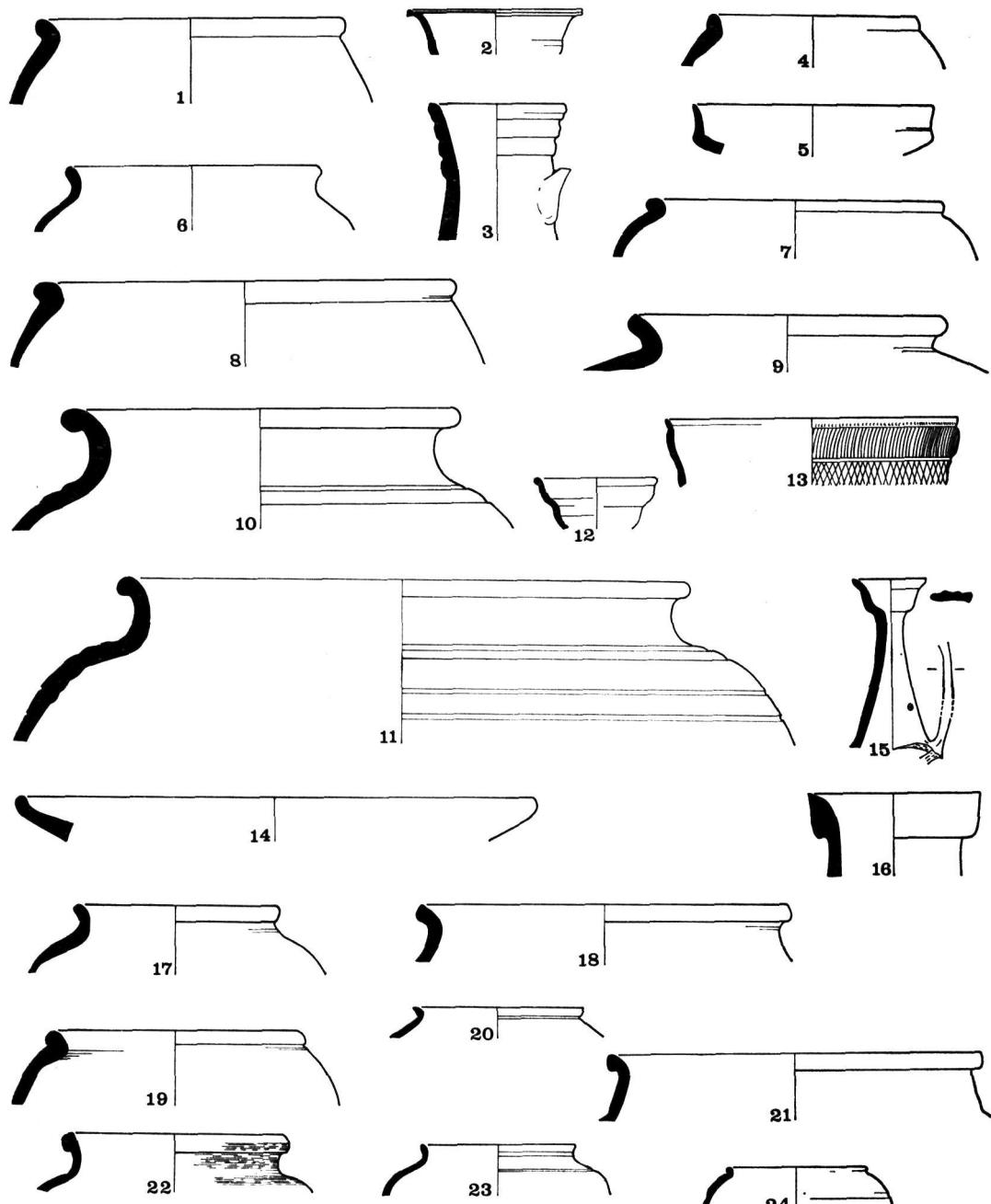


Fig. 8
Aldgate. The Pottery 1-24 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

23. Fine micaceous light-brown fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

Ovoid Jar

24. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, darker surfaces; burnished diagonal lines.

(FIG. 9, 25–55)

LAYER 14 (NERO)

Collared Flagon

25. Sandy drab-cream fabric, chalk and dark brown grit inclusions; cream slip.

Necked Jars

26. Hard sandy micaceous grey fabric, darker surfaces.

27. Soft micaceous light-brown fabric, black surfaces.

Bead-rim Jars

28. Sandy micaceous light-grey fabric, some grey grog; darker surfaces with burnished decoration.

29. Micaceous dark-grey fabric, flint and shell temper.

Beaker

30. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric.

LAYER 27 (NERO OR EARLY FLAVIAN)

Bead-rim Jars

31. Soft micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric, dense shell temper; black surfaces.

32. Soft sandy brown fabric, grey core; flint and brown grog temper. Patchy orange/grey surfaces.

LAYER 16 (NERO OR EARLY FLAVIAN)

Necked Jar

33. Micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

Bead-rim Jar

34. Micaceous sandy grey fabric, some flint inclusions.

LAYER 18 (NERO OR FLAVIAN)

Lid-seated Storage Jar

35. Coarse micaceous grey fabric, dense shell temper; burnt.

LAYER 17 (TRAJAN-EARLY HADRIAN)

Ring-neck Flagon

36. Coarse sandy dark buff fabric; Verulamium region.

Flagon

37. Coarse micaceous sandy brown fabric, dark-grey slip.

Necked Jars

38. Hard sandy micaceous pale-grey fabric.

39. Hard micaceous sandy pale-grey fabric, darker exterior surface.

40. Hard micaceous sandy pale-grey fabric; darker surfaces.

Everted-rim Jar

41. Coarse brown-black fabric, white sand temper; hand made. Probably Dorset "black burnished", category 1.

Storage Jar

42. Dark-grey fabric, light-brown surfaces; dense shell temper. Stab decoration.

Ovoid Jar

43. Hard fine buff fabric, grey core; mica-dusted beige surfaces.

Mortarium

44. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric, yellowish slip; Verulamium region.

LAYER 10 (NERO OR EARLY FLAVIAN)

Ring-neck Flagon

45. Sandy cream fabric, buff core; Verulamium region.

Flagon

46. Fine micaceous buff fabric, grey core; thin buff slip.

Storage Jar

47. Coarse micaceous brown fabric, grey core; black surfaces.

Glazed Beaker

48. Micaceous grey-white fabric, pale green glaze; imported from Central Gaul.¹⁹

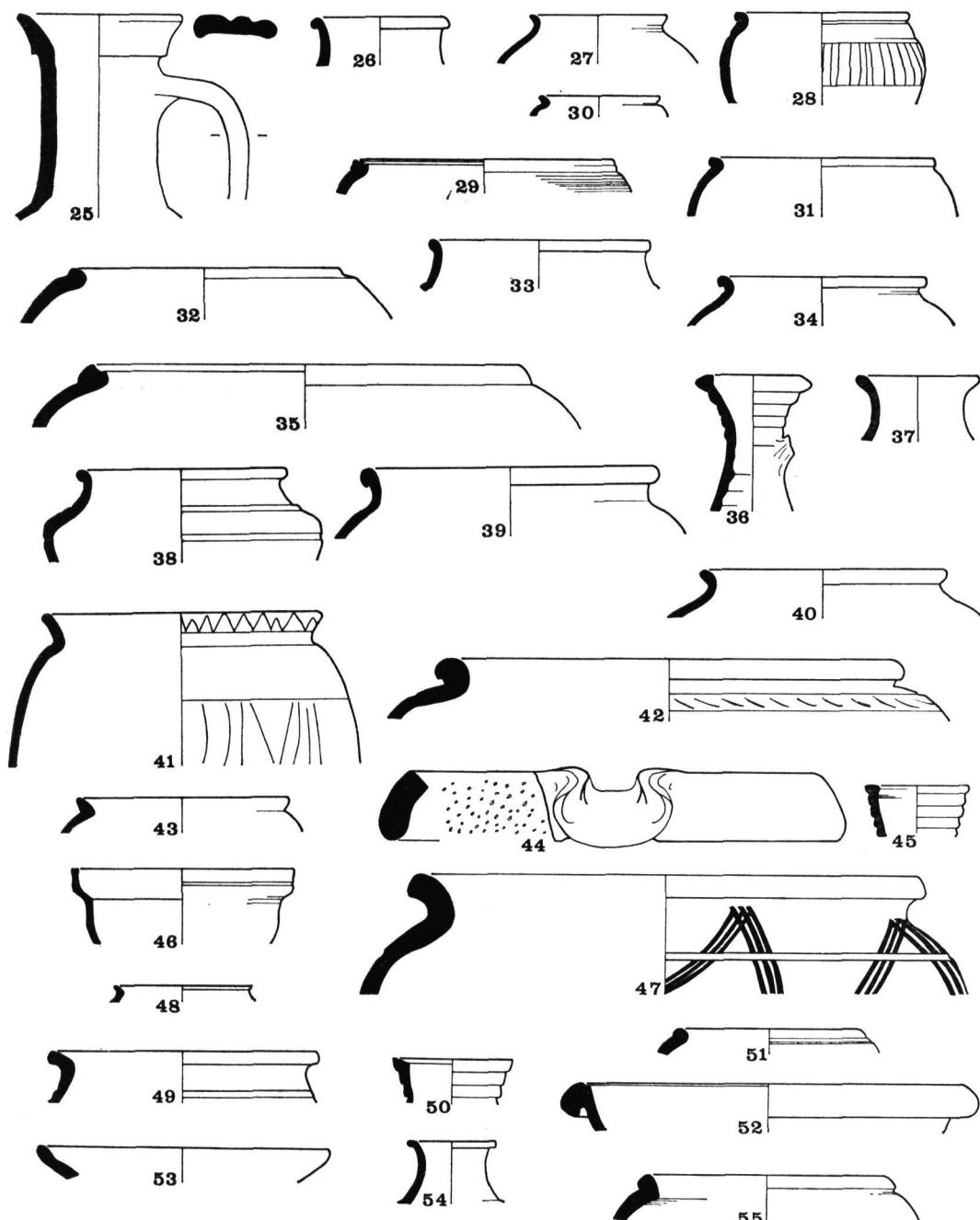


Fig. 9
Aldgate. The Pottery 25-55 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

LAYER 8 (NERO OR FLAVIAN)*Necked Jar*

49. Hard micaceous sandy pale-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

LAYER 7 (FLAVIAN)*Ring-neck Flagon*

50. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric; Verulamium region.

Bead-rim Jar

51. Micaceous sandy grey fabric, darker surfaces.

Hook-rim Bowl

52. Hard sandy pale-grey fabric, grey surfaces; large flint inclusion.

Dish

53. Sandy buff fabric, grey core; densely mica-dusted.

LAYER 19 (NERO-EARLY FLAVIAN)*Flagon*

54. Hard micaceous sandy grey fabric, burnished.

Bead-rim Jar

55. Coarse micaceous pale-grey fabric, grey grog and flint temper; black surfaces. Hand made.

(FIG. 10, 56-81)

FEATURE 4 (FLAVIAN-TRAJANIC)*Everted-rim Jar*

56. Hard fine sandy light-grey fabric, burnished rim and decoration.

LAYER 3 (ANTONINE PROBABLY)*Lattice-decorated Bowl*

57. Coarse micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric, white sand temper; dark grey surfaces with burnished decoration.

LAYER 26 (ANTONINE)*Beaker*

58. Fine micaceous sandy-grey fabric; marked by holes in kiln floor.

Colour-coat Beaker with Barbotine

59. Sandy light-brown fabric, matt dark-brown vitrified slip. Colchester probably.

Bowl with Triangular Rim

60. Sandy light-grey fabric, patchy grey/fawn slip on surfaces.

Lattice-decorated Dishes

61. Soft coarse micaceous grey-brown fabric, patchy pink/grey burnished surfaces. Hand made.

62. Soft coarse micaceous brown fabric, patchy pink/brown/grey surfaces. Hand made.

LAYER 15 (FLAVIAN, AND PROBABLY EARLY FLAVIAN)*Necked Jars*

63. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

64. Micaceous sandy grey fabric, some chalk inclusions.

Glazed Beaker

65. Fine off-white fabric, yellow-green glaze. Imported from Central Gaul.¹⁹

Bowl Imitating Samian form 29

66. Fine micaceous brown-black fabric, dark-grey surfaces; compass-drawn decoration.

Mortarium

67. Coarse sandy cream fabric, yellowish surfaces; grey and white flint trituration grits. Verulamium region.

PIT 31 (NERONIAN OR EARLY FLAVIAN)*Amphora*

68. Rim, Dressel 20 oil amphora. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric, inclusions of lime and iron pyrites. Southern Spain.

Necked Jars

69. Hard micaceous sandy grey fabric, some chalk inclusions; darker surfaces.

Excavations at Aldgate and Bush Lane House in the City of London, 1972

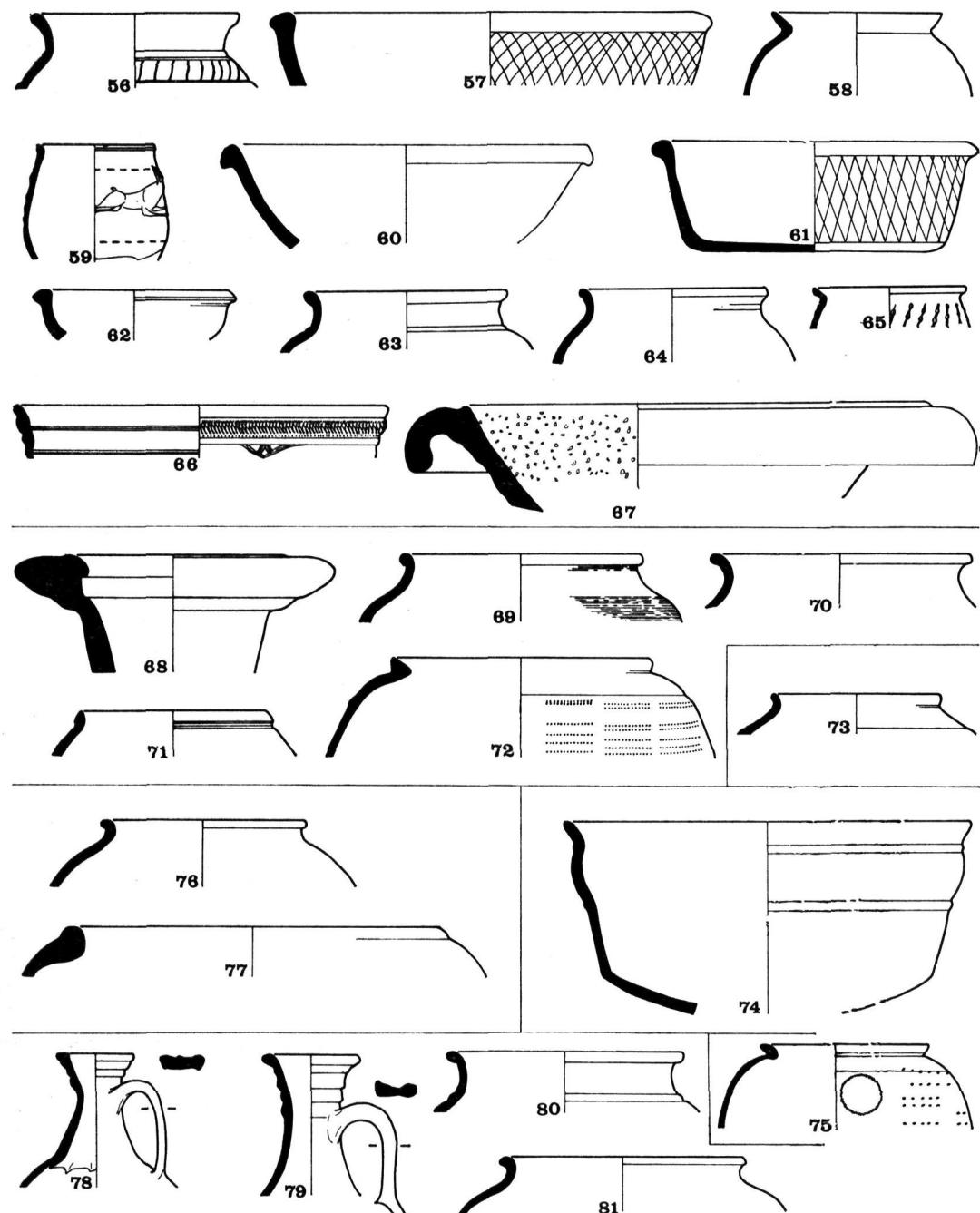


Fig. 10
Aldgate. The Pottery 56-81 (1/4)

70. Fine micaceous light-brown fabric, dark-grey core and surfaces.

Bead-rim Jar

71. Fine micaceous grey fabric, black surfaces.

Ovoid Jar

72. Coarse sandy light-grey fabric, grey-white slip; barbotine dots in panels.

PIT 30 (NERONIAN OR FLAVIAN)

Ovoid Beaker

73. Fine micaceous sandy beige-grey fabric, burnished surfaces.

PIT 26 (NERONIAN OR FLAVIAN)

Bowl Imitating Samian form 29

74. Soft coarse dark-grey fabric, white sand temper; beige exterior and traces of fawn slip. Burnt.

PIT 23 (NERONIAN OR EARLY FLAVIAN)

Ovoid Beaker

75. Fine micaceous sandy cream fabric, small dark grits; yellow slip.

PIT 22 (NERONIAN OR FLAVIAN)

Necked Jar

76. Coarse micaceous light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

Bead-rim Jar

77. Coarse micaceous light-grey fabric, patchy darker surfaces.

PIT 21 (NERONIAN OR EARLY FLAVIAN)

Ring-Neck Flagons

78. Fine yellow-orange fabric, grey core; yellow-orange slip. Lightly burnt.

79. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric; very abraded. Verulamium region.

Necked Jars

80. Coarse micaceous sandy light-brown fabric, grey surfaces.

81. Micaceous brown fabric, light-grey core and surfaces; burnished decoration.

(FIG. 11, 82-103)

Storage Jars

82. Coarse dark grey fabric, beige surfaces.

83. Coarse grey fabric, dense shell temper; brown-black surfaces.

Ovoid Beakers

84. Fine micaceous sandy brown fabric, dark grey surfaces.

85. Fine micaceous buff fabric, dark grey core; mica-dusted.

Round-bodied Bowl

86. Coarse micaceous grey-brown fabric, white sand temper; dark grey burnished surfaces.

Hook-rim Bowls

87. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

88. Fabric as 87.

Reeded-rim Bowl

89. Coarse micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

Mortarium

90. Sandy cream fabric, pink, white and grey trituration grits on flange and interior. Colchester/Kent region, or possibly Gaul.

PIT 20 (NERO)

Collar-Rim Flagon

91. Coarse sandy pale-grey fabric and slip; Verulamium region.

Belgic-type Jars

92. Coarse sandy grey fabric, dark grey-brown slip on exterior.

93. Coarse sandy pale-grey fabric, some chalk inclusions.

Necked Jars

94. Hard sandy light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

95. Fabric as 94.

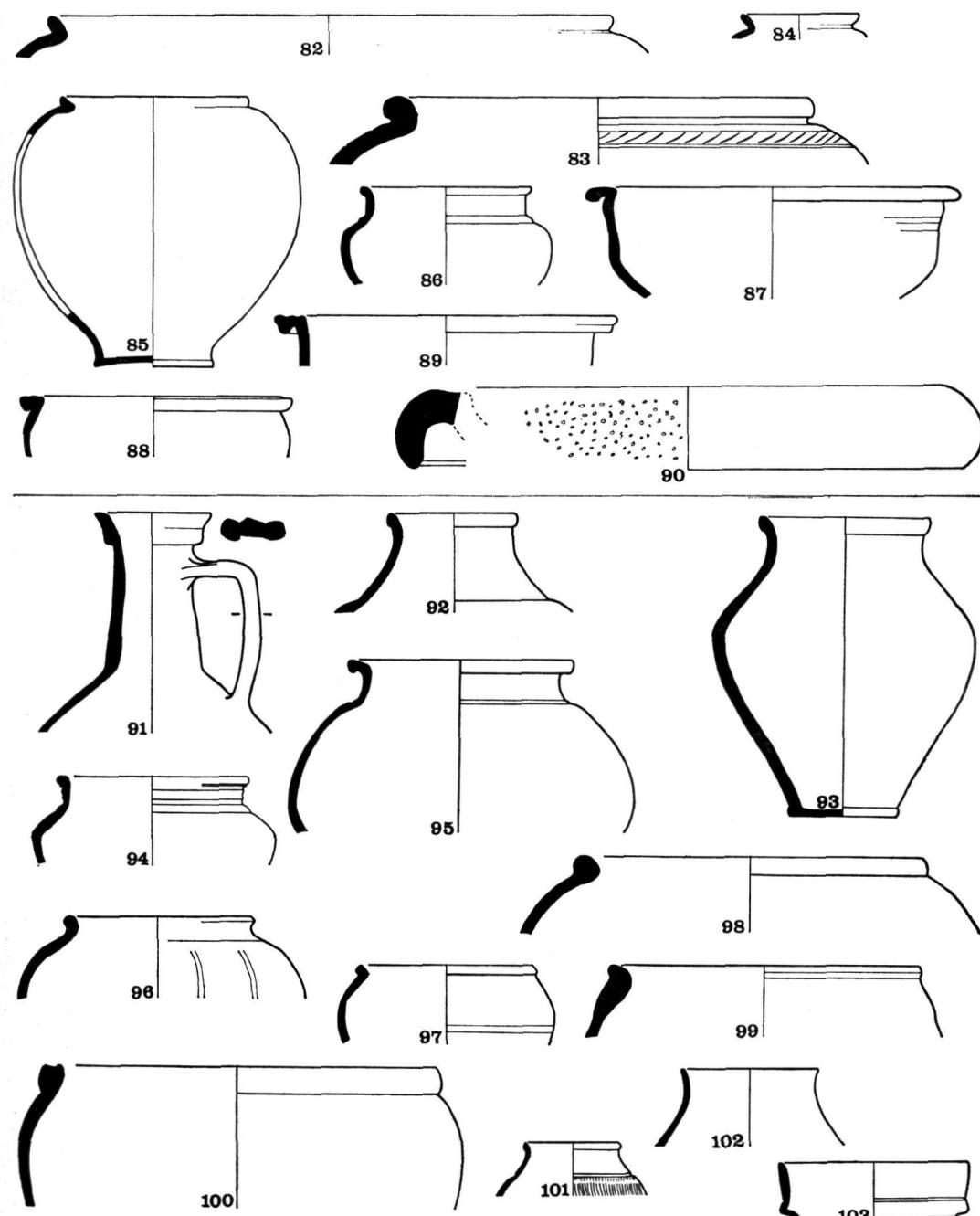


Fig. 11
Aldgate. The Pottery 82–103 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Jar with Upright Rim

96. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric; burnished loop decoration.
Bead-rim Jars
 97. Hard micaceous light-grey fabric, pale-grey grog temper; dark surfaces.
 98. Coarse micaceous sandy grey-brown fabric, dark grey surfaces.
 99. Coarse micaceous pale-grey fabric, grey grog temper; dark surfaces.

Lid-seated Storage Jar

100. Coarse grey fabric, dense shell temper.
 "Butt-beaker", *Camulodunum form 112Cb*
 101. Fine sandy cream fabric, pale-grey core; drab-cream surfaces.
Carinated Beaker, similar to Camulodunum form 120A
 102. Fine micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, dark grey surfaces.
Carinated Cup, Camulodunum form 56C
 103. Fine micaceous sandy beige fabric, dark-grey exterior below carination—probably differential firing due to stacking in the kiln.

(FIG. 12, 104-123)

Round-bodied Bowls

104. Sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric, black surfaces.
 105. Hard micaceous sandy grey fabric.

Mortarium

106. Coarse sandy buff fabric, cream-yellow surfaces; some brown grog temper. Verulamium region.
Dishes in Gallo-Belgic forms

107. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, darker surfaces; burnt.
 108. Sandy micaceous beige fabric, grey core and thin slip.
Lid

109. Sandy micaceous buff fabric, grey core.

PIT 19 (NERONIAN)

Collar-rim Flagon

110. Coarse sandy cream fabric, some red-brown grog. Verulamium region.
Jar with Lattice Decoration

Necked Jar

111. Coarse micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric; incised decoration.
 112. Sandy micaceous brown fabric, grey surfaces.

Jars with Offset Shoulders

113. Coarse micaceous grey fabric, grey and black grog temper.
 114. Sandy micaceous grey fabric. Burnished wavy line on neck.
 115. Sandy grey fabric, buff surfaces; traces of cream slip.

Bead-rim Jar

116. Hard coarse light-grey fabric, brown surfaces, light-grey slip.
 117. Hard coarse light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

Storage Jar

118. Grey fabric, dark-grey grog temper; beige surfaces.
Shallow Bowl

119. Sandy light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.
Bowl, Camulodunum form 68

120. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, fawn surfaces, grey slip.
Lid

121. Coarse grey fabric, dark grit temper; black surfaces.

PIT 18 (FLAVIAN-TRAJANIC)

Bowl

122. Coarse micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

PIT 17 (FLAVIAN PROBABLY)

Bead-rim Jar

123. Fine sandy grey-brown fabric, dark grey surfaces.

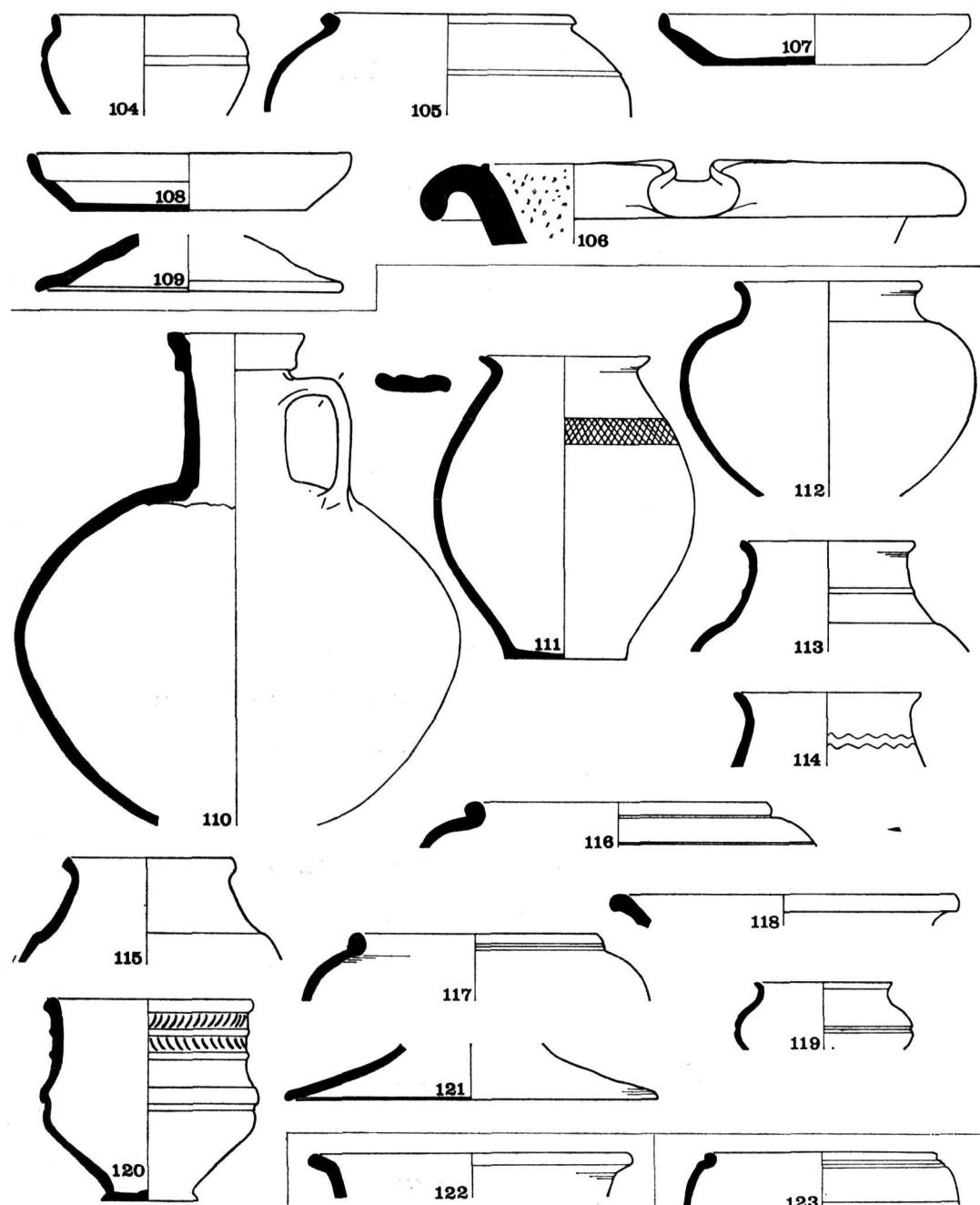


Fig. 12
Aldgate. The Pottery 104-123 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

(FIG. 13, 124-156)

PIT 16 (FLAVIAN)

Bead-rim Jars

124. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, some chalky inclusions.
 125. Hard grey fabric, dense shell temper with some flint; pale brown surfaces.
 126. Coarse black fabric, sparse shell and flint temper; hand made.

PIT 15 (TRAJANIC-EARLY HADRIANIC)

Ring-neck Flagons

127. Coarse sandy pale-buff fabric, yellow-cream surfaces. Verulamium region.
 128. Drab cream fabric; Verulamium region.
 129. Coarse micaceous sandy cream fabric; probably Verulamium region.

Jug Imitating Bronze type

130. Micaceous light-brown fabric, some flint inclusions; facet-burnished grey-brown surfaces. Slightly burnt.

Necked Jars

131. Fine micaceous sandy brown fabric, black surfaces.
 132. Fine micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, grey slip on exterior.
 133. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, darker surfaces.
 134. Sandy micaceous light-grey fabric, darker slip.
 135. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.
 136. Sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric, lighter surfaces.
 137. Coarse micaceous sandy grey fabric, lighter surfaces.

Bead-rim Jars

138. Hard coarse micaceous light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.
 139. Hard coarse micaceous light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.
 140. Ware as 139.

Jar with Squared Rim

141. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric, burnt; perhaps Verulamium region.

Jars with Everted Rims

142. Coarse dark-grey fabric, white sand temper, black surfaces; Dorset "black burnished" category 1.
 Hand made.
 143. Coarse micaceous sandy brown fabric, dark grey-brown surfaces; hand made.
 144. Sandy micaceous grey fabric; hand made.

Storage Jar

145. Micaceous dark-grey fabric, sparse temper of white flints; brown surfaces.

Small Beaker

146. Fine micaceous sandy light-grey fabric; dark grey slip on exterior. Barbotine decoration.

"Poppy" beaker

147. Fine micaceous sandy light-grey fabric; panels of barbotine dots.

Bowl Imitating Samian form 29/37

148. Micaceous dark-brown fabric, black surfaces. Apparently repaired with an iron rivet or bent nail.

Straight-sided Bowl

149. Coarse sandy dark-grey fabric, burnt.

Hook-rim Bowls

150. Sandy grey fabric, darker surfaces.

151. Coarse pimply brown fabric, grey surfaces; some chalk inclusion.

Reeded-rim Bowls

152. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric; burnt.

153. Coarse sandy cream fabric; Verulamium region.

154. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric; probably Verulamium region.

155. Micaceous sandy brown fabric, grey-brown surfaces.

156. Sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

(FIG. 14, 157-184)

157. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, darker core and surfaces.

158. Coarse sandy pale-grey fabric, dark grey surfaces.

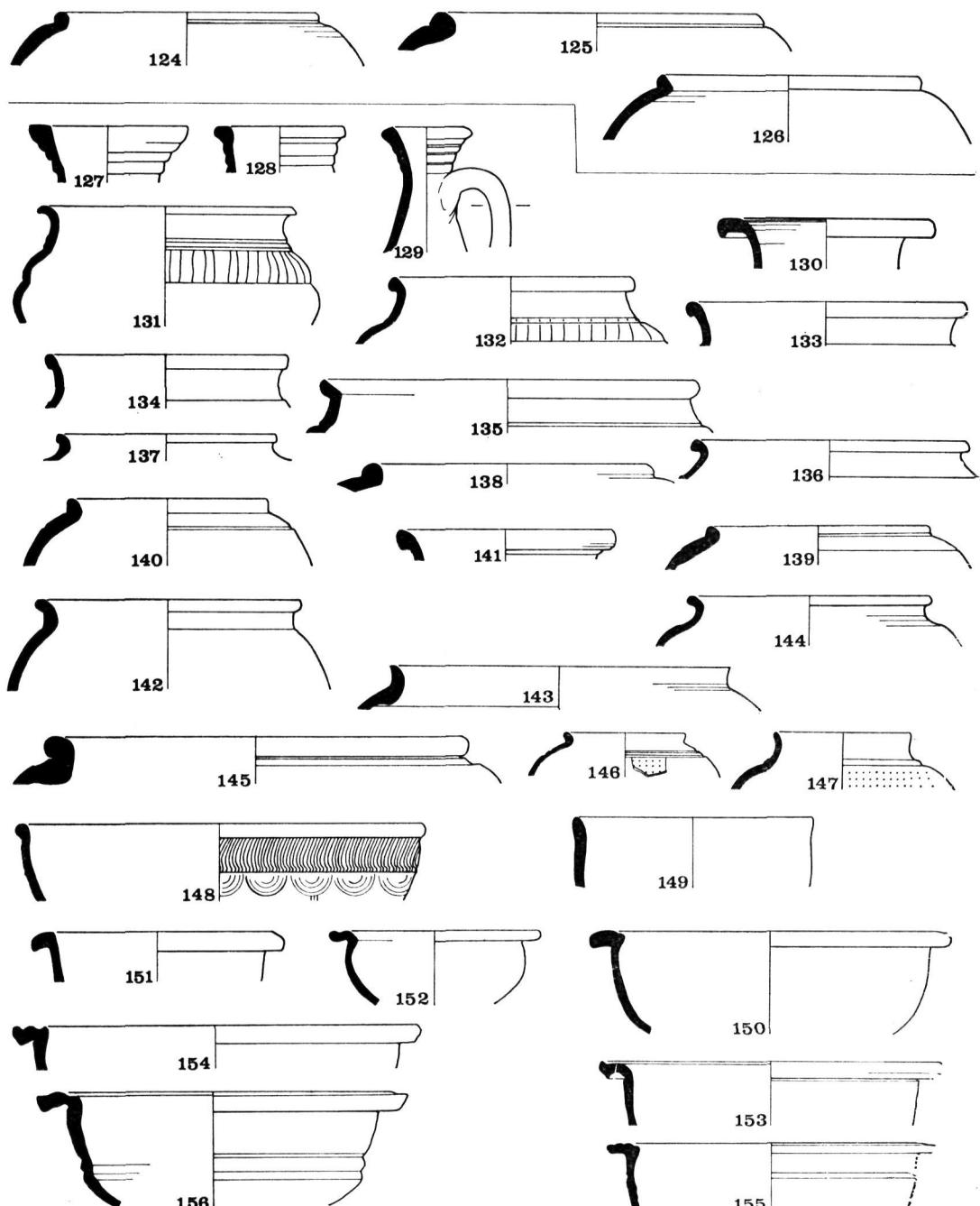


Fig. 13
Aldgate. The Pottery 124-156 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Bowl Imitating Native form

159. Sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

Mortaria

See also mortarium stamps No. 1 (p. 39, Fig. 18).

160. Stamped by Matugenus of Brockley Hill. Coarse sandy cream fabric.

Dishes

161. Hard sandy buff fabric, grey core; corase mica dusting.

162. Fine sandy dark-orange fabric; grey core; mica dusted.

Lids

163. Fine micaceous red fabric, grey core; grey/buff patchy surfaces.

164. Coarse micaceous sandy dark grey fabric, brown core; patchy light-brown/grey surfaces.

PIT 14 (FLAVIAN-TRAJANIC)*Bowl Imitating Samian form 30/37*

165. Soft fine micaceous sandy/brown fabric, grey-brown surfaces; lightly incised lattice decoration.

PIT 13 (FLAVIAN)*Amphora*

166. Hard micaceous sandy drab-cream fabric, buff core; Southern Spain probably.

Ring-neck Flagon

167. Fine hard cream fabric, grey-white surfaces.

Necked Jars

168. Fine micaceous sandy dark grey-brown fabric, black surfaces.

169. Fine micaceous sandy brown fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

170. Sandy micaceous brown-black fabric.

171. Fine micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

172. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric, sparse temper of large shell fragments; dark grey-brown surfaces.

Bead-rim Jars

173. Hard micaceous sandy pale-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

174. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, darker surfaces.

Storage Jar

175. Fine micaceous black fabric, temper of large shell fragments; patchy grey/brown surfaces. Rough comb-stabbed decoration.

Ovoid Jar

176. Fine micaceous sandy drab-orange fabric.

Bowl Imitating Samian form 12

177. Fine micaceous sandy black fabric, grey-brown surfaces.

Bowl, Camulodunum form 14

178. Fine micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric, grey-brown surfaces.

Bowl or Dish

179. Possible stamp on the coarse sandy drab-cream fabric of the Verulamium region.

PIT 12 (FLAVIAN)*Ring-neck Flagon*

180. Fine micaceous soft cream fabric.

Flagons

181. Coarse sandy cream fabric; Verulamium region.

182. Hard light-grey fabric, buff surfaces with coarse mica-dusting.

Jar Similar to Camulodunum form 249

183. Coarse micaceous sandy brown fabric, grey core; grey-brown surfaces.

Necked Jars

184. Coarse micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric, brown core.

(FIG. 15, 185-211)

185. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

186. Coarse micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, some chalk inclusions; darker surfaces.

187. Fine micaceous brown fabric, dark-grey core and surfaces.

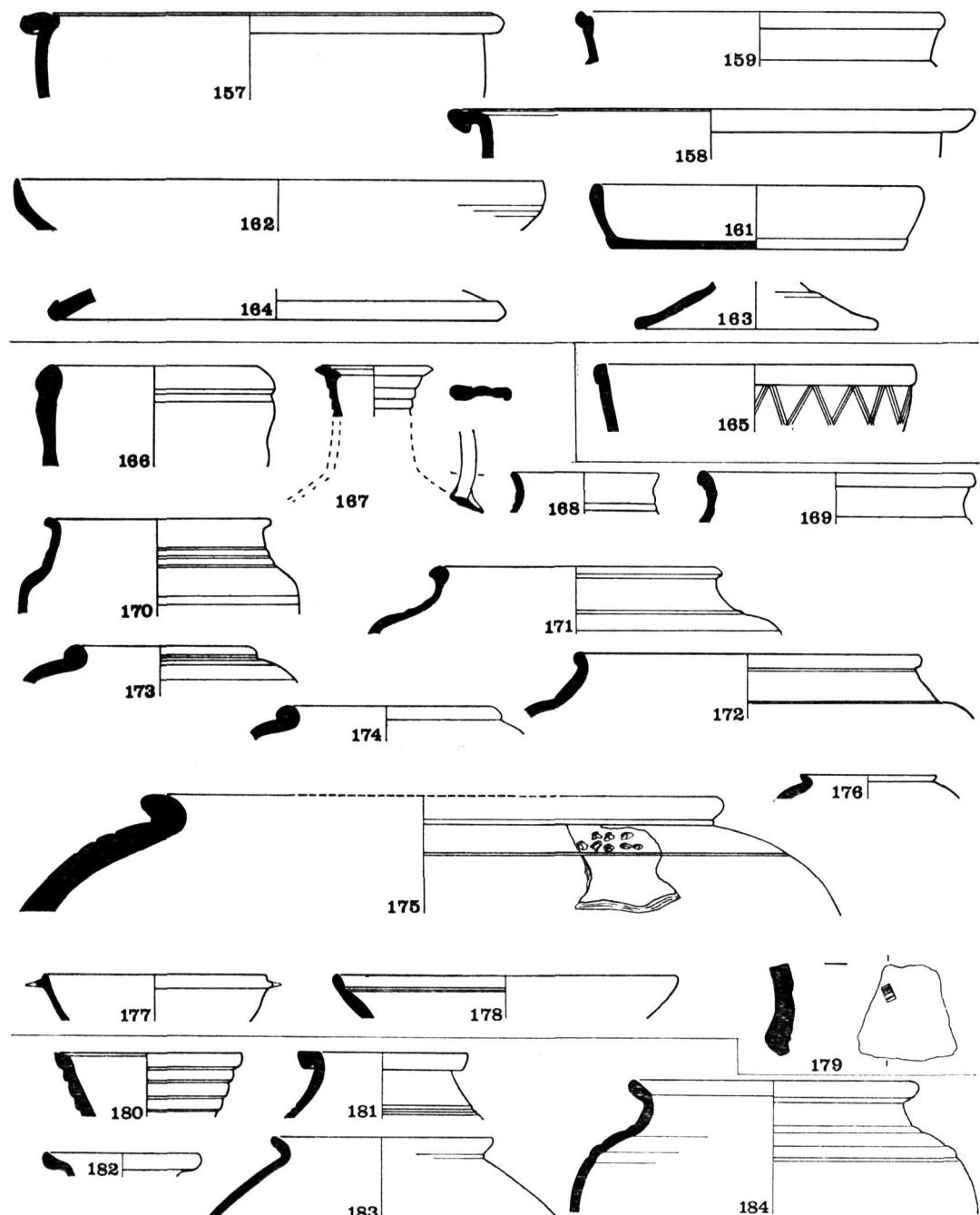


Fig. 14
Aldgate. The Pottery 157-184 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

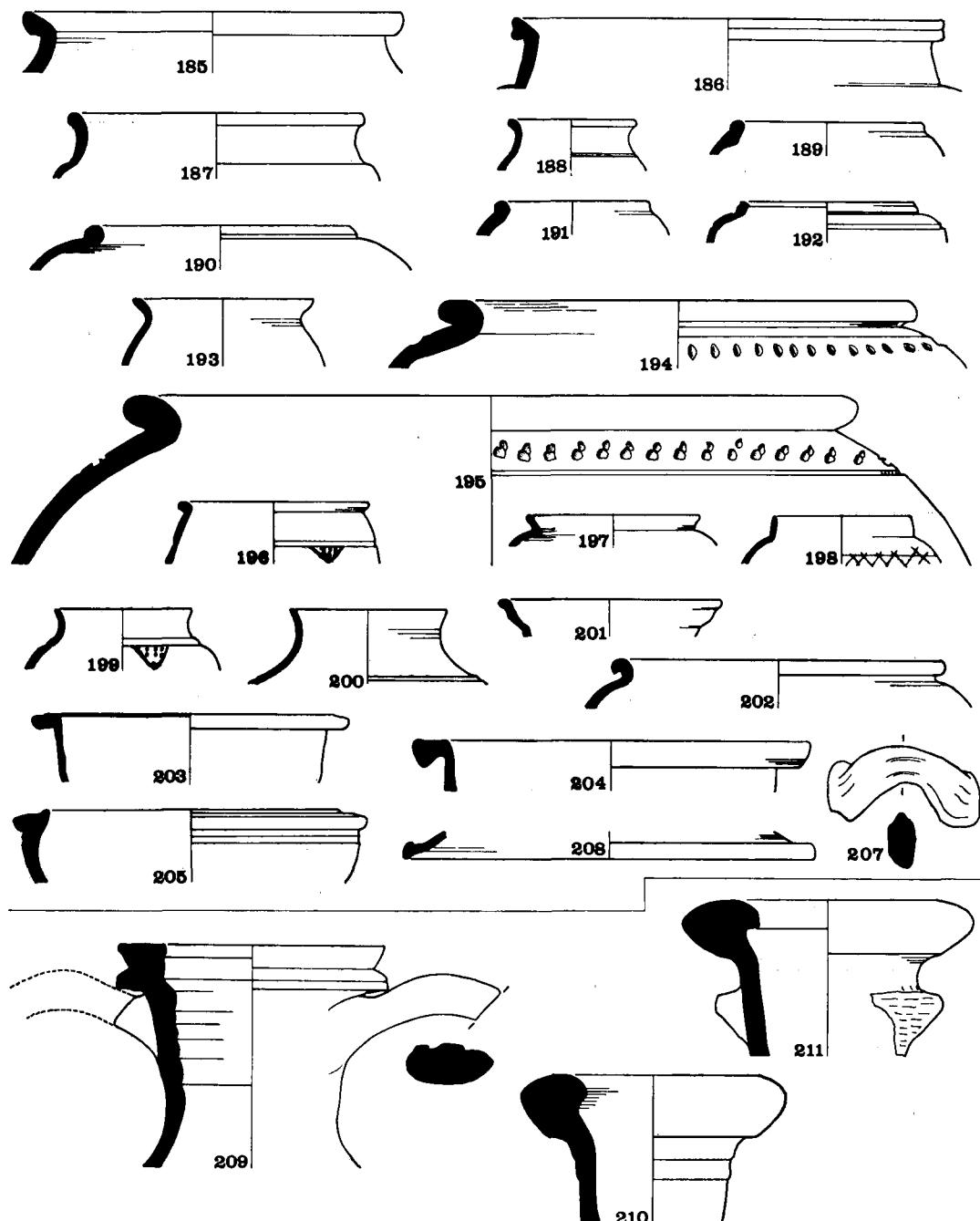


Fig. 15
Aldgate. The Pottery 185-211 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

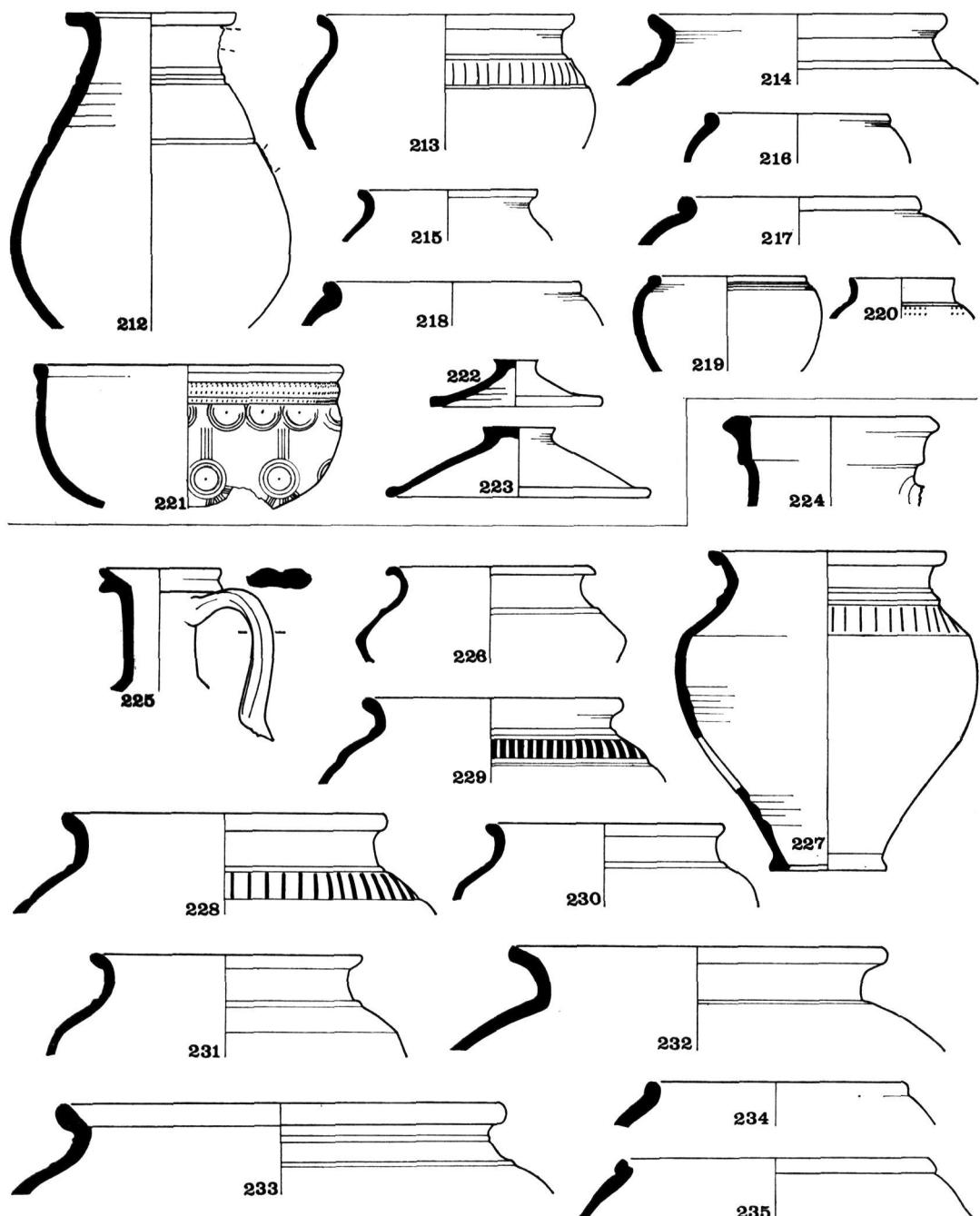


Fig. 16
Aldgate. The Pottery 212-235 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

188. Fine sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric, lighter slip.
Bead-rim Jars
 189. Coarse lumpy micaceous dark-grey fabric, grey grog temper; black surfaces.
 190. Micaceous sandy light-grey fabric.
 191. Sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric.
 192. Sandy micaceous brown fabric, dark-grey surfaces.
Everted-rim Jar
 193. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric, darker surfaces.
Storage Jar
 194. Lumpy micaceous brown fabric, dense shell temper and some red grog; dark grey-brown surfaces.
 195. Micaceous brown fabric, dense shell temper and some red flint; dark-grey surfaces.
Ovoid Beakers
 196. Fine micaceous brown fabric, dark-grey surfaces with stamped decoration.
 197. Fine micaceous sandy pale-grey fabric, darker surfaces.
Beaker with Lattice Decoration
 198. Fine micaceous brown fabric, dark-grey slip on exterior.
"Poppy" Beakers
 199. Fine sandy grey fabric, grey slip; barbotine dots in panels.
 200. Fine soft micaceous grey fabric, darker core and surfaces.
Cup Imitating Samian form 27
 201. Fine soft micaceous buff fabric, cream surfaces.
Hook-rim Bowl
 202. Sandy micaceous grey fabric.
Reeded-rim Bowls
 203. Fine sandy micaceous light-grey fabric, traces of cream slip.
 204. Coarse sandy grey fabric; burnt.
Tripod Bowls
 205. (*Cf.* Camulodunum 45B.) Coarse micaceous sandy orange fabric, some flint inclusions, darker surfaces.
 206. (Not illustrated.) Foot only; similar feet occur on a bowl from Caistor-by-Norwich (now in the Castle Museum, Norwich), where they are dated Flavian-Trajanic. Rectangular section some 6 cm x 2 cm. Hard coarse grey fabric, dense grey grog temper with some chalk inclusions; hand made.
Handle from a Large Bowl
 207. Sandy micaceous buff fabric, light-grey core.
Lid
 208. Sandy micaceous grey fabric.

PIT II (FLAVIAN)*Amphorae*

209. Globular amphora. Micaceous dark pink fabric, inclusions of lime and iron pyrites; beige surfaces. Perhaps Southern Spain, or North Africa.
 210. Dressel 20 oil amphora. Coarse drab-buff fabric, inclusions of lime, iron pyrites, and black grit; Southern Spain.
 211. Dressel 20 oil amphora. Coarse grey fabric with inclusions of lime and iron pyrites, and cream slip; Southern Spain.

(FIG. 16, 212-235)

Flagon

212. Coarse sandy buff fabric, some red grog; yellow-cream surfaces; Verulamium region.

Necked Jars

213. Sandy micaceous light-grey fabric, dark surfaces.
 214. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.
 215. Sandy micaceous light-grey fabric, burnished slip.
Bead-rim Jars
 216. Sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric.
 217. Coarse sandy dark-grey fabric.
 218. Coarse lumpy dark-grey fabric, grey grog temper.

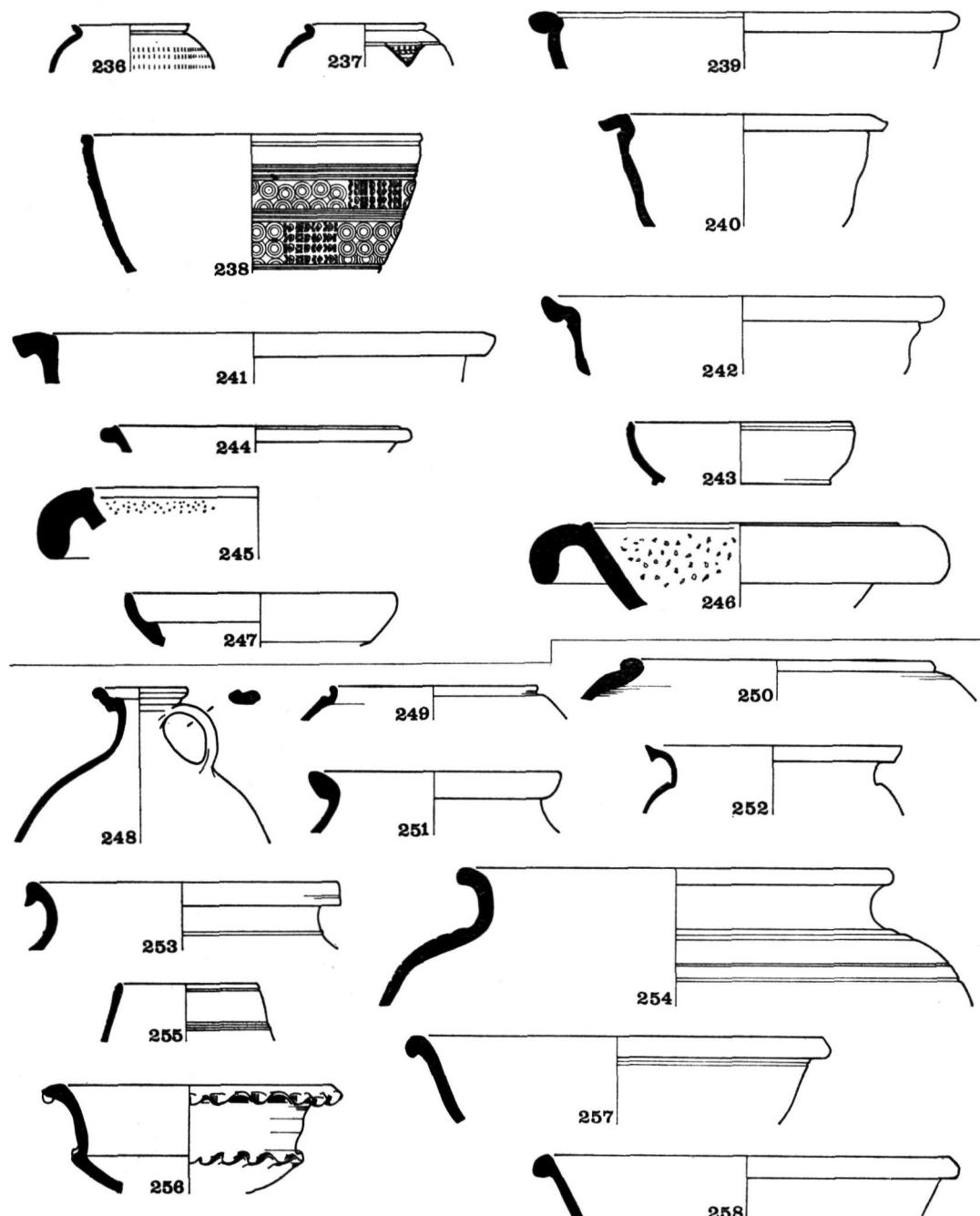


Fig. 17
Aldgate. The Pottery 236-258 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Bead-rim Beaker

219. Sandy brown fabric; burnt.

"Poppy" Beaker

220. Soft sandy micaceous fabric, dark-grey slip; barbotine dots in panels.

Bowl Imitating Samian form 29/37

221. Fine soft micaceous grey fabric, light-grey surfaces with elaborate compass-drawn and incised decoration.

Lids

222. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, pimply surfaces.

223. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, clumsily-made knob.

PIT 10 (FLAVIAN)

Flagons

224. Hard sandy drab-cream fabric, thin cream slip; burnt.

225. Fine sandy cream fabric, fine brown grit temper.

Necked Jars

226. Fine micaceous pink-brown fabric, some grog; dark-grey exterior.

227. Hard sandy micaceous grey fabric, grey-white slip on shoulder.

228. Hard sandy micaceous grey fabric, burnished decoration.

229. Hard sandy micaceous brown fabric, grey surfaces with darker grey slip. Burnished decoration.

230. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, some flint inclusions.

231. Hard micaceous sandy brown fabric, grey core and surfaces.

232. Sandy micaceous grey fabric, inclusions of chalk and dark brown grit; darker surfaces.

233. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

Bead-rim Jars

234. Coarse sandy micaceous dark-grey fabric, darker surfaces.

235. Coarse grey fabric, dense shell temper; darker surfaces.

(FIG. 17, 236-258)

Beakers

236. Fine micaceous sandy light-grey fabric; rouletted decoration.

237. Fabric as 236, darker slip; coarse rouletted decoration.

Bowl Imitating Samian form 29/37

238. Fine micaceous light-brown fabric, slightly paler surfaces. Stamped with groups of three incised concentric circles, and a dot-and-lattice motif. The distribution of these stamps suggests a production site in Essex.²⁰

Hook-rim Bowl

239. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric.

Carinated Bowls

240. Hard micaceous sandy light-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

241. Coarse micaceous sandy beige fabric; burnt.

242. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric; probably Verulamium region. Burnt.

Small Bowls

243. Fine micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric, black surfaces.

244. Coarse micaceous sandy light-grey fabric; black surfaces.

Mortaria

245. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric, burnt. Verulamium region.

246. Coarse sandy orange-buff fabric, large red-brown grog inclusions; Verulamium region.

Dish

247. Coarse micaceous sandy buff fabric, grey core and surfaces.

PIT 9 (LATE SECOND CENTURY-EARLY THIRD CENTURY)

Ring-neck Flagon

248. Hard fine orange/grey fabric, worn cream slip on exterior.

Bead-rim Jars

249. Coarse sandy light-grey fabric, black exterior.

250. Coarse micaceous drab-orange fabric, grey core; dense shell temper.

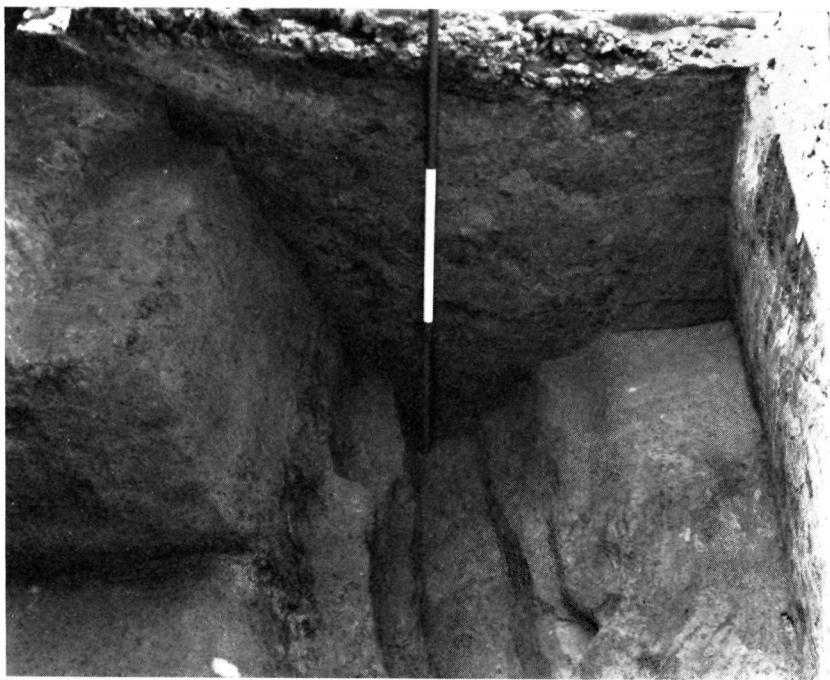


Plate 1. Aldgate—the military ditch (Scale in 0·5 m)



Plate 2. Aldgate—traces of a Flavian building with timber sleeper-beam and mortar floor sunk into earlier pit (Pit 20). (Large scale in 0·5 m)



Plate 3. Aldgate—Flavian hearth re-using parts of a roof tile, and with two stake-holes on the left (scale in cms and ins)

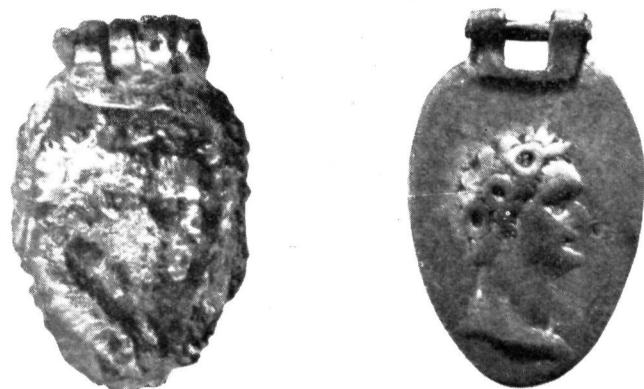


Plate 4. Aldgate—seal boxes with imperial portraits. *Left*: Vespasian, from Aldgate. *Right*: Domitian, from Bucklersbury House 1954. (See p. 48, No. 9). (Both 2*/*1)

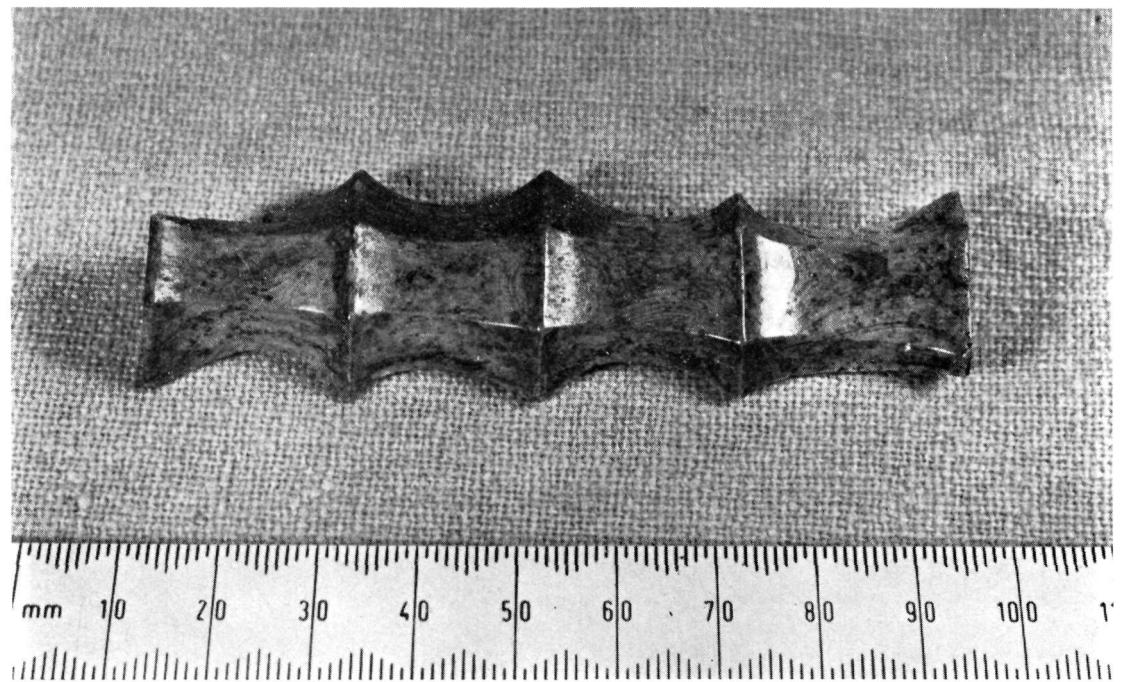


Plate 5. Aldgate—bone handle grip of legionary sword (p. 48, No. 12). (Scale in mm)

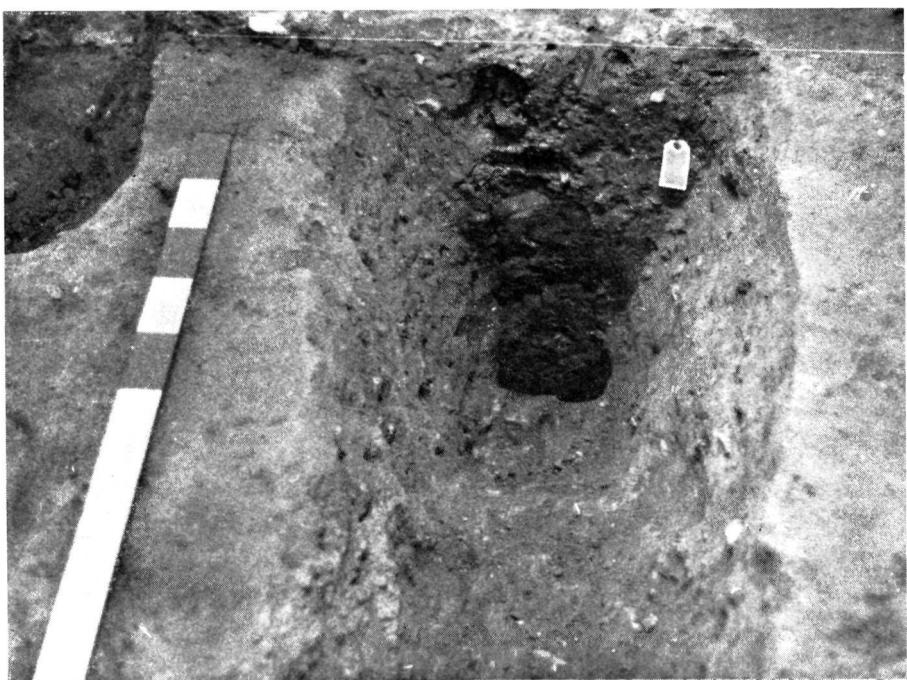


Plate 6. Bush Lane House—Timber period 1, Section across Trench B and post-hole 1, Room 9. (Scale in 10 cms)

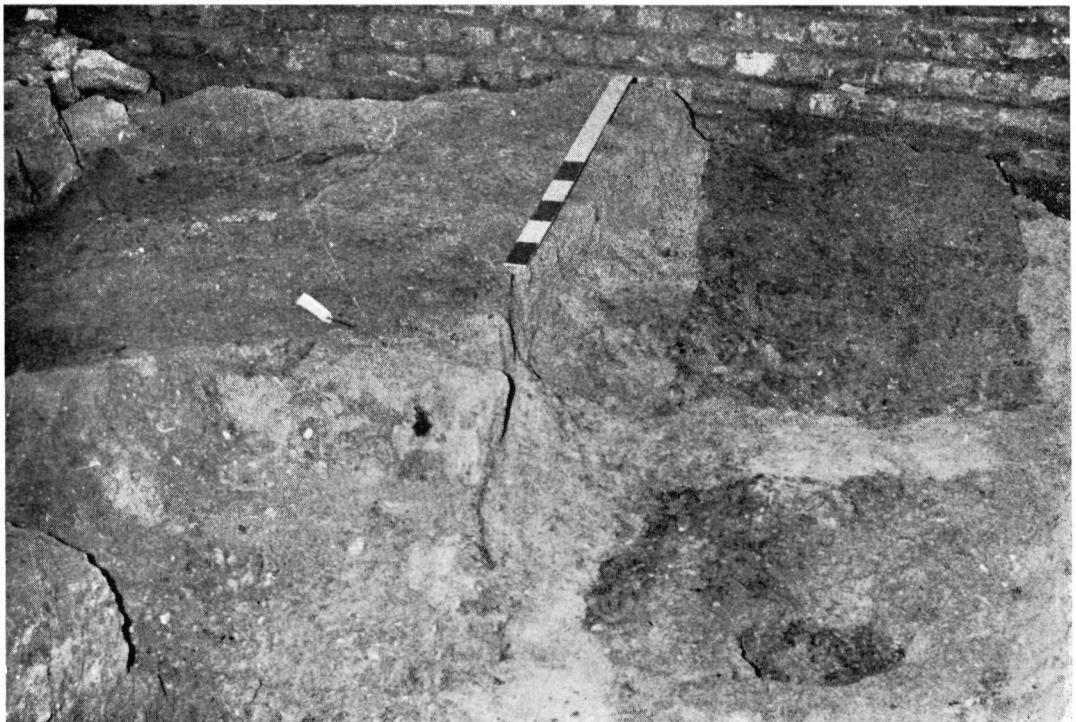


Plate 7. Bush Lane House—Timber period 2, Trench C, Room 8. (Scale 1 m)



Plate 8. Bush Lane House—hand-made bead-rim jar (No. 1, p. 69, Fig. 32). (Scale in cms)

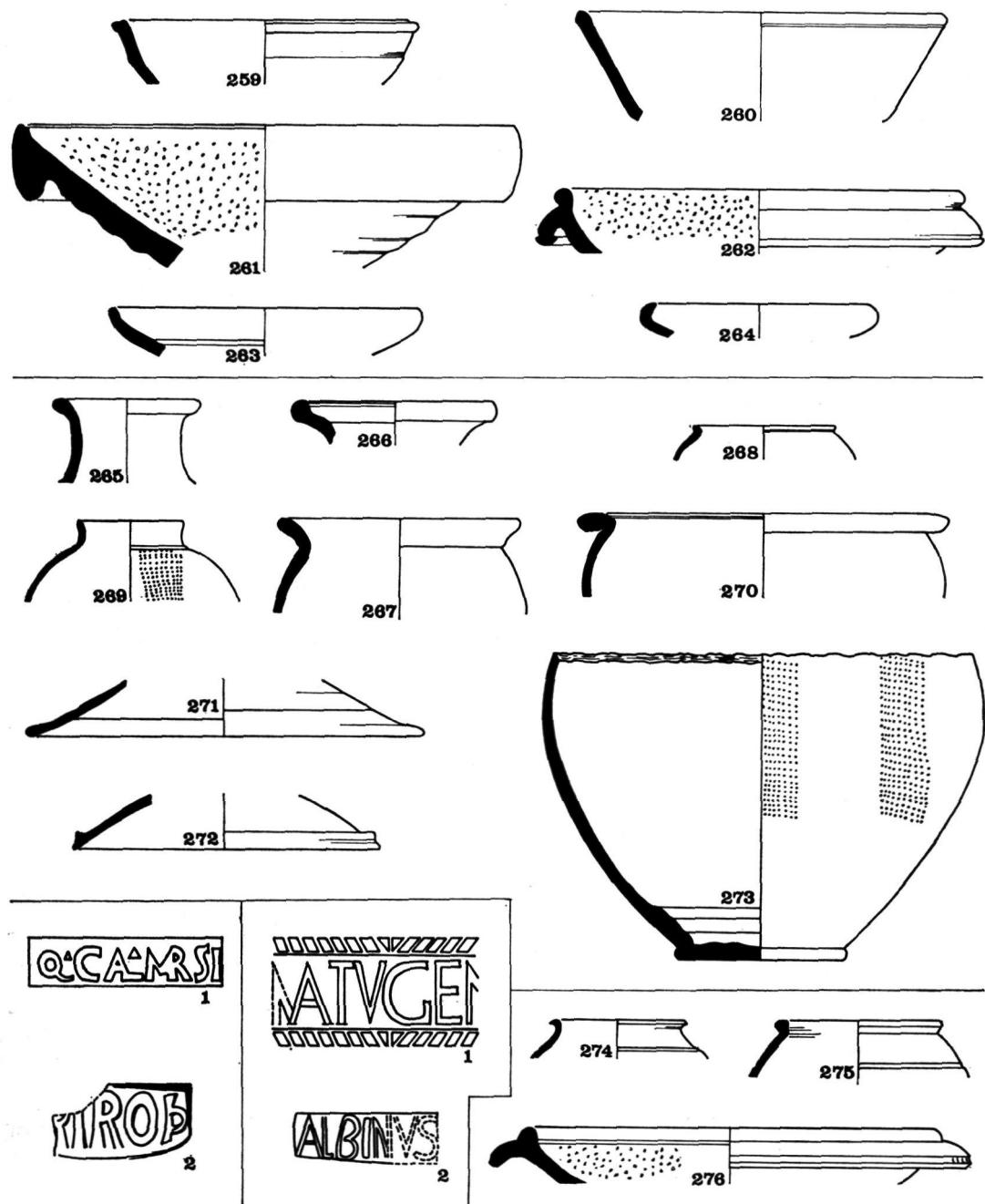


Fig. 18
Aldgate. The Pottery 259-276(1) and amphorae and mortaria stamps (2)

Jar with Squared Rim

- 251 Coarse sandy cream fabric, some brown grog; perhaps a late product of the Verulamium region. Rim burnt.

Jars with Undercut Rims

252. Hard sandy grey fabric, brown core; very hard-fired.

253. Ware as 252.

Storage Jar

254. Coarse sandy grey fabric, light brown surfaces.

Colour-coat Beaker

255. Very pale grey fabric, dull brown colour coat. Nene Valley probably.

Tazza

256. Sandy dark cream fabric, buff core, yellow slip; Verulamium region.

Bead-rim Bowls

257. Fine sandy grey fabric, darker core and surfaces; probably a variety of "black burnished category 2"; and perhaps manufactured in Colchester.

258. Ware as 257.

(FIG. 18, 259-276)

Bowl Imitating Belgic form

259. Hard micaceous grey fabric, darker surfaces.

Straight-sided Bowl

260. Coarse micaceous sandy pale-grey fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

Mortaria

261. Coarse sandy drab-cream fabric, some brown grog and flint inclusions; grey and white flint trituration grits.

262. Hard sandy cream fabric, yellowish slip; pink and white quartz trituration grits. Oxfordshire.

Dish Imitating Belgic form

263. Soft micaceous sandy dark-grey fabric, grey surfaces.

Shallow Dish

264. Sandy brown, pale orange-buff surfaces.

PIT 8 (MID-SECOND CENTURY)

Flagons

265. Hard sandy micaceous grey fabric, grey-white slip.

266. Hard micaceous fine beige fabric, large ironstone inclusion.

Everted-rim Jar

267. Hard micaceous sandy grey fabric.

Ovoid Beaker

268. Sandy cream fabric, cream slip; mica dusted.

"Poppy" Beaker

269. Fine micaceous sandy grey fabric, grey-white surfaces; barbotine dots in panels. Perhaps a Highgate product.

Hook-rim bowl

270. Hard sandy micaceous light grey fabric, darker surfaces; roughly burnished. Perhaps a Highgate product.

Lids

271. Sandy micaceous dark grey-brown fabric, dark-grey surfaces.

272. Hard micaceous grey fabric, patchy grey/beige surfaces.

Re-used Beaker

273. Micaceous fine sandy grey fabric, grey slip; barbotine dots in panels. The broken edge has been trimmed straight.

PIT 6 (FIRST HALF THIRD CENTURY)

Colour-coat Beakers

274. Fine cream fabric, matt dark-grey colour coat with brown patches where thin; Nene Valley.

275. Micaceous orange/grey fabric; the colour coat is drab orange on the exterior, purple on the interior.

Mortarium

276. Sandy buff fabric, cream surfaces, yellow slip; pink, white and brown quartz grits. Oxfordshire.

The excavation at Aldgate provided the first substantial and closely-dated groups of Neronian and Flavian pottery to be published from London. The greatest problem in working on the pottery of this period is that of defining the production centres, since the kiln-sites that must have existed in the vicinity of the City have almost certainly been lost under later development. Apart from the kilns in the St. Paul's/Newgate area,²¹ of which few products survive, the only kiln-site known in the London region is that in Highgate Wood²² which was probably in production during the Flavian to early Hadrianic period; preliminary comparison of the products with finds from Southwark and the City does not suggest that it was a major source.²³

The distinctive products of the Verulamium region (Verulamium itself, Brockley Hill, and Radlett²⁴) make up the majority of flagons, mortaria and carinated bowls in London during the later first century. Colchester provided mortaria, and it is likely that other types will prove to originate there; kilns in the Upchurch marshes of Kent, apparently producing fine grey wares during the first century (finds now housed in Rochester Museum) may have supplied some pottery to London.

THE STAMPS ON AMPHORAE

BY JOANNA BIRD

(FIG. 18)

1. Q. CAL MARS I on the handle of a globular oil amphora, form Dressel 20, in coarse drab-cream fabric with inclusions of lime and iron pyrites. The stamp, Callender 1427a,²⁵ probably reads Q. Calpurnii Marsi, and is sparsely but widely distributed in Gaul and the Rhineland. South Spanish. Callender suggests a date range of A.D. 90–140. (Unstratified).

2. PIROP on the handle of a South Spanish oil amphora, form Dressel 20, in coarse drab-cream fabric with lime, iron pyrites and small black-grit inclusions. There is no close parallel for the stamp, but cf. Callender 1370, 21, reading PIRPOR, of which this could be a variant. (L23).

THE STAMPED MORTARIA

BY MRS. K. F. HARTLEY

(FIG. 18)

NO. 1 FROM PIT 15

This is a stamp of Matugenus who worked at Brockley Hill, Herts., where thirty-seven stamps have been found to date as well as the die which was almost certainly used for this stamp (*Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, 18, Pt. 1 (1955), p. 60); it was suggested that the die found was broken in the firing and never used but this is not certain. In addition to these more than one hundred stamps have been found throughout England and Wales, including forty-three from London. Matugenus is recorded on some stamps as the son of Albinus, and the similarity of work confirms that it was the mortarium potter of that name whose work is to be dated A.D. 65–95 (see below). Two stamps from Verulamium are from deposits dated earlier than c. A.D. 120 and where so prolific a potter as Matugenus is concerned, the complete absence of his stamps from Scotland and from Hadrian's Wall is significant and supports a primarily Trajanic date. A date c. A.D. 90–125 is generally indicated for his work.

NO. 2 UNSTRATIFIED

A stamp of Albinus, by far the most prolific potter stamping mortaria in Britain or, indeed, elsewhere. More than three hundred of his stamps are now recorded, including eleven from Scotland. Securely dated stamps have been found at Inchtuthil c. A.D. 83–7, the Neronian–Flavian fort at Baginton, Warwickshire (3 exx.); and Verulamium (S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations I* (1972), p. 371). The evidence and his rim-forms fit well with a date of A.D. 65–95. His kilns are not known but the fabric and distribution are entirely appropriate for the important potteries between Verulamium and London (including Radlett and Brockley Hill).

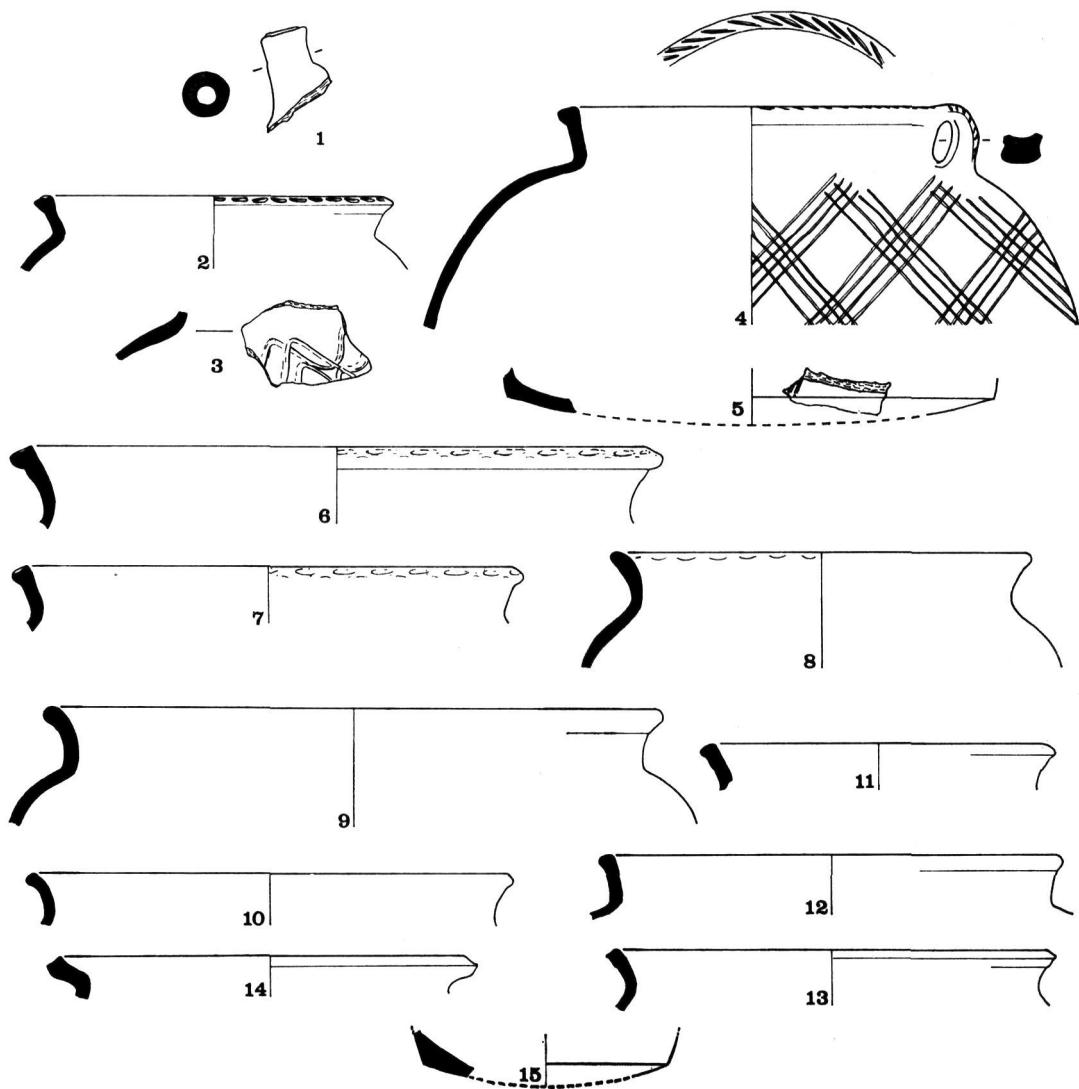


Fig. 19
Aldgate. Medieval Pottery (1/4)

EARLY MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM PIT P4
BY JOHN CLARK

FIG. 19)

1. Spout, of hard sandy ware with grey core and pinkish-buff surfaces.
2. Everted rim of high-shouldered vessel; similar ware to 1, though with redder exterior surface, and perhaps part of same or similar vessel. Stabbed (thumbnail) decoration on top of rim, trace of incised decoration on shoulder.
3. Part of shoulder of vessel of hard sandy ware with grey core and pinkish-buff surfaces. Shallow incised wave pattern.

4. Part, including one handle, probably of a spouted pitcher, of grey ware with surface red in patches, tempered with grit and much shell. Slashed decoration on rim, incised lattice pattern produced with a four-toothed comb on body.

5. Base fragment of similar ware to 4, with edge of similar incised decoration, perhaps part of same vessel.

6, 7. Rims of cooking-pots, of ware with grey core, reddish surfaces, tempered with sand and shell. Broad flattened top with shallow finger impressions.

8. Rim and shoulder of cooking-pot, of ware with grey core, red-brown surfaces, tempered with sand and much shell. Shallow finger impressions along top inside.

9, 10. Rims of cooking-pots, of hard sandy grey/black ware with surfaces purple-brown in patches, with some shell tempering.

11-13. Rims of cooking-pots, of hard sandy ware with grey core and buff surfaces, with some shell tempering. Expanding to a slightly flattened outward sloping top.

14. Angular rim with hollowed top, of soft slightly "soapy" ware with grey core and purple-brown surfaces, tempered with shell and some sand.

15. Fragment of sagging base, of fine hard ware with off-white core, pinkish surfaces, with yellow glaze on outside, patchy on bottom, thick and slightly crackled on side.

Medieval pottery makes up just under half the number of sherds from this pit, the rest being residual Roman material, as in a number of other deposits of early medieval date from the City. Apart from the one glazed fragment and parts of at least two spouted vessels, the medieval sherds are of cooking pots with sagging bases and everted rims. Some of these rims expand to a slightly flattened top, sloping outwards (Nos. 11-13), in others (Nos. 6, 7) the top is much broader, again sloping outwards, decorated with finger impressions. Both these forms (with and without finger impressions), in similar fabrics, appear among the contents of three pits on the site of the church of St. Nicholas Acon, Nicholas Lane, excavated in 1964,²⁶ apparently predating the church, which was in existence by 1084, and in one case dated by coin evidence to after the second quarter of the eleventh century. The broader form is a common twelfth-century type, though appearing, with shallow finger impressions, before 1070 in Oxford.²⁷ It is found for example at Northolt²⁸ where the less developed form of Nos. 11-13 also appears and has been dated to the period 1050-1150. The Northolt site also produced vessels of twelfth-century date with incised or combed decoration, while vessel No. 4 is very similar in form and decoration to a spouted pitcher from St. George's Street, Winchester, dated to c. 1100.²⁹ The single glazed sherd, probably from a Stamford ware pitcher, would not be out of place at such a date, and for the whole group a date in the latter part of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century would seem appropriate.

THE POTTERY AND OTHER MATERIAL FROM PIT I

BY NAOMI TARRANT

The pottery consists mainly of pieces of tableware in a thin, cream glazed earthenware of a very plain design, unmarked except for one piece which was impressed ^{BB}₇, presumably a production mark. The rest are mostly small fragments of transfer-printed earthenware, some hard paste porcelain, probably Chinese, some eighteenth-century slipware, stoneware, brown glazed earthenware and a delftware apothecary's jar.

The glass consists of some wine bottle fragments of early nineteenth-century type, some long thin cylindrical medicine mottles, a smelling salt bottle and some wine glasses, one of which was eighteenth century but the others are what one would call "Regency".

The small finds consist of slate pencils, wood and bone knife handles, metal spoons, an oval piece of polished agate (perhaps from a brooch) and a metal badge(?) of bronze or copper, badly corroded but with traces of a pin at the back. There are fragments of two bone fine-toothed double-sided combs of the type known as nit or scurf combs. A complete glass bottle of "True Cephalick Snuff. By the King's Patent". The type is mid-eighteenth century but they seem to have gone on for a long time.

Three clay pipes have makers' names:

1. "Balme, Mile End" in shield shape and T B on the spur. This is Thomas Balme of Mile End Road, Whitechapel, 1805-40, though this bowl is type 27, c. 1780-1820 of Atkinson and Oswald's classification.³⁰

2. "... RMAN" with scrolls and II on spur. Probably John Jerman or Jarman of New City Chambers, Bishopsgate Street, 1805-47; this bowl is type 28, c. 1820-40.

3. "MOORE" with two indecipherable motifs, not initials, on the spur. Perhaps John Moore, 1828.³¹ There is no Moore of the right date listed in Atkinson and Oswald in the list taken from the Directories of the period. This bowl is also of type 28.

There are four other bowls of type 28 with makers' initials:

4. IC—there are several makers with these initials.
5. DW—there are two bowls of this maker, perhaps Daniel Wilson of Little Arthur Street, Golden Lane.
6. RI—with a decorated bowl.

Though a few pieces belong to the eighteenth century, most of the material is of nineteenth-century date, and the group as a whole cannot date much later than c. 1840.

THE GLASS

BY DR. D. B. HARDEN

a. Roman vessels

(PIT 12)

1. Fragment of rim, pillar-moulded bowl; dappled mosaic-glass, translucent purple with mainly opaque-white but also some opaque-yellow insets. Cast and polished. Dull and iridescent. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 11)

2. Two fragments bottom, flat-bottomed dish with slightly splayed sides; dappled mosaic-glass, translucent emerald-green with mainly opaque-yellow insets but a scatter also of opaque-red ones with opaque-white centres. Cast and polished. Iridescent and pitted.

(LAYER 18)

3. Fragment of side, pillar-moulded bowl; green. Cast and polished. Usage scratches; no weathering visible.

(PIT 10)

4. Fragment of rim and side, pillar-moulded bowl; bluish-green. Cast and polished. Usage scratches; incipient iridescence. (Fig. 20).

(LAYER 17)

5. Fragment of side, shallow bowl with closely-set vertical ribbing; bluish-green. Mould-blown. No weathering visible.

(PIT 21)

6. Tiny fragment of another, as No. 5. Iridescent.

(LAYER 17)

7. Fragment of handle, conical-bodied jug; bluish-green. Drawn, with median vertical rib formed by folding and tooling. No weathering; W. 2·5 cm. (Fig. 20).

(LAYER 18)

8. Top (horizontal) arm of right-angled, six-ribbed handle of jug, showing mark of attachment to under side of rim of vessel; dark blue. Drawn from bottom upwards; folded tag-end extant. Partially iridescent. L. 2·7 cm. W. 2·2 cm. (Fig. 20).

(LAYER 3)

9. Fragment of side, carinated bowl or jar (?); colourless. Blown. Two horizontal wheel-cut grooves close together, just above carination (or below it? It is not clear which is upper end of fragment). Frosted surface, many strain-cracks. 2·1 cm by 1·6 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 15)

10. Base of goblet; colourless. Blown. Shape of body uncertain; pad base-ring (formed from second paraeson applied to bottom of body); knocked-off edge, smoothed by grinding. Flaking weathering; iridescence. H. as extant 1·2 cm. D. base-ring 3·7 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 15)

11. Fragment of body, jug or olla with one vertical rib extant; yellow. Blown; rib trailed on. Outside iridescent and pitted; inside unweathered. 1·9 cm by 1·7 cm.

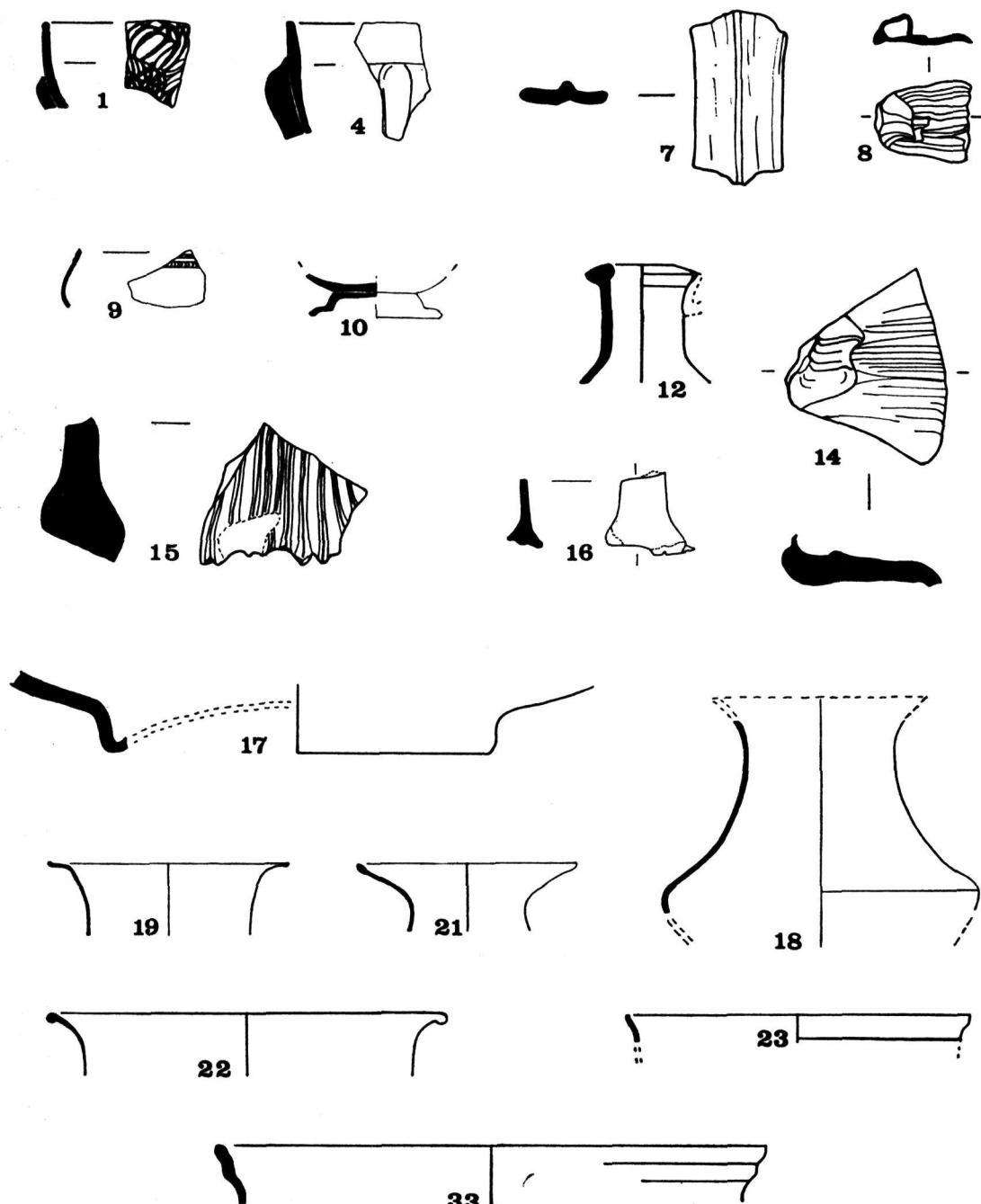


Fig. 20
Aldgate. The Glass ($\frac{1}{2}$)

(PIT 12)

12. Rim, and part of neck and shoulder of bottle; bluish-green. Blown, with mould-blown(?) body. Rim folded outward, upward and inward; short cylindrical neck, faintly tooled at bottom. Fracture marks at rim and on neck where upper end of handle was attached. Shape of body not ascertainable. Also another fragment, probably from same vessel, showing part of angle between neck and shoulder, with tooling marks. Flaking iridescent. H. neck 2·5 cm. D. rim 3·0 – 3·3 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 11)

13. Rim and part of top of neck of bottle; bluish-green. Technique as No. 12. Rim as No. 12, but unevenly made and not truly circular. No trace of handle attachment. Flaking and iridescent. D. rim 3·9 cm – 4·2 cm.

(PIT 9)

14. Part of top (horizontal) arm of right-angled, multi-ribbed handle of bottle; dark bluish-green. Drawn. Very bubbly. Flaking and iridescent. 4·5 cm by 5·2 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 12)

15. Part of lower end of multi-ribbed handle of bottle, with part of shoulder; dark bluish-green. Drawn. Bubbly. Flaking and iridescent. 3·5 cm by 4·8 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 7)

16. Part of lower end of plain strap-handle of bottle, with portion of shoulder; bluish-green. Drawn. From a small, probably prismatic, bottle. Flaking and iridescent. H. as extant 2·0 cm; W. at bottom 2·5 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 10)

17. Part of bottom of side and basal angle, ovoid jar (a cinerary urn); dark bluish-green. Blown. Concave bottom with inward fold above, forming a false base-ring. D. bottom c. 11·0 cm. (Fig. 20).

(LAYER 17)

18. Fragment of upper half of side, biconical jar; bluish-green. Blown. Rim missing; concave sides, expanding downward to rounded carination. D. at carination c. 9·0 cm. (Fig. 20).

(LAYER 14)

19. Fragment of rim and upper part of side of thin-walled bowl(?); bluish-green. Blown. Rim splayed horizontally, lip rounded; side nearly vertical. Incipient iridescence. D. c. 7·0 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 20)

20. Fragment as No. 19, but splay of rim is at angle and not horizontal; bluish-green. Blown. No weathering. D. c. 10·0 cm.

(PIT 15)

21. Fragment of rim, neck and shoulder of jar; bright green. Blown. Rim splayed at angle, lip rounded; low constricted neck between rim and shoulder. Brownish weathering layer, beginning to flake off in places. D. 6·4 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 15)

22. Half of rim and shoulder, bowl; bluish-green. Blown. Solid rim, thickened by folding outward, downward and inward. Sides vertical. Flaking and iridescence. D. 11·5 cm. (Fig. 20).

(LAYER 13)

23. Fragment of rim, bowl; bluish-green. Blown. Rim splayed from neck-constriction and knocked off; lip ground smooth. Thin horizontal wheel-cut just below neck-constriction. Iridescent. D. c. 10·0 cm. (Fig. 20).

(PIT 10)

24. Fragment of cylindrical neck, unguent bottle(?); green. Blown. Neck expands slightly downwards. Very bubbly. Flaking and iridescent. D. c. 2·0 cm.

(LAYER 10)

25. Fragment of rim of unguent-bottle; bluish-green. Blown. Rim splayed, folded upward and inward, and pressed solid. Dulled. D. c. 4·0 cm.

(PIT 15)

26. Fragment of rim of bowl; pale bluish-green. Blown. Shape as No. 25, but rim tubular not solid. Iridescent. D. c. 5·0 cm.

(PIT 15)

27. Fragment as No. 26, but rim not so widely splayed, and solid, not tubular. Flaking and iridescence. D. c. 9·0 cm.

b. Roman, window-glass

(PIT 10)

28. Fragment of matt/glossy window-glass; bluish-green. Cylinder-blown, or cast. Part of one rounded edge extant. Early Roman.

(PIT 9)

29. Fragment of double glossy(?) window-glass; bluish-green. Cylinder-blown. At least one edge shows grozing. Late(?) Roman.

(PIT 9)

30. Fragment as No. 29. One edge is perhaps grozed. Late(?) Roman. From same Pit as No. 29.

(PIT 22)

31. Fragment as No. 29. No edge extant. Late(?) Roman.

(PIT 6)

32. Fragment as No. 29. One edge is perhaps grozed. Late(?) Roman.

c. Late Saxon or early Medieval

(PIT 4)

33. Fragment of rim, bowl; green. Blown. Broad rim splayed at angle from neck-constriction; lip thickened and rounded in flame. Flaking and iridescent. D. c. 16·0 cm.

This fragment does not look like Roman glass and, since it comes—it seems—from an eleventh-twelfth-century milieu, I do not think we can doubt that it is late Saxon or early Medieval. A bowl of such large diameter is not known to be a usual form at that period but, since so little late Saxon and early Medieval glass has been recorded, we need not be surprised if a new form turns up. (Fig. 20).

CONCLUSION

Apart from the last four pieces of window-glass (Nos. 29–32) and the bowl-rim (No. 33), the fragments here catalogued are entirely early Roman and belong—or, at least, could belong—to types current in the second half of the first century A.D. They can mostly be paralleled at Camulodunum (D. B. Harden in C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum*, "Res. Rept. Soc. Antiq.", London XIV, 1947, 287 ff.); Vindonissa (L. Berger, *Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa*, Basel, 1960); or Fishbourne (D. B. Harden and J. Price in B. W. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961–69*, "Res. Rept. Soc. Antiq.", London, XXVII, 1971, 317 ff.). For dated parallels from other sites see relevant entries in C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*, Groningen/Djakarta, 1957, 14–95. None of the fragments is of any special significance, but as a group they are of some value in that they tell a consistent and categorical tale.

One piece (No. 28) of the window-glass is of the matt/glossy type characteristic of the earlier part of the imperial period (first and second centuries with perhaps a spread into the third). The other four pieces are totally different in character. I have tentatively equated them with the double glossy variety of window-glass which belongs mainly, if not exclusively, to the third and fourth centuries. But, except that they have two smooth sides and an even thickness, they do not resemble normal examples of this glass and it may be that they are something totally different, and earlier in date than any of the double glossy window-glass. I am the more inclined to accept this view since they are the only pieces in this assemblage which I have ascribed to the late Roman period and this suggests that such a date for them is probably a wrong one. On Roman window-glass and the differentiation between the matt/glossy and double glossy varieties see D. B. Harden in E. M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History*; "Essays in Recognition of the Work of B. H. St. J. O'Neil" (London, 1961), 39–63; and G. C. Boon in *J. Glass Studies*, VIII (1966), 41–7.

THE COINS

BY RALPH MERRIFIELD

(PIT 21)

1. Nero. As. (R.I.C. 329) A.D. 66–68. Much corroded.

(PIT 20)

2. Vespasian. As. (?R.I.C. 494) A.D. 71–73. Much corroded. O [IMP. CAES.] VESPASIANVS AVG. COS. [III or III]. Laureate head r. R [PROVID]ENT S. C. Rectangular altar.

(LAYER 18)

3. *Vespasian*. As. (?R.I.C. 497 or 528) ?A.D. 71–73. Much corroded. O [IMP. CAE]SAR VESPASIAN [——] Head, laureate, r. R [S.C.] Eagle on globe, head r.

(LAYER 7)

4. *Vespasian*. Dupondius, Mint of Lugdunum. (R.I.C. 739) A.D. 72–73. Little worn.

(PIT 20)

5. *Vespasian*. As. Much corroded. O [——VES]PASIAN AVG COS[——]. Head, laureate, r. R Illegible. Female figure standing l. holding cornucopiae; other attributes obscure. (? FORTVNAE REDVCI type).

(PIT 13)

6. ?*Vespasian*. As. Much corroded. O Illegible. Head, laureate, r. R S.C. Illegible. ?type.

(PIT 9)

7. *Nerva* — dupondius. ?(R.I.C. 61 or 84). A.D. 96–7. Very worn. O IMP NERVA CAES AVG [——] Head, radiate, r. R FORTVNA AVGST — S.C. Fortune standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.

(PIT 6)

8. Dupondius or reduced sestertius (orichalc, 25 mm), possibly counterfeit. Very worn and abraded Illegible.

(LAYER 26)

9. Fragment of base metal coin. From size, ?late third–fourth century. Illegible and much corroded.

(UNSTRATIFIED)

10. *Arcadius* — small bronze (AE4), contemporary forgery. Die axis ← VICTORIA AVGGG type of A.D. 388–402. no legible m.m. Worn and abraded by corrosion.

(PIT 2)

11. *William III*. Brass coin-weight. O GVIELMVS III DEI GRA REX. In r. field, W. H. Laureate head r. R 1/GVINEA/w. Crown on crossed sceptres above.

THE SMALL FINDS

BY HUGH CHAPMAN

(Apart from No. 33 all the small finds listed are Roman)

Objects of Bronze

(PIT 20)

1. Brooch, badly corroded. Probably *Camulodunum* type V. (Fig. 21).

(PIT 11)

2. Brooch, badly corroded. Probably *Camulodunum* type IV or V. (Fig. 21).

(PIT 15)

3. Brooch, not as corroded as No. 1 or 2, though the details are not clear. No traces of silvering remain. *Camulodunum* type XVIII. (Fig. 21).

(PIT 15)

4. Nail cleaner, part of a set of toilet implements. (Fig. 21).

(PIT 15)

5. Instrument with long shallow bowl at one end and probe at other. A common object, often thought to be surgical, but there are so many from London that they must also have been used for other purposes, e.g. the extraction of cosmetics from unguent-bottles and their preparation. (Fig. 21).

(PIT 11)

6. Head of pin. (Fig. 21).

(LAYER 7)

7. Head of pin. (Fig. 21).

(PIT 15)

8. Part of the beam of a steelyard. Though corroded the markings for the Roman pound (*libra*) are visible on one side—probably (v)iii – (v)ii – (v)i (the V often being omitted)—and notches on the top and bottom edge for the sliding weight to measure ounces (*unciae*). The presence of these on both edges indicate that the steelyard was able to be turned over and used to weigh heavier objects. Other examples in the Guildhall Museum show that the notches between each pound division were rarely the correct number of 12.³² (Fig. 21).

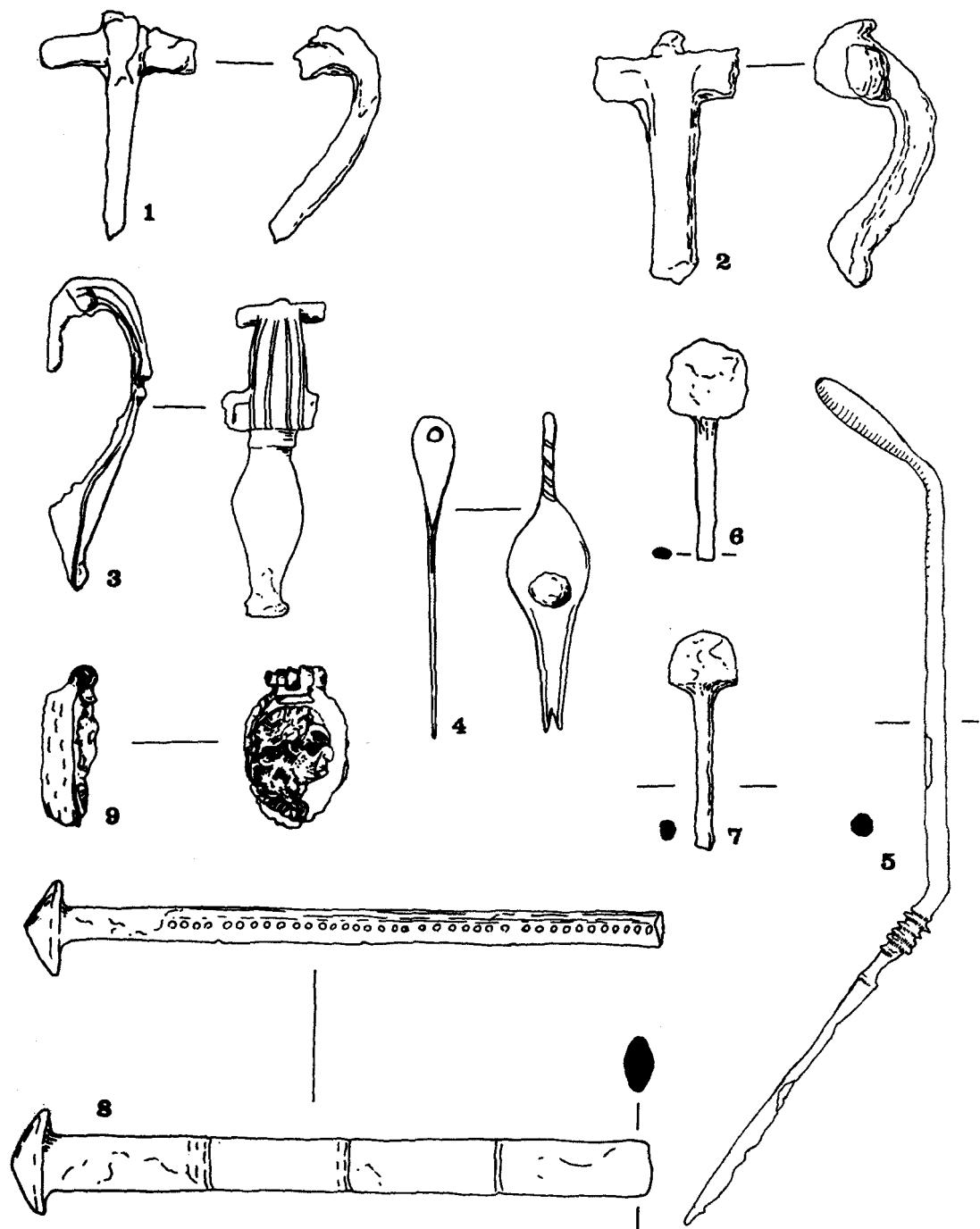


Fig. 21
Aldgate. Small finds 1-9 (1/1)

(LAYER 10)

9. Seal box; the shape of the box and the strong hinge (two loops instead of one) is unusual. More important is the fact that the lid bears a portrait of the Emperor Vespasian. Two other seal boxes, one bearing the imperial eagle (G.M. Acc. No. 20,081) and the other a portrait of the Emperor Domitian (Plate 4, now in private possession) are known from London, both from the Bucklersbury House site, Walbrook.³³ There can be little doubt that these seal boxes were government property and used to protect the seals on official documents. (Fig. 21, Plate 4).

(UNSTRATIFIED)

10. Two (?) rectangular plates riveted together by five studs. Possible a military belt-plate, though it is smaller than normal and the central stud is unusual. (Fig. 22).

Objects of Iron

(PIT 6)

11. Chisel, spatulate end. (Fig. 22).

Objects of Bone

(FEATURE 6)

12. Handle grip of a legionary sword (*gladius*); only half the handle survives and the channel for the tang is exposed. The type, which was clearly standard military issue, is well known from military sites both in this country and other parts of the Empire. This example is very fine, being skilfully carved, highly polished and with little wear. There is another example in the British Museum from London,³⁴ and there are three more in the Guildhall Museum collection (Acc. Nos. 1126; 1127; 19164), one of which comes from the Walbrook, the others coming from unknown provenances in the City. (Fig. 22, Plate 5).

(PIT 15)

13. Head of pin, lathe-turned. (Fig. 22).

(PIT 15)

14. Short pin, the top part of the lathe-turned head is missing. (Fig. 22).

(LAYER 9)

15. Head of pin, lathe-turned. (Fig. 22).

(PIT 6)

16. Head of pin, hand-cut. (Fig. 22).

(PIT 6)

17. Body of pin, head missing. (Fig. 22).

(PIT 4)

18. Part of pin, with hand-cut globular head; residual (?) in early Medieval pit. (Fig. 22).

(LAYER 8)

19. Polished plate, with one sharp edge and groove along the other. (Fig. 23).

Objects of Clay

(PIT 9)

20. Fragment of base of mother-goddess figurine. The wicker-work of the basket-chair, in which the goddess sat nursing two infants, is visible.³⁵ (Fig. 23).

(PIT 9)

21. Fragment of base of another mother-goddess figurine similar to No. 20, though here the feet and bottom of the tunic are visible (Fig. 23). It is interesting to note that both the figurines are of the same cult and from the same pit.

(PIT 15)

22. Fragment of lamp, type II.³⁶ (Fig. 23).

(PIT 15)

23. Half of a circular ring with flat base, possibly ring from lug-handle of pot. (Fig. 23).

Objects of Stone

(LAYER 8)

24. Fragment of rectangular palette with bevelled edges, for mixing cosmetics. (Fig. 23).

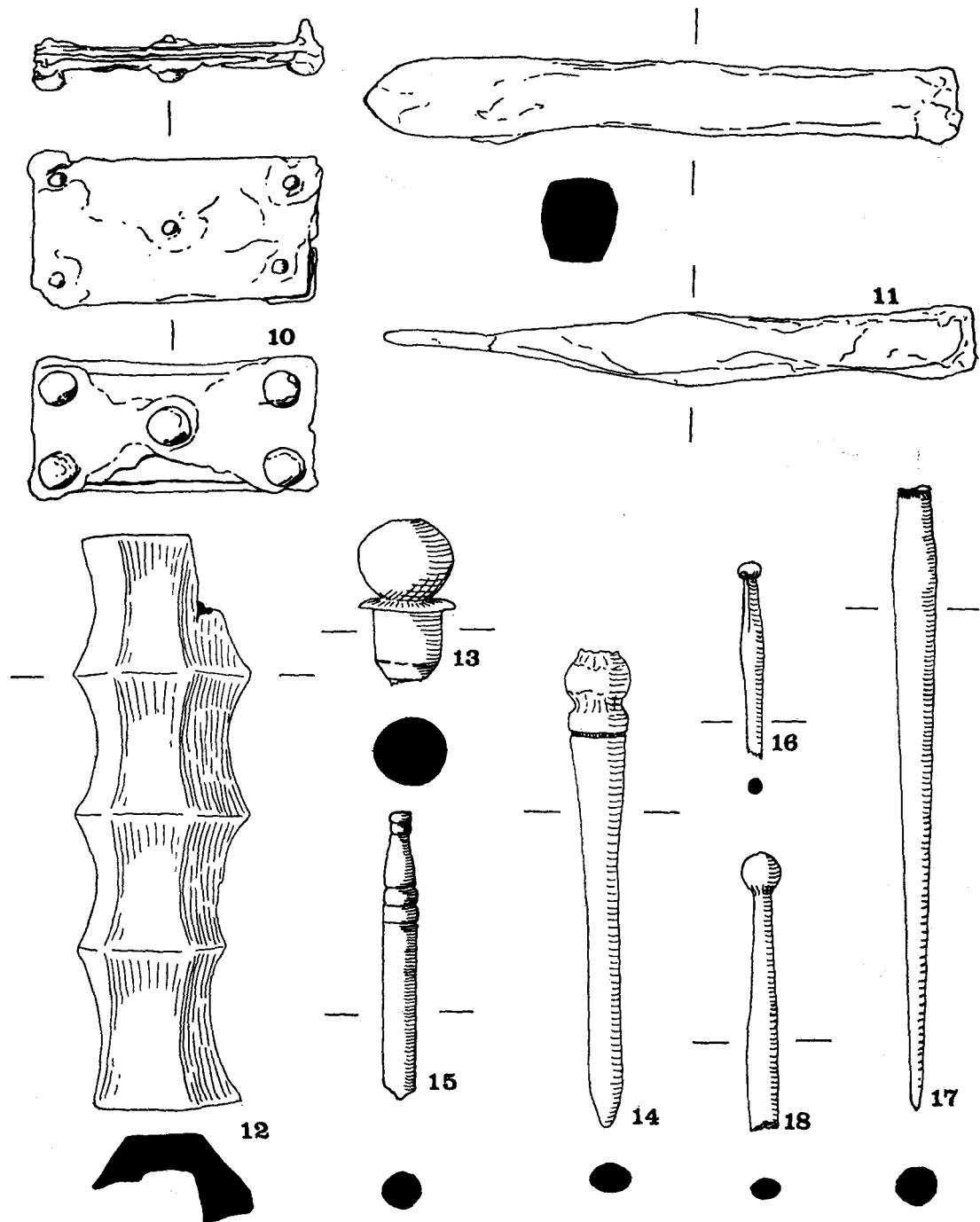


Fig. 22
Aldgate. Small finds 10-18 (all 1/1 except No. 11 ($\frac{1}{2}$))

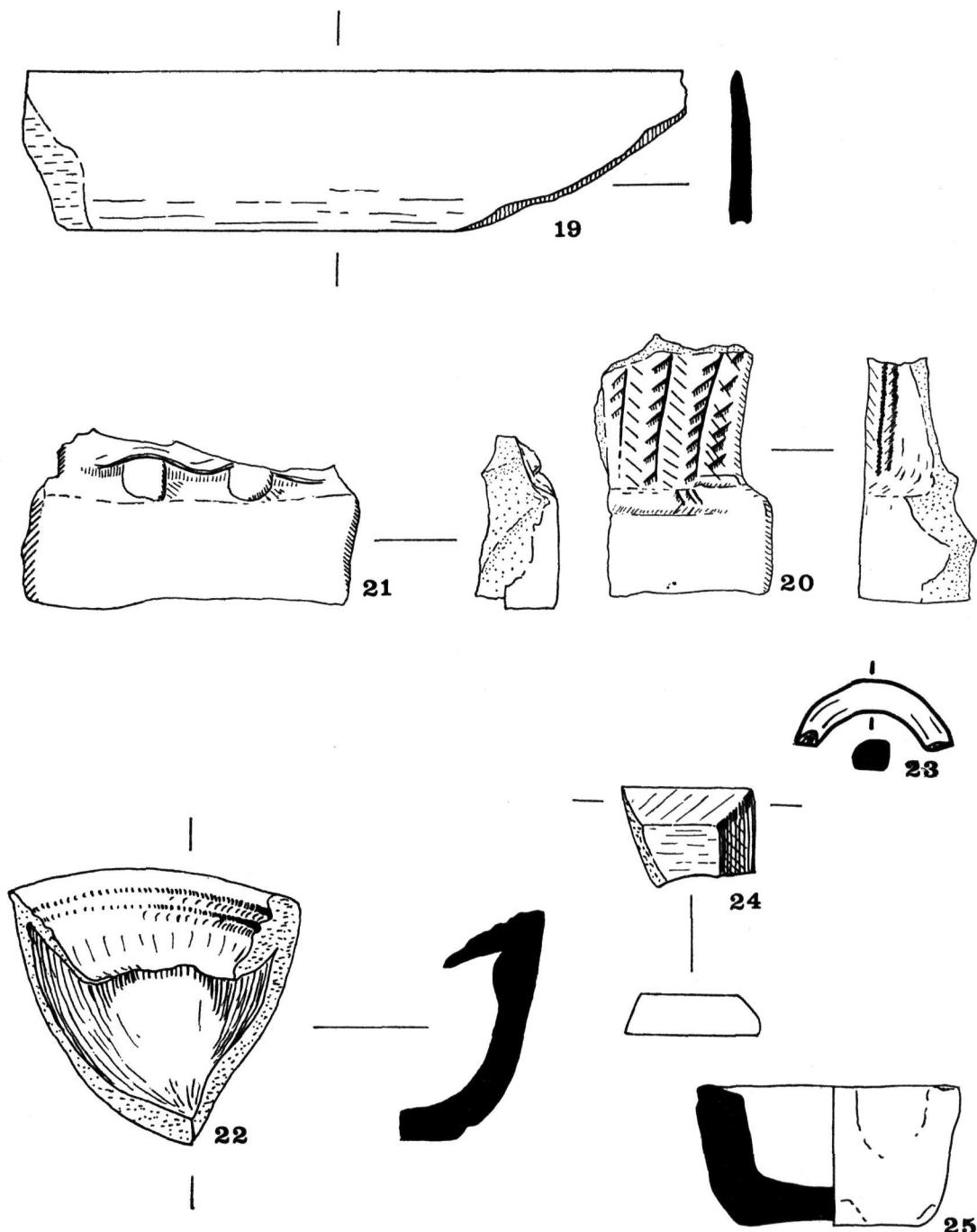


Fig. 23
Aldgate. Small finds 19-25 (1/1)

(PIT 10)

25. Very small mortar or bowl; its size must indicate that it was used to grind materials for cosmetics or paints. (Fig. 23).

(PIT 15)

26. Fragment of an upper stone of a quern of Mayen lava. (Fig. 24).

(PIT 7)

27. Another fragment of an upper stone of a quern of Mayen lava. (Fig. 24).

These two fragments add two more examples to the already large number (over 26) of Mayen lava querns known from London. The querns can be divided into two well-defined groups: the first, to which these two belong, being slightly thinner at the edge though of a greater diameter than the second group. The hole through No. 26 received an iron loop or clamp to hold a single vertical wooden handle on the outside of the upper stone. This hole is also apparent on the broken edge of No. 27. Wear caused by the handle can be seen on the edge of No. 26. Both fragments have the usual pattern of grooves or striations on the grinding and other surfaces.³⁷

THE HONES BY S. E. ELLIS

(PIT 11)

28. A micaceous greywacke-grit (turbidite) of a kind found in contexts ranging from Iron Age to seventeenth century. It has been subjected to mild "depth" metamorphism and slight shearing. It may come from any Palaeozoic or Proterozoic folded mountain region, but such rocks are particularly characteristic of the Hercynian belts of N.W. Europe and Britain, i.e. Cornwall-Devon, Brittany, or the Rhineland-Ardennes area. (cf. Ellis's type IIB 7 or 8).³⁸

(PIT 6) 29; (PIT 12) 30; (PIT 21) 31; (UNSTRATIFIED) 32.

These are all glauconitic sandy limestones or calcareous sandstones with abundant fossil fragments including echinoid spines, ostracod tests, fragments of bone (fish or reptile) and (excepting for No. 29) fragments of mollusian shells. They differ only in minor details of mineralogy and texture but the probable source of all is the "Kentish Rag" in the Hythe Beds of the Lower Greensand of Kent and Sussex, which was exported from the area in and since Roman times.³⁹ Similar hones were found at West Stow (Nos. 49, 76, 77 and 84) (Ellis's type IVB (1)).

(PIT 4)

33. A typical late Saxon to Medieval "schist hone"; i.e. a mica-quartz-schist mullion of the kind traced to Eidsborg, Telemark, Norway (Ellis's type IA (1)).

THE BONES FROM PIT 15 BY JOHN WATSON

I. The bones from this pit were almost entirely those of cattle. The provisional count is as follows:

	Number of "diagnostic" fragments	Minimum number of individuals
Cattle (<i>Bos</i>)	175	at least 12
Sheep/Goat (<i>Ovis/Capra</i>)	7	2
Pug (<i>Sus</i>)	7	2
Unidentified bird	1	1

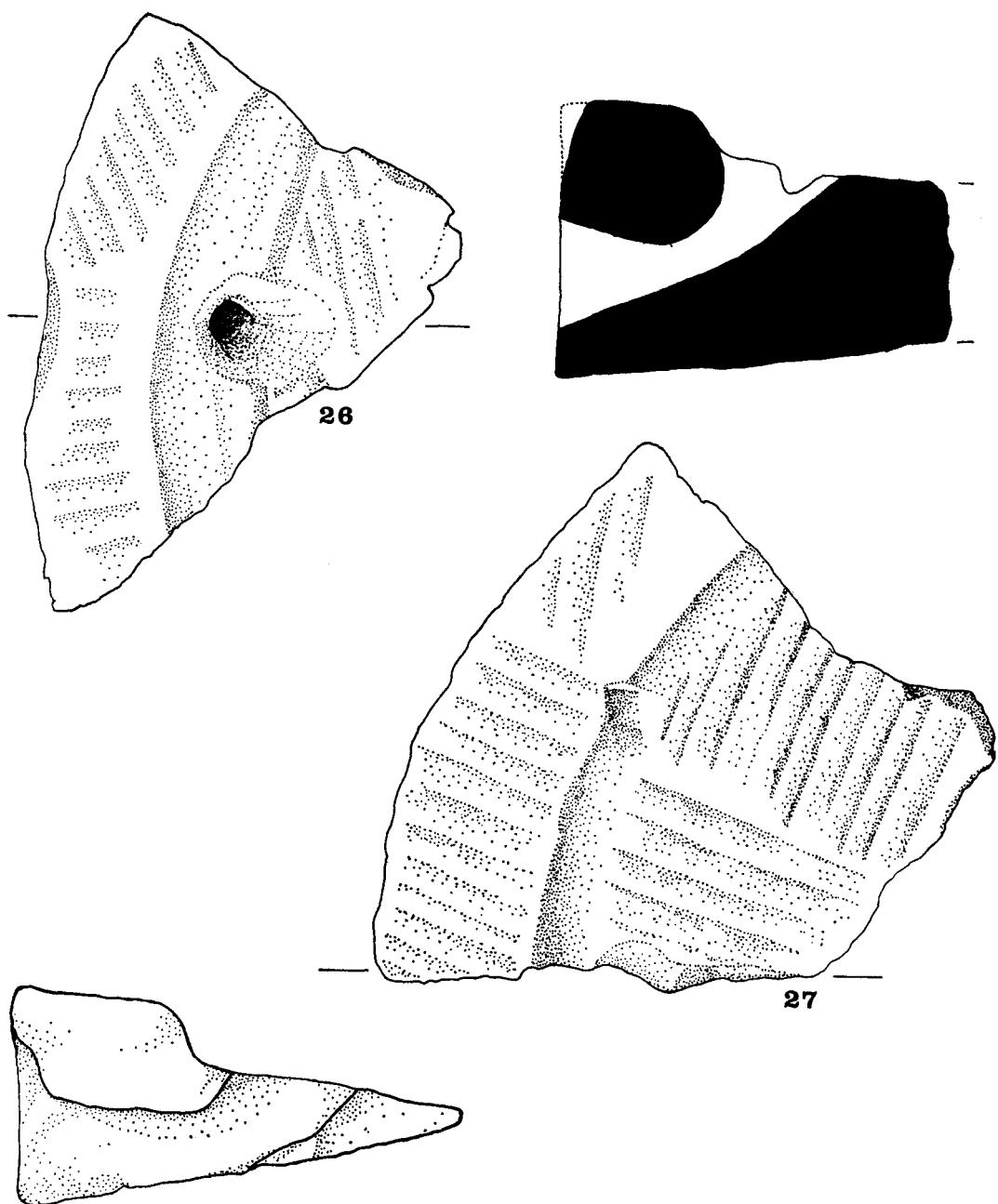


Fig. 24
Aldgate. Small finds 26-27 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

2. The cattle:

- (a) Numbers of fragments different parts of the skeleton.

Mandible	46	Metacarpal distal	8
Maxilla	41	Metatarsal proximal	20
Scapula proximal	1	Metatarsal distal	15
Humerus distal	1	Phalanx 1	10
Radius proximal	3	Phalanx 2	7
Radius distal	3	Phalanx 3	14
Metacarpal proximal	3	Ulna proximal	3
		Total	175

Apart from these, there were large numbers of skull, vertebra and rib fragments.

- (b) There were no signs of any horn cores.
- (c) Nearly all the metapodials were broken in the middle of the shaft and nowhere else, possibly to extract the marrow.
- (d) Nearly all the animals were adult, many of them with the third molars well worn.
- (e) There were a few burnt fragments.
- (f) One proximal metatarsal was pathological.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The proportions of the different parts of the skeleton are not such as would result from differential preservation. They are consistent with large-scale organised slaughtering such as one would find at a modern slaughterhouse, in that (a) the bones represent almost entirely the inedible or less edible parts of the animal, (b) all the horns seem to have been removed elsewhere, (c) there is a very consistent pattern of breakage of leg bones.

THE MOLLUSCA

BY DR. JOYCE E. RIGBY

The material contained:

- (a) One specimen of *Littorina littorea* shell.
- (b) Few pieces of *Mytilus edulis* shell—and numerous pieces in one sample from Pit 8.
- (c) Fragments of shell in Pit 15 might be *Mya*, but the material is inadequate to be conclusive.
- (d) The rest of the shells are oysters and seem to be *Ostrea edulis*:
 - (i) There is, however, quite a striking range of size among these shells that is probably worthy of mention from 38 mm height to 114 mm even in the material from one pit (P10).
 - (ii) Typical *O. edulis* have essentially a rounded contour and rather shallow left valve. But there is a striking diversity of shape of the valves and many specimens in this collection exhibit an elongation, prominent hinge and even a beak and ligament scar that characterise the related genus *Crassostrea*—especially in examples from P9, 15 and L7, 11. Typically *Crassostrea* is however, also defined by the left valve being deep and recessed. The beaked specimens in the material from Aldgate have essentially shallow valves and do not contain this excavated, deep umbo region. Surveying the whole collection, there seems to be a gradation between the elongated beaked forms at one extreme, to the rounded forms without beaks at the other extremes.
 - (iii) On balance, from the information available, I suggest they are all *Ostrea edulis* and this identification should be qualified by reference to the diversity of shape among the specimens.

APPENDIX

THE SAMIAN POTTERS STAMPS

BY B. R. HARTLEY F.S.A.

(FIG. 25)

(UNSTRATIFIED)

1. CARB[ONISMA] 18 Carbo of La Graufesenque. This stamp is usually on f.18, but occasionally appears on cups, including four examples of f.24. This agrees with the site-dating, which is largely Flavian, but includes a few Neronian or early Flavian contexts (e.g. Fishbourne Period 1b; Aislingen). c. A.D. 65-85.

(PIT 20)

2. OF·CRESTIO 15/17R or 18R. Crestio of La Graufesenque. One of the commonest stamps of Crestio, this must have been used for many years, as it appears in Period I and in the Boudiccan burning at Verulamium, but also at Chester (2), the Nijmegen fortress (3) and at Castledykes fort. The latter must be a long-term survival, and A.D. 55-70 should cover the likely range.

(UNSTRATIFIED)

3. CEFLICIO retr. 27? Felicio (iii) of Montans, several of whose dies were similarly miscut. For the evidence of date see *Britannia* III (1972), p. 43, where this stamp is noted for Balmuildy and Old Kilpatrick. c. A.D. 140-145.

(PIT 20)

4. [LO]GIRN 18? Logirnus of La Graufesenque. This is one of his less common stamps and probably one of his early ones, since it was found at Richborough in a pit dated A.D. 50-70. However, most of Logirnus's career was in the Flavian period (many stamps in Scotland). A.D. 65-85 is likely for this.

(PIT 11)

5. OMOM 27g. Mommo of La Graufesenque. The stamp is from a broken die which originally gave OMOM in a larger frame. Stamps from the original version regularly turn up in early Flavian contexts and the later version should be entirely Flavian. c. A.D. 70-85 and probably A.D. 70-80.

(UNSTRATIFIED)

6. PERRUSF R9. Perrus of La Graufesenque. Always on cups, including R8, R9, 24 and 27, only one example is known from a Flavian foundation (and that on f.24). c. A.D. 50-70 and probably 50-65.

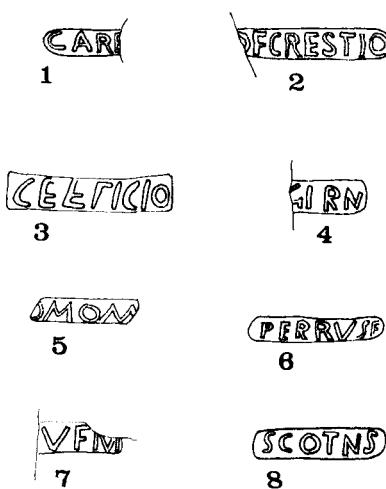


Fig. 25
Aldgate. The Samian Stamps (1/1)

(LAYER 7)

7. [OF.R] VFNI 18? Rufinus of La Graufesenque. The stamp is discussed in Frere, *Verulamium Excavations*, Vol. 1, p. 225 s22. c. A.D. 65-80.

(LAYER 16)

8. .SCOTNS. Platter. Scotnus of La Graufesenque. The dots do not always show. For the dating see Cunliffe, *Fishbourne*, Vol. 2, pp. 314, 85. No Flavian sites are involved. c. A.D. 45-65.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavation was partly financed by a grant from the Department of the Environment. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the help and co-operation of the Surveyors and Engineers Departments of the Corporation of London, the G.L.C., and to thank the headmaster, Mr. D. E. Jarvis, of Sir John Cass Primary School for his help and permission to use the school's facilities. My thanks are also due to the many volunteers who helped on the site, especially Gil Burleigh who helped supervise, Veronica Johnston and Jane Weeks who processed the finds, and Mrs. Betty Naggar who assisted with the photography. This report would also not have been possible without the many specialised reports which were so quickly produced by various people, namely: Dr. D. B. Harden; Joanna Bird; Mr. Brian Hartley; Geoff Dannell; Mrs. K. Hartley; Ralph Merrifield and John Clark of the Guildhall Museum; Naomi Tarrant of the London Museum; Mr. S. E. Ellis formerly of the British Museum (Natural History); Dr. J. E. Rigby of Queen Elizabeth College, University of London; John Watson of the Institute of Archaeology, London. Equally my thanks are due to Kathy Gee and Ann Rainsbury who drew the small finds and the glass. My special thanks and appreciation must also go to Elizabeth Richardson of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York, who drew all the coarse pottery.

Finally, I have to thank my colleagues of the Guildhall Museum for making many valuable suggestions after reading this report in typescript.

HUGH CHAPMAN.

NOTES

- ¹ R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London* (1965), p. 304.
- ² P. Marsden, "Archaeological Finds in the City of London, 1966-68", *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22 (1969), p. 20.
- ³ P. Norman and F. Reader, "Further discoveries relating to Roman London 1906-12", *Archaeologia LXIII* (1911-12), p. 266.
- ⁴ Newgate, for example, which had two arches, was c. 29 m across; see R. Merrifield *op. cit.*, p. 103, Fig. 11.
- ⁵ R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
- ⁶ See Note 4.
- ⁷ For an easily available copy of the fifteenth-century plan of the priory see H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (1918), p. 592.
- ⁸ It is hoped that the bones from the other pits and layers will be published at a later date, together with an analysis of the samples from the pit-fills.
- ⁹ A width of 7 m is somewhat wider than is recorded elsewhere (*e.g.* R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, p. 106, Fig. 13), though the exact position of the wall is not certain, and may be farther to the west under the road surface of Duke's Place; see Note 1.
- ¹⁰ W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (1968), p. 50.
- ¹¹ J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at the Roman Fort at Richborough IV* (1949), p. 11ff and plate IV(b).
- ¹² For an early date for its construction see H. Sheldon, "Excavations at Lefevre Road, Old Ford, E.3.", *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 23 (1971), p. 42.
- ¹³ Tacitus, *Annals* XIV, 33.
- ¹⁴ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, III, Roman London* (1928), p. 157, plate 55. Further burials have since been recorded in the area by Peter Marsden in 1956, and by the London Museum in 1964.
- ¹⁵ R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 134-135.
- ¹⁶ G. C. Dunning, "Two Fires of Roman London", *Antiq. J.* XXV (1945), pp. 48-52, and a revised plan in R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, p. 90, Fig. 9.
- ¹⁷ *Camulodunum*: C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull: *Camulodunum* (Research Report No. XIV, Society of Antiquaries of London, 1947).
- ¹⁸ Information from Mr. C. Partridge; publication forthcoming.
- ¹⁹ See K. T. Greene, *Guide to Pre-Flavian Fine Wares* (Cardiff 1972) & cf. No. 65.
- ²⁰ Information from Mr. W. J. Rodwell.
- ²¹ P. R. V. Marsden, "The Roman Pottery Industry of London", *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22 (1969), p. 39ff.
- ²² A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon, in *The London Archaeologist*, 1, 2 and 3 (1969), 1-7 (1970), 1-13 (1971).
- ²³ Information from Mr. H. L. Sheldon.
- ²⁴ For references, see S. A. Castle, "A Kiln of the Potter Doinus", *Archaeol. J.*, 129 (1972), p. 69ff.
- ²⁵ Callender: M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae* (Oxford 1965).
- ²⁶ Guildhall Museum E.R. 878, 879, 889. The pottery has not been published, but for the site see *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21, 3 (1967), p. 219.

- ²⁷ In levels sealed under the castle mound, erected c. 1070. E. M. Jope, "Late Saxon pits under Oxford Castle mound", *Oxoniana XVII–XVIII* (1952–3), p. 85, Fig. 33.
- ²⁸ J. G. Hurst, "The Kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex", *Medieval Archaeol.*, V (1961), pp. 259–263.
- ²⁹ G. C. Dunning, "Early Norman pottery from recent excavations in Winchester", *Proc. Hampshire Fld. Club*, 21 (1960), pp. 134–6.
- ³⁰ D. Atkinson and A. Oswald, "London Clay Tobacco Pipes", *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, XXXII (1969).
- ³¹ A. Oswald, "The Archaeology and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes", *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, XXIII (1960).
- ³² F. G. Skinner, *Weights and Measures*, H.M.S.O. (1967), p. 76.
- ³³ *Small Finds from Walbrook 1954–1955*, Guildhall Museum Publication, pp. 14–15.
- ³⁴ G. Webster, "The Roman Military Advance under Ostorius Scapula", *Archaeol. J.*, CXV (1958), p. 84, No. 145 and Fig. 6. For the *Gladius* and scabbard from the Thames at Fulham and now in the British Museum, see *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, British Museum (1964), p. 71 and Fig. 36, though the bone grip is missing. For details of construction of a sword see G. C. Boon, "The Roman sword from Caernarvon — Segontium", *Bull. Board Celtic Stud.*, XIX (1960), pp. 85–89.
- I have to thank Messrs. Russell Robinson and Cedric della Nougerede for their comments on the sword handle.
- ³⁵ F. Jenkins, "The Cult of the *Dea Nutrix* in Kent", *Archaeol. Cantiana* LXXI (1957), pp. 38–46. See also F. Jenkins, "Romano-Gaulish Clay Figurines found in London", *Collection Latomus* 103 (1969), pp. 312–327.
- ³⁶ London Museum Catalogue No. 3, *London in Roman Times* (1930), p. 62.
- ³⁷ For a reconstruction of these querns and an indication that London was the chief centre for this trade from Germany, see Hugh Chapman, "Querns and Mills" in *Roman Craftsmen* ed. by David Brown (forthcoming). For the iron handle loop see J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911), p. 145 and Plate XVII. There is one example of this iron fixing in the Guildhall Museum (Acc. No. 13828) from the Bank of England site.
- ³⁸ Ellis (S.E.), "The petrography and provenance of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval English honestones, with notes on some other hones", *Bull. Brit. Mus. (Nat. Hist.) Mineralogy*, vol. 2, No. 3 (1969).
- ³⁹ Morey (J.E.) and Dunham (K.C.), "A petrographical study of Medieval hones from Yorkshire", *Proc. Yorks. Geol. Soc.* 29 (Pt. 2), No. 8, pp. 141–148 (1953).

EXCAVATIONS AT BUSH LANE HOUSE, 1972 BY TONY JOHNSON

The basement of Bush Lane House, a five-storey Victorian office block at the corner of Bush Lane and Cannon Street (Fig. 26), was excavated for the Guildhall Museum in June 1972 prior to redevelopment. Proposals for the construction of the new building included the sinking of deep piles and the levelling up of the site with its own demolition material. The only opportunity for controlled archaeological excavation was presented in the interval between the vacation of the building and its demolition.

The impetus for the excavations can be traced back to 1840, when workmen digging a sewer discovered a series of walls running east–west, at regular intervals along the lane. The original engineer's plan showing the sewer trench and the approximate position, depth and dimensions of the walls still survives.¹ The area had been noted previously for its substantial Roman walls and paving.² It was not until 1960, however, that the opportunity arose to record any of these structures in more detail.³

Bush Lane House, which included three shops fronting onto Cannon Street, had been terraced into the north–south slope of the lane to facilitate the construction of a lower ground floor.

Beneath the floorboards a concrete sub-floor extended over the whole area of excavation. This concrete varied in thickness from 50 mm to as much as 600 mm, and invariably needed a pneumatic drill to penetrate it. Lighting in the basement was poor and most of the excavation was conducted under artificial lighting from the existing fluorescent fittings.

THE POSITION OF THE SITE.

Situated in the eastern angle formed by the Walbrook and the Thames, the site lies almost in the centre of the circuit of the second/third-century wall. The area has produced a large proportion of the pre-Flavian material from the city, especially from the Boudiccan fire levels.⁴ The site is known to have been favoured for the construction of a large building, thought to have been the palace of the Provincial Governor.⁵

BUSH LANE HOUSE 1972.

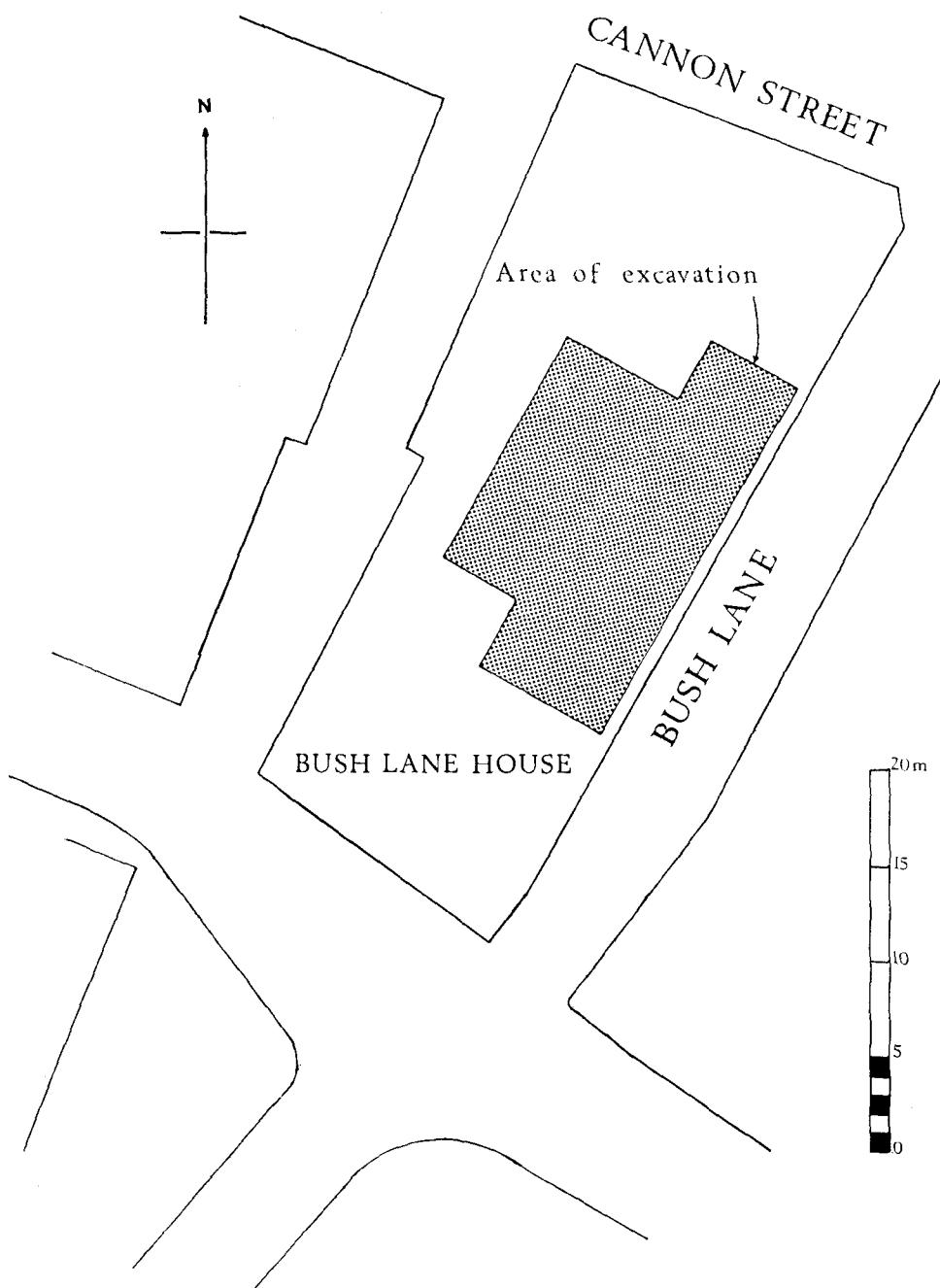


Fig. 26
Bush Lane House. Position of Site

Nothing is known about the roads in the immediate vicinity, with the exception of one which, at least in part, underlies the modern Cannon Street.⁶ Finally, the close proximity of the Walbrook, with its associated military finds,⁷ must not be overlooked in a general consideration of the area.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SITE.

The terracing for the basement floor had removed all the stratification at the north of the site, where only isolated features cut directly into the natural brickearth remained. To the south, however, almost half a metre of deposits had survived below the concrete.

The excavated area also contained over twenty Medieval pits, the tops of which had been removed by the nineteenth century construction. The combined effects of terracing and digging of footings, together with intensive Medieval pitting had resulted in the destruction of more than half of the area available for investigation (Fig. 27), and a total loss of the late Roman deposits.

The site was generally very unproductive of Roman pottery, with the exception of one early pit. There also appeared to be a complete absence of later Roman pitting which may have been expected to intrude the early levels. This is understandable if the area, as suggested, was given over to the construction of a major civil building.

The material from Medieval and post-Medieval rubbish pits will be published separately and will not, therefore, be discussed further here.

THE PHASES OF ROMAN OCCUPATION.

The Roman occupation of the site can be divided into two distinct phases.

Phase 1. A succession of three timber structures, all pre-Flavian and probably pre-A.D. 60, as these buildings terminate with a fire level almost certainly belonging to the Boudiccan destruction. Although the extensive disturbance caused by the massive Victorian foundations made it impossible to retrieve an acceptable ground plan of the structures, there is every indication that the fragmentary traces which remained of the first two were part of very substantial buildings.

The third timber structure, represented by a single narrow foundation slot superimposed upon the first period together with three isolated postholes, can only serve to indicate the disuse of the earlier building. The solitary Roman rubbish pit appears to be contemporary with this structure.

Phase 2. The timber buildings had been replaced by masonry work. A boundary or precinct wall was found running east-west across the middle of the site, and, south of this, a second wall together with a spread of Roman concrete supporting a flue system and the remains of several hypocaust *pillae*.

The same problems of interpretation met with in the timber phases were encountered with these masonry structures; essentially the availability of only a fragment of a very large complex. Within this limited area, however, it was possible to distinguish several periods. It can be seen that the hypocaust system was not contemporary with the original structure, but had been a later addition, and that the hypocaust itself underwent a major alteration, probably a reduction in size with the addition of an extra flue wall. Close dating of the masonry phases was not possible due to the total disturbance of the overlying strata down to the Roman foundations, which were cut directly into natural. The only exception was

BUSH LANE HOUSE, 1972.

AREA OF EXCAVATION & ROOM NOS.

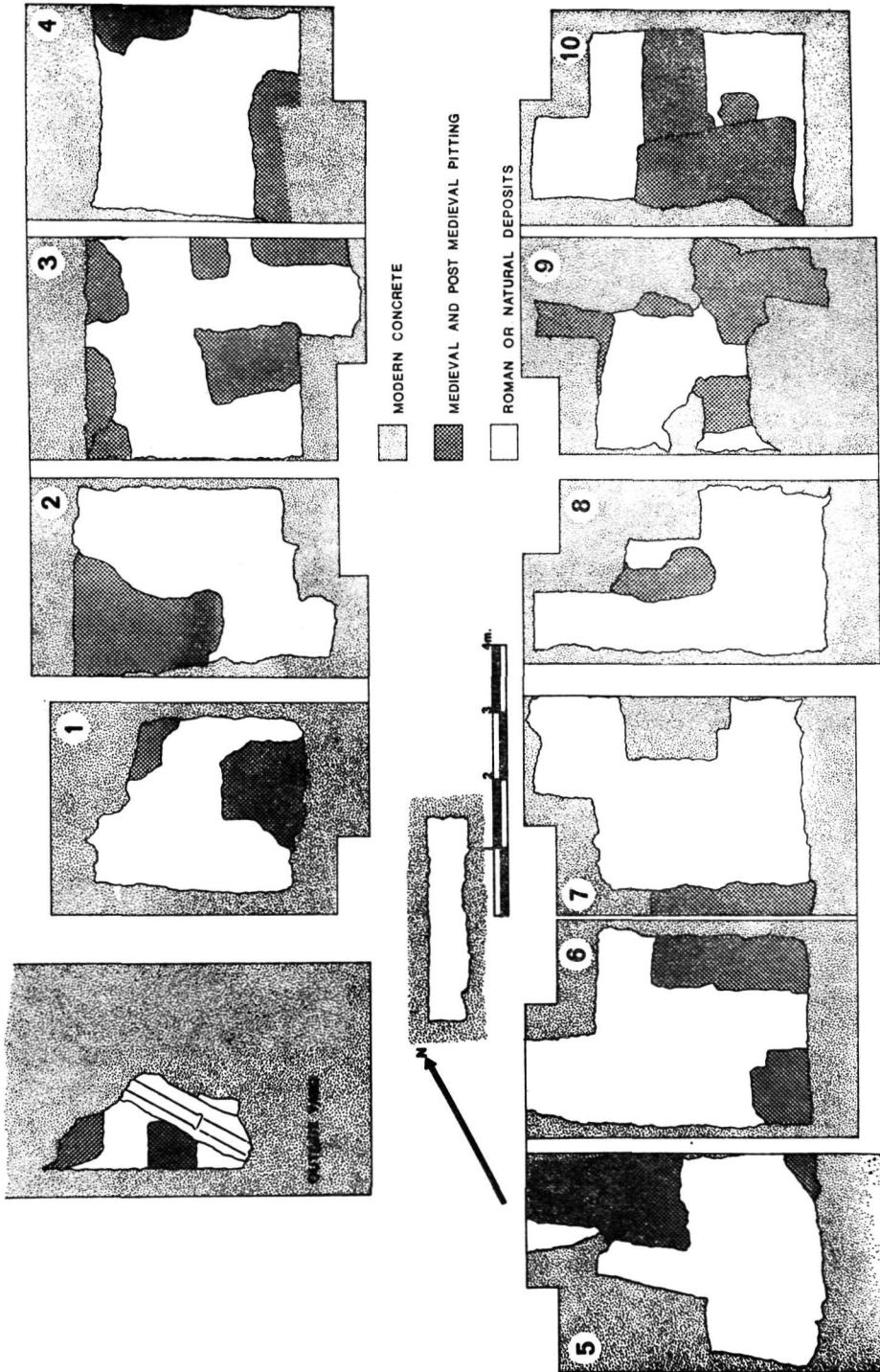


Fig. 27
Bush Lane House. Area of excavation and Room Nos.

the boundary wall which cut both timber period two and the pre-Flavian pit. Little, therefore, can be said concerning the dating of the masonry structure, except that the *terminus post quem* for one of the walls is provided by the pit.

The nature of the site together with the lack of dateable material made it impossible to date individual features. However, with regard to the timber periods, which are by far the most important structures, the fire level and the evidence provided by the pit would allow a span of only 17 years following the initial conquest for the successive building and destruction of all three.

The plans are divided into phases. Individual areas are referred to in the text by room numbers (the numbers allocated to each basement room), and layer numbers refer to the two sections, W-X and Y-Z and area plans.

TIMBER PERIOD I.

Timber period I was represented by two trenches set at right-angles to each other, but unfortunately separated by modern foundations (Fig. 28, Rooms 4 and 9). The trenches were V-shaped cuts averaging 600 mm in width and 500 mm in depth, into which regularly spaced, rectangular posts had been rammed, up to 200 mm below the base of the trenches (Plate 6). The natural brickearth, removed during their construction, had been backfilled into the trenches and hard packed to position and secure the timbers. This backfill was extremely clean, which suggests that the trenches were dug after the construction of a level building platform which must have removed the topsoil leaving the surface of the brickearth exposed. Fig. 29 shows the platform of the first period in Rooms 3 and 4; also the weathered surface of the brickearth (L.1).

In Trench A two rectangular postholes were found approximately 0·5 m apart. The dimensions of these posts were 120 x 160 mm, and 140 x 150 mm. Both occurred as voids below thin patches of residual material derived from upper levels, subsequently removed by nineteenth-century terracing.

Trench B contained three postholes. Posthole 1, rectangular, 140 x 120 mm; posthole 2, circular, diameter 170 mm; posthole 3, rectangular, 140 x 180 mm. The distance between postholes 1 and 2 was 800 mm and between 2 and 3 was 2·5 m. Between postholes 2 and 3 the trench was cut by the foundations of the Victorian building. Assuming that the postholes were originally regularly spaced it is possible that two postholes have been destroyed by the partition wall separating Rooms 9 and 10.

Trench B was not found to the south of Room 9. In Room 8 an area of undisturbed natural occurred only 1·5 m from the point at which the trench disappeared under the Victorian foundations; it can be assumed that it stops or turns somewhere in this last short distance. To the north the line of Trench B is lost irretrievably under a massive spread of concrete which dominated the whole of this part of the site. The exact relationship between Trenches A and B is therefore unknown. It can be suggested from their alignment, shape, nature of fill, size and regularity of postholes, that these two features are contemporary. Even if the excavated area had been clear of any modern disturbance it would still have been necessary to extend beyond the limits of the available area to complete an acceptable plan of the structure.

The absence of any contemporary occupation material and the complete lack of finds from the trenches themselves means that this structure can only be dated by its relationship to other features, only two of which appear to pre-date it. These are a series of deposits

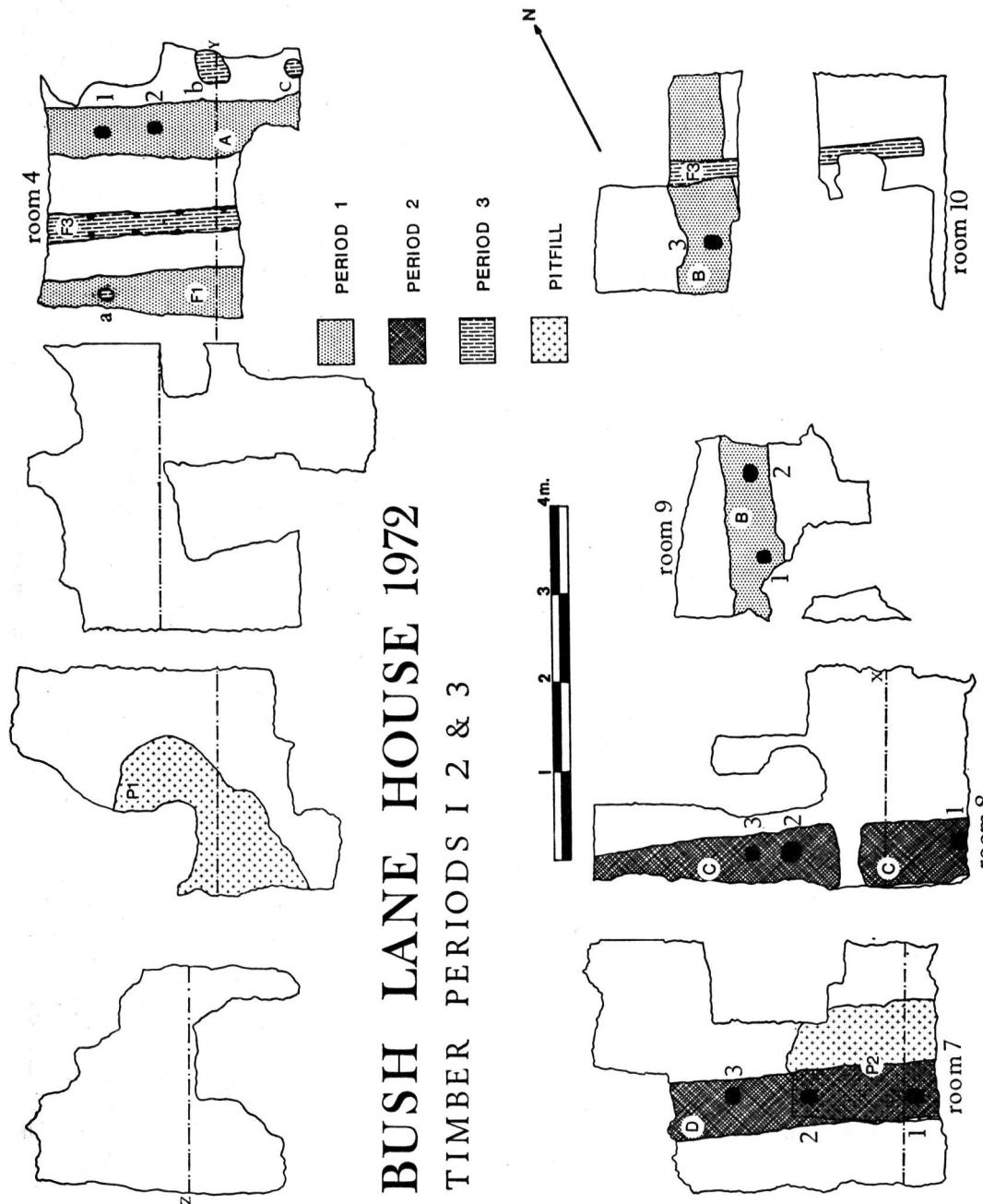


Fig. 28
Bush Lane House. Timber Periods 1, 2 and 3

showing tip lines (Fig. 29, L.2 and L.3), presumably from the original platform construction, and a pit sealed by these levels, P.1 in Room 2. This shallow pit produced the fragmented remains of a complete hand-made jar in a crude fabric (Fig. 32, Plate 8). The overlying tipped deposits themselves contained no dateable material, nor were any other features located which may have been associated with P.1

BUSH LANE HOUSE 1972
SECTION Y-Z.

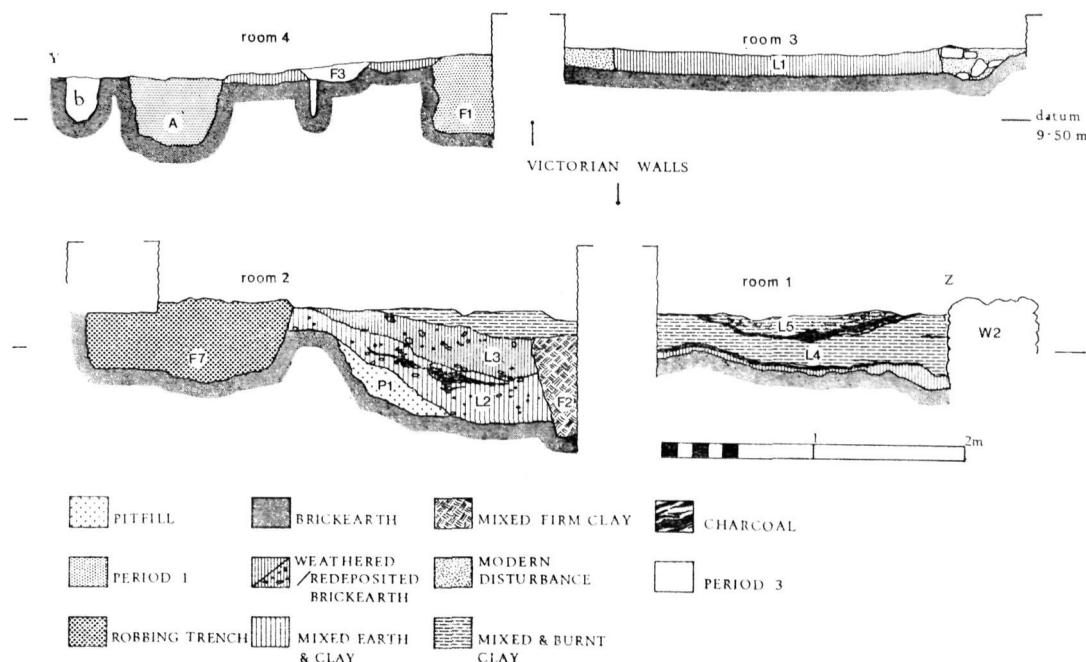


Fig. 29
Bush Lane House. Section Y-Z

Reference to Fig. 29 will show a feature (F.1) in Room 4, parallel to Trench A, which may be contemporary with the Period 1 building; certainly by comparison of fill and by the depth of the cut it would be reasonable to link the two. Unfortunately the nineteenth-century partition wall and a post-Medieval pit destroyed most of this third trench. A small area of undisturbed natural in Room 10 showed no sign of a continuation or junction with Trench B. It can only be suggested, therefore, that this feature, which shows so well in Section W-X could belong to Period 1.

A similar problem arose in Room 2, where a second feature (F.2) occurred cutting through the tipped deposits of the first period. Again it was cut by and finally disappeared under the Victorian foundations, and it was impossible to link it with any of the other timber structures. The relative depth of this cut, however, suggests that this feature may belong to a building on a lower terrace; no other features were found which may have been associated with F.2

TIMBER PERIOD 2.

Timber period 2 consisted of two parallel trenches, C and D, 2·4 m apart and approximately 700 mm in width, which located six rectangular uprights. These trenches differ from A and B in that most of the material through which they had been cut had been removed by the nineteenth-century construction. Only the bases of the trenches survived, having a shallow U-shaped profile whose width exceeded its depth. The fill consisted of dirty brown and yellow clay, which indicates that, although the lower levels of the trenches were cut into the clean natural clay, a good deal of the upper occupation material, later removed by the Victorian building, had also been dragged down into the backfill. The backfill had been packed, but not rammed firm as it was in trenches A and B. The line of trench C was not continuous, as a bridge of natural broke the line between postholes 1 and 2 (Plate 7).

Posthole 1, to the east of trench C, was rectangular in shape and its dimensions were 160 x 150 mm. The base of this posthole was located 50 mm below the bottom of the trench. Posthole 2 was circular, with a diameter of 200 mm, situated at the bottom of the trench, as was posthole 3 which was rectangular, 150 x 120 mm. The distance between postholes 1 and 2 was 2·2 m and that between postholes 2 and 3 was 300 mm.

Trench D contained three postholes. Posthole 1, 180 x 160 mm; posthole 2, 200 x 150 mm; and posthole 3, 200 x 170 mm. All were rectangular in shape and occurred as voids below the immediate upper fill of the trench, spaced at intervals of 1 m (between 1 and 2), and 600 mm (between 2 and 3).

As with trenches A and B, C and D can also be linked by similar characteristics of profile, fill, posthole dimensions and alignment. Both trenches could be excavated only to a length of 3 metres, before being cut through by modern foundations.

Fig. 28 shows the relationship between the two timber structures. In Room 8 the previously mentioned break occurs when trench B fails to re-appear from under the nineteenth-century partition wall. It would seem that the two buildings were standing contemporaneously for a length of time, for the siting of the Period 2 structure allows for the presence of the former building. Both buildings appear to have been demolished at the same time. To be more accurate, both structures are down before the occupation of Period 3.

The demolition of both buildings appeared to have been carried out in an orderly and methodical manner; most of the postholes occurred as voids below a thin capping of material. None of the postholes showed signs of distortion from excessive levelling of the upright; nor were they dug out. The post must have either been left to rot after being cut off at ground level, or pulled out vertically, which seems unlikely.

TIMBER PERIOD 3.

After the demolition of structures of Timber Periods 1 and 2 the character of the site seems to alter. The removal of the large buildings would have left an ideally suitable platform for the domestic occupation suggested by the nature of the Period 3 structure.

In Room 10 the foundation trench of Period 1 (trench B) was cut by a timber slot (F.3) 230 mm wide with a maximum depth of 200 mm (Fig. 29). The infill consisted of dark, charcoal-flecked clay. Unfortunately the slot had been cut both at the west end and in the centre by the nineteenth-century construction, although its eastern limit was found in Room 10. This gave the slot a maximum length of almost 10 metres.

Along the length excavated in Room 4, eight stake holes were found, spaced in pairs on

either side of the slot at regular 400 mm intervals. These stake holes penetrated to a depth of 50–100 mm (Fig. 29), and are probably foundations for a wattle work wall or screen.² The insubstantial nature of the slot would suggest an internal partition rather than a load-bearing structure. The only other features which could belong to this building were three postholes (Fig. 28), each infilled with mixed burnt clay, and heavily flecked with charcoal; insufficient evidence upon which to base any sort of reconstruction.

It is not possible to say more about the structure of the Period 3 building. What can be said is that its occupation brings on to the site for the first time pottery which could be regarded as belonging to a domestic phase. The rubbish pit (P.2) which cuts the construction trench of the Period 2 building must belong to this occupation. From this pit came the most useful pottery group providing key dating evidence for all three periods.

The floor level of the Period 3 building had been removed by nineteenth-century disturbance, making it impossible to establish any visual continuity between the deposits of this period in Rooms 1–4. A link can be suggested, however, between the features belonging to the occupation in Room 4 and the layers (L.4 and L.5), which overlie the tipping (L.2 and L.3), associated with the Period 1 platform. These layers (Fig. 29, Room 1) consisted of alternate layers of burnt clay and thick bands of charcoal. The lowest level of burning appears to have taken place *in situ*, but most of the other material appears to have been dumped from the north (the area of the Period 3 building).

A number of sherds of well-burnt pot, including Samian forms of Neronian date, were found amongst the fire debris. These sherds correspond well with the material from P.2 in Room 7, suggesting that the burnt levels and the pit both belong to the same period. It is very likely that layers 4/5 had originated from the destruction of a domestic-type building by fire, and there is every indication that this was the fire which followed the Boudiccan rebellion of A.D. 60. This is supported by the fact that neither the pit nor the levels of burning produced a single sherd of pot which is conclusively later than this date. The destruction by fire of the Period 3 building would naturally terminate the use of any associated rubbish pits.

Also, examination of the postholes a, b, c in Room 4 showed that they contained a good deal of burnt daub. This was presumably introduced by the removal of the charred posts, the level from which the material had been derived having been destroyed by the nineteenth-century building.

Evidence of the Boudiccan destruction has been found previously in this area immediately to the east of the Walbrook.⁸ The fire apparently ends all activity in the immediate vicinity until the masonry structures are laid out on the southern part of the site. It seems unlikely, though, that such a favourable area should stand vacant for very long, and the opportunity was probably taken to clear a large area to make way for the large palace complex.

PHASE 2. THE MASONRY STRUCTURES.

All the features associated with this phase occurred south of wall W.1, which runs east–west across the site in Room 8 and occurred as a robbing trench (F.7) in Room 2 (Fig. 29). There was no indication of any post-fire activity in the area to the north of W.1. The contemporary levels must have been removed by the nineteenth-century building.

Only the lower foundations of W.1 survived, having an average width of 1·1 m. The remains of the wall visible in Room 2 consisted of a core of yellow mortar and ragstone. A trial trench (not shown on the plan) was opened in the yard outside the building to the

west. This trench picked up a continuation of W.1 in a slightly better state of preservation. The total length of W.1 including the wall in the outside trench was 15·2 m.

Parallel with W.1 and situated 4 metres to the south of it was a second wall (W.2) visible in Rooms 1 and 7. The width was 800 mm, and again it ran across the full width of the area of excavation. The construction of W.2 was identical with that of W.1 and, although a more substantial part survived, nevertheless it still only represented the lower foundation material.

BUSH LANE HOUSE 1972 SECTION W-X

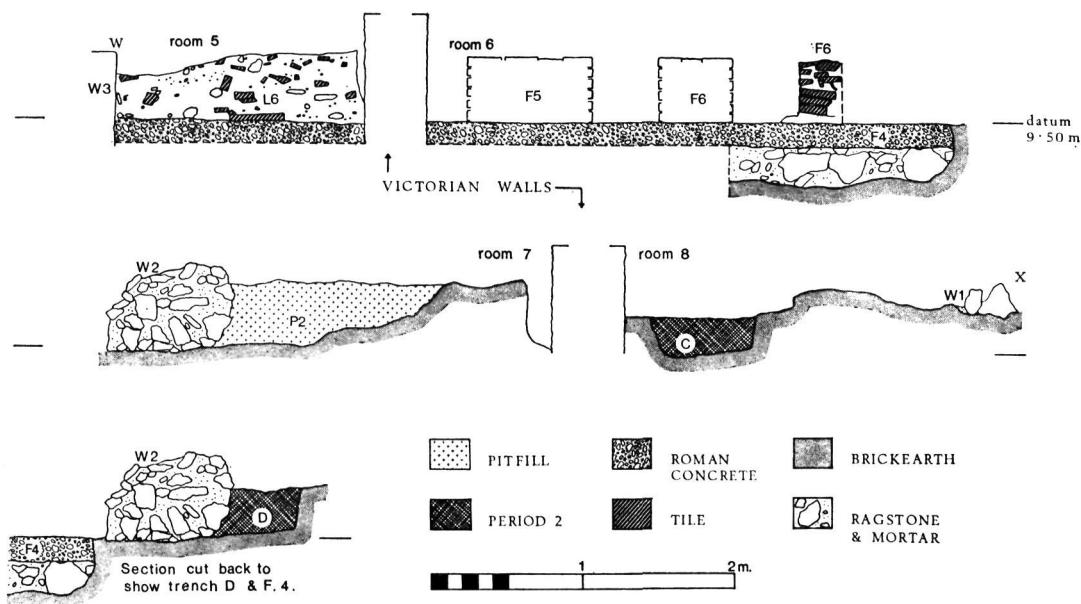


Fig. 30
Bush Lane House. Section W-X

In the area between the two walls there was no trace of any level which could have been associated with phase 2. This is because this area had been reduced in level below the height from which both walls had been constructed, leaving the lower fire debris exposed. Fig. 29 shows W.2 cutting through the layers of burning in Room 1.

The rubbish pit of Timber Period 3 in Room 7 is also cut through by W.2 at the same point at which it cuts into the foundation trench of the Period 2 timber building (Figs. 28, 30).

Some time after the construction of W.2 a fairly large area, possibly an existing room immediately to the south (Fig. 31) was excavated in order to insert a hypocaust. Fig. 30 shows how the cut for the insertion of the hypocaust drops away well below the foundations of W.2. Had the wall and the hypocaust been planned at the same time both would have shared a common constructional level.

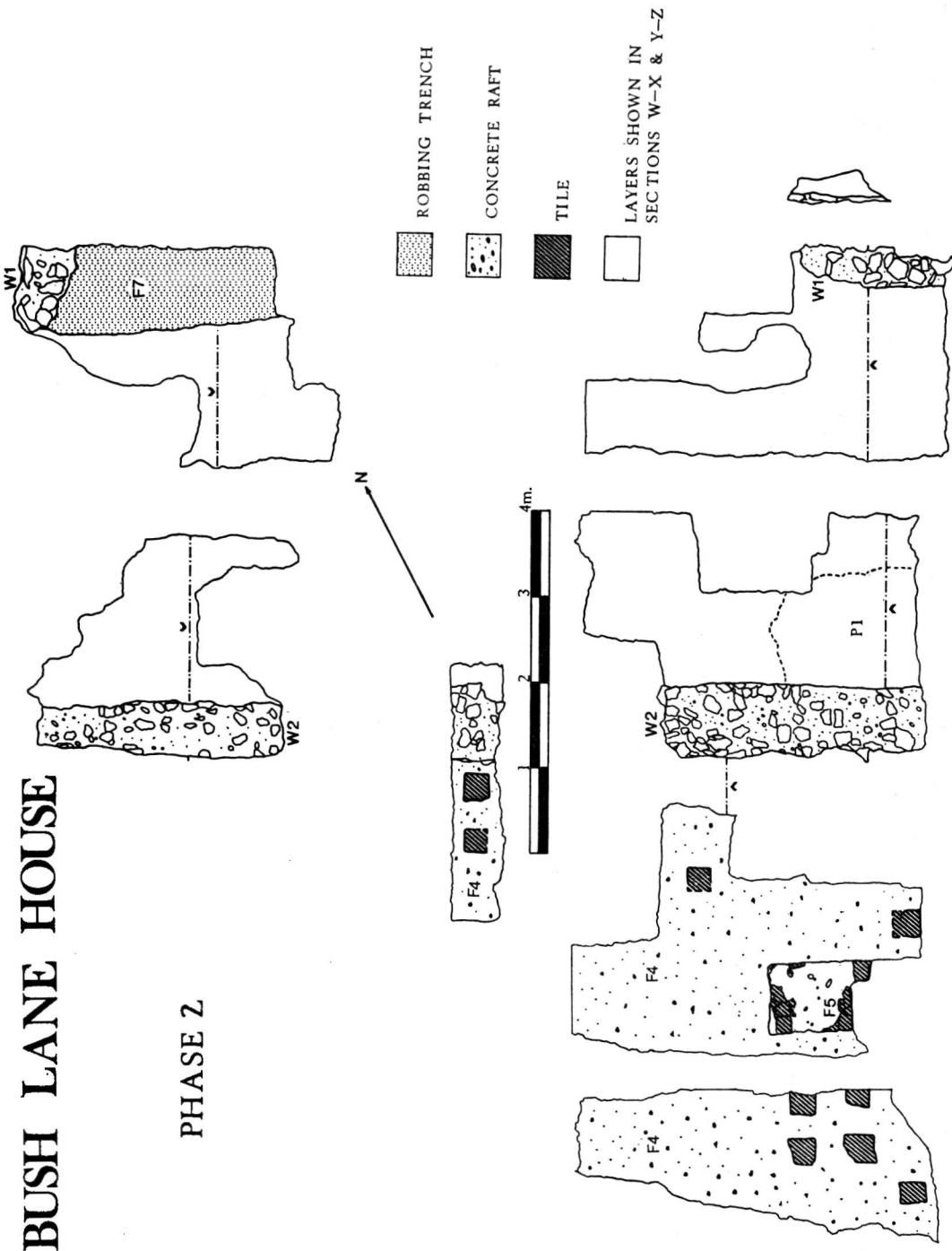


Fig. 31
Bush Lane House. Phase 2

A 160 mm thick raft of concrete (F.4), consisting of crushed tile fragments in a very hard white matrix, upon which the pillar tiles of the hypocaust were laid, was spread over a pitched rubble foundation of mortar and large ragstone blocks (Fig. 30). The maximum combined depth of the two foundation levels was almost half a metre. Although only nine hypocaust *pillae* were found *in situ*, the area of the base which was excavated may possibly have accommodated as many as fifty individual *pillae* (Fig. 31).

The spread is only broken by an intermediate supporting wall (F.5), of which only a small part remains. The *pillae* surviving *in situ* to the south of F.5 are slightly larger than those in the area to the north.

ALTERATION TO HYPOCAUST ADDITION OF FLUE—F.6.

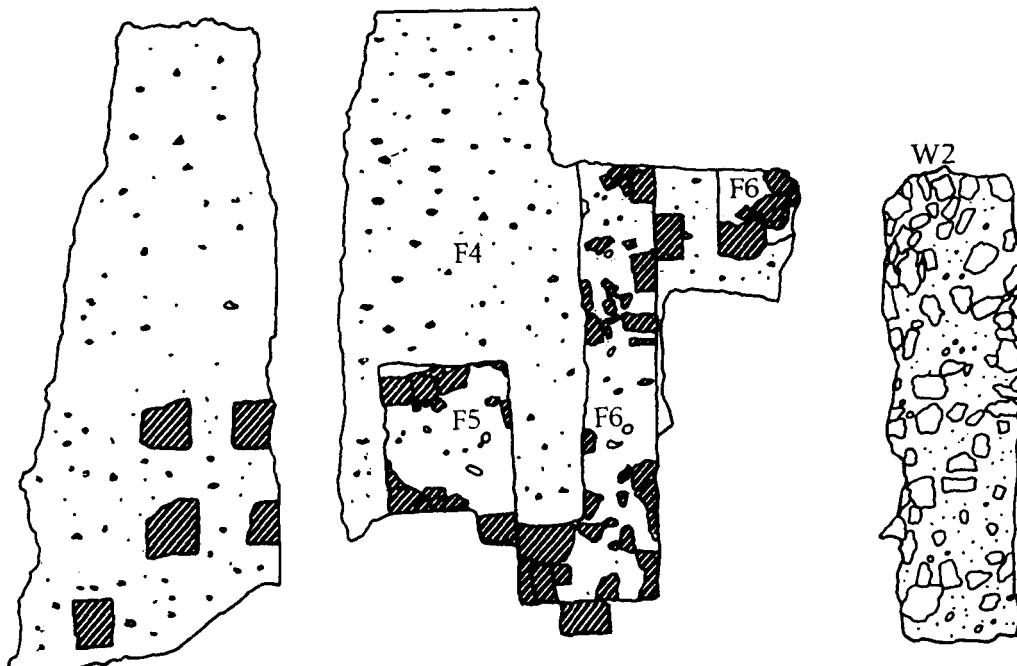


Fig. 31a
Bush Lane House. Alteration to Hypocaust

After a period of use the hypocaust has a flue channel (F.6, Fig. 31a) added, which runs from east-west parallel with F.5. It is not clear whether all the *pillae* in this area were demolished at this time, or only those in the two rows which the new channel can be seen to overlie.

The quality of the construction of F.6 is inferior to that of the earlier build, most of the tile used consisting of broken *tegulae* laid flat with the lip forming the outer edge of the wall, giving superficially a well-constructed facade.

Overlying the concrete raft and lower pillar tiles was found a compact layer of rubble (L.6, Fig. 30), consisting of large fragments of *opus signinum*, plain white wall plaster, and rectangular white, with a few black, *tesserae*. There was also a considerable quantity of pillar tile fragments, including a complete tile bearing the stamp P R B R (No. 10, Fig. 32).⁹

Apart from the single stamped tile and a few fragments of window glass found in the mortar of the foundation part, there was nothing in either the construction or the destruction of the hypocaust to suggest a date for its use.

The cutting through of a cellar wall (W.3) marked an end to the stratification between the hypocaust and the southern extremity of Bush Lane House. Beyond W.3 post-Medieval cellarage had completely destroyed all the archaeological deposits.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION.

The 1972 excavations within the basement of Bush Lane House began as an attempt to shed more light upon the complex of masonry which was known to exist in the vicinity. Walls 1 and 2 and the hypocaust almost certainly belong to the palace; however, the discovery of the timber buildings was something totally new to the area.

Both the timber and masonry phases displayed a complexity which taxed the small-scale excavation to its limits. Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence, one fact remains beyond dispute—the presence of at least two fairly large-scale early timber buildings, displaying a method of construction familiar on early Roman sites (the continual foundation trench), and usually attributed to the military. There is no reason to believe that the timber structures of Period 1 and 2 are exceptions.

Their location, near the river front and adjacent to the Walbrook in the south-west corner of the early settlement, must have been a highly favourable one; a position chosen for similar reasons by both the military and civil authorities. The site being situated on the lower ground just above the river, yet sufficiently well drained to suit large-scale development.

The type of buildings most likely to have been constructed by the military in such a position during the early years of the occupation would probably be store buildings or granaries, requiring reasonable access by river and road. The Period 2 building resembles the raised floor timber granary of the type excavated at Fishbourne,¹⁰ Richborough,¹¹ and Rodgen, Germany.¹²

An adequate and secure supply base must have been one of the first necessities for an invading army pushing forward into unfamiliar territory. There can be no doubt that the Thames had a major role to play in providing easy transport for essential supplies. The reason for siting *horrea* within easy reach of the river needs no explanation; the choice of this particular area could be explained by the fact that the south-west corner at the junction of the Walbrook and the Thames was the place where the activity associated with bulk storage would have caused minimum inconvenience.¹³

The positioning of the military *horrea* within the area of initial occupation must throw some light on the situation of early defensive work. Important store buildings would not have been constructed in a strategically insecure position, and it is tempting to believe that they may belong to the layout of a riverside fort.

The apparent demolition of the structures before the fire of A.D. 60 also has wider implications, but more work in the area would be required to answer the questions posed by the fragmentary evidence provided by this excavation. A discussion of the masonry phase is not necessary here, prior to the publication of the palace site.

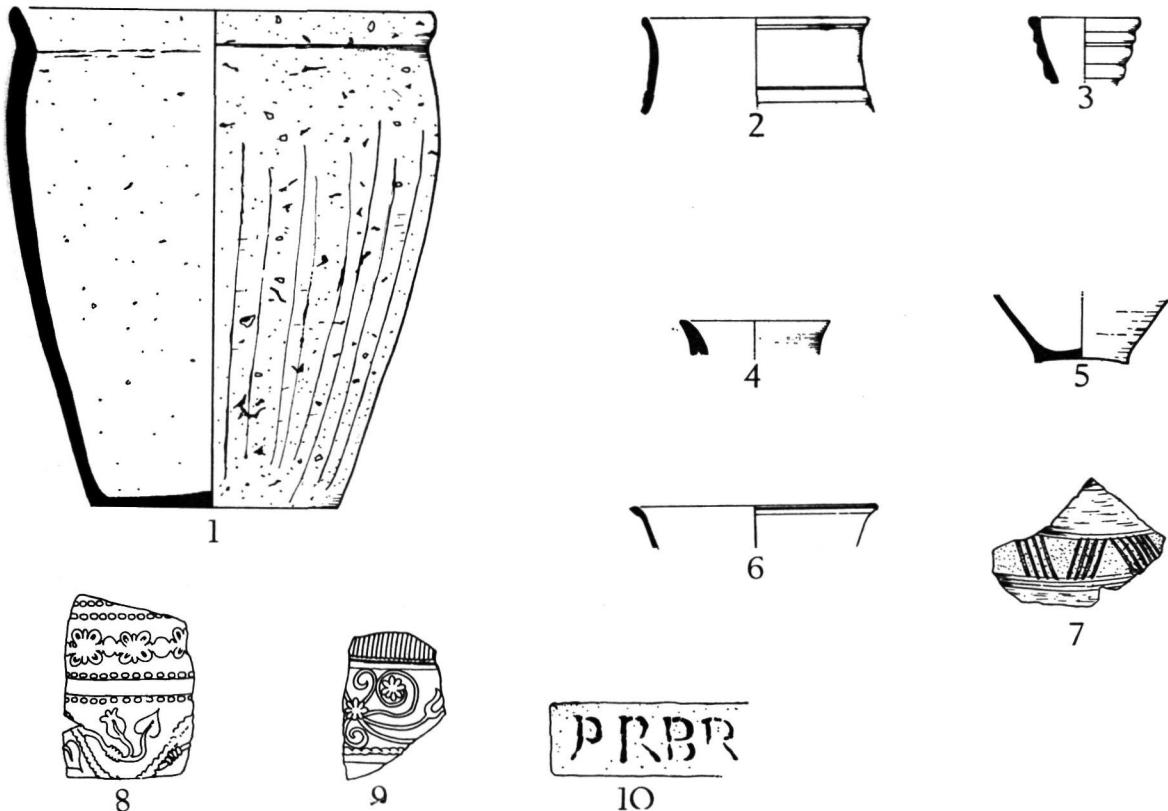


Fig. 32
Bush Lane House. Pottery Nos. 1-7 ($\frac{1}{4}$), 8-10 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

THE ROMAN POTTERY BY JOANNA BIRD

(FIG. 32)

ROOM 2, PIT 1. (NERO PROBABLY)

Bead-rim Jar

1. Dark-grey fabric, dense shell temper, patchy grey/brown surfaces. Vertical tooling marks; hand made. (Plate 8).

ROOM 8, PIT 2. (NERO OR EARLY FLAVIAN)

Belgic Beaker

2. Sandy micaceous light-brown fabric, grey surfaces.
Ring-neck Flagon
3. Coarse sandy cream fabric, red grog temper; Verulamium region.
Collar-rim Flagon
4. Coarse sandy cream fabric, yellow-cream surfaces, some brown grog temper. Verulamium region.
Flagon
5. Coarse micaceous sandy grey fabric and surfaces, pale-grey core.

ROOM 3, L. I. (NERO)

Cup with rouletted Decoration

6. Fine micaceous buff fabric.

ROOM 1, L. 5. (NERO)

Necked Jar

7. (Lacks rim). Coarse sandy pink-brown fabric, grey core; burnished diagonal decoration.

Lamp

(Not illustrated). Fragment in fine drab-cream fabric, thin orange-brown slip; probably an import from Gaul.

THE SAMIAN WARE

BY JOANNA BIRD

(FIG. 32)

8. Form 29, La Graufesenque. The half-wreath motif in the upper frieze was used by Daribitvs (K52, 21A) and by Bassus (K52, 7C), who also used the leaf (K52, 7A). There is no exact parallel for the bud, or for the rosettes in the central band, but similar motifs are common with South Gaulish potters of this period. c. A.D. 45-65 (Room 11, Layer 1).
9. Form 29, La Graufesenque. Upper frieze with scroll and rosette terminals. The broken terminal is probably the bud motif shown on a form 30 from Kempten (K19, 95G). c. A.D. 50-70. (Room 11, Layer 1).

(Not illustrated)

Form 29, La Graufesenque. The upper frieze probably contained a scroll; the lanceate leaves in the central band were common to several potters at this date. The lower frieze was apparently arranged in metopes, with groups of beaded verticals. C. A.D. 45-60. (Room 11, Layer 1).

10. Detail from stamped hypocaust tile. Tiles bearing similar stamps have been found in a late Flavian context. See also note 9.

REFERENCES

- K19; R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-sigillata*, Stuttgart (1919).
K52; R. Knorr, *Terra-sigillata – gefäße des Ersten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart (1952).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to the staff of the Guildhall Museum for their advice during the excavation and the preparation of this report, especially the Director, Mr. M. Hebditch, Mr. R. Merrifield and Mr. P. Marsden. Also to Mrs. J. Bird for doing the pottery report and to Mr. Muir of Trafalgar House for his generous co-operation. Finally, to Miss A. Gentry, of Cardiff University, for the preparation of the site and final plans.

NOTES

¹ City Sewer Plan 27. See also R.C.H.M., p. 110, Fig. 32.

² Stow, *Survey of London*, Strypes edition II. Appendix, p. 692.

³ A series of excavations was undertaken by Mr. P. R. V. Marsden, of the Guildhall Museum during the construction of Elizabeth House. The final report has not yet been published. See also Note 5 below.

⁴ R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London* (1965), Fig. 9.

⁵ R. Merrifield, *Roman London* (1969), pp. 78-81. For plan of the complex believed to be the palace of the Provincial Governor.

⁶ W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (1968), pp. 142-43.

⁷ G. Webster, *Archaeol. J.*, CXV (1958), pp. 84-87.

⁸ G. C. Dunning, "Two Fires of Roman London", *Antiq. J.*, XXV (1945), pp. 48-52.

⁹ R. Merrifield, *Roman London*, pp. 72 and 81.

¹⁰ B. Cunliffe, *The Roman Palace at Fishbourne, Excavations 1961-9*. Vol. 1.

¹¹ B. Cunliffe, *Richborough Report V* (1968), pp. 7, 10, 11, 235-37, Fig. 3 and Fig. 28.

¹² H. Schonberger, *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, XXI (1963-4), p. 95 ff.

¹³ For sitings of military horrea see G. E. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Storebuildings* (1971), pp. 1-5 and 234-36.

DISCUSSION

BY HUGH CHAPMAN AND TONY JOHNSON

The purpose of this discussion is to briefly restate the evidence for the role that London played during the early years of the Roman occupation of this country that began with the invasion in A.D. 43, and to emphasise the military origins of London.

Though the two sites described in this report do not substantially change the picture, they do provide the first archaeological evidence for early military occupation in London. This evidence may be only of a very fragmentary nature, but it does present a picture of the sort of evidence that awaits discovery, and will, as it increases, be sufficient to dispel any doubts about the military origins of the city.

Ralph Merrifield has re-affirmed Sir Mortimer Wheeler's disbelief in the existence of a pre-Roman settlement¹ on the site of Roman London. He has also demonstrated that the origin of London lies with the invasion of A.D. 43, and more particularly with the route taken by the main invasion force, its arrival at the River Thames and subsequent division into three main forces to penetrate the west, north-west and north-east of the country. The ultimate triumph of this first phase was the capture of Camulodunum, the centre of political power in the south-east, in the presence of the Emperor Claudius himself. Modern historians have described and commented upon the story of the invasion in much detail,² but the part that London played in this military operation has been consistently neglected.

It is unfortunate that the only full surviving account of the invasion and initial conquest is that of Dio Cassius who was writing in Greek from obscure sources some 150 years after the events took place.³ It is dangerous therefore to take the details of this inadequate description as implicit historical fact, though the main events must be accepted. These were: the landing on the coast, certainly at Richborough and probably also elsewhere; the march of the main force through Kent and a fierce battle at a river, usually identified as the Medway; the advance of the main force to the Thames, "at a point near where it flows into the sea and at high tide forms a pool"; a second battle, turned like the first in favour of the Romans by the use of a crack unit of Batavian troops trained to swim across rivers in full equipment;⁴ then a delay of at least 4–8 weeks while Claudius, as part of a pre-arranged plan, journeyed from Rome across Gaul by land and water to join Aulus Plautius, and the invasion force on the banks of the Thames. Dio then follows with a brief mention of a river being crossed and another battle against the British being fought, before the ensuing capture of Colchester.

Ralph Merrifield has shown⁵ that the place where the invasion force fought the battle across the Thames must be where the Roman city later stood, and has suggested that Dio's reference to part of the force crossing by a bridge during this battle need not refer to a pre-Roman structure but simply to a military pontoon bridge built by the legions.⁶ He has also suggested that Aulus Plautius occupied the thousands of troops during the long delay before the arrival of Claudius by building a more substantial bridge over the river. The reference by Dio to a river crossing and a further battle after the arrival of the Emperor is at variance with the brief account in Suetonius⁷ and the official statement recorded on Claudius' triumphal arch in Rome,⁸ and cannot be relied upon. It is unlikely at any rate, to refer to the Thames, which by this time had been crossed and presumably occupied on both banks, and must, if the story is accepted, refer to another river between London and Colchester, either the Lea or perhaps the Chelmer nearer Colchester. In Dio's account the capture of this city immediately follows the description of this second battle and is included in the same sentence.

It would be surprising if such extensive operations by so large a military force had not left traceable archaeological evidence on both the north and south banks of the River Thames. In the past such archaeological evidence has not been discovered for two reasons. Much archaeology in the City has been of a rescue nature and has not provided suitable conditions for the recording of the sort of insubstantial evidence that characterises early military occupation. Also the sheer physical difficulty of excavating upwards of 5 metres of deposits resulting from nearly two thousand years of active occupation and deposition of rubbish has meant that the structurally more substantial Roman levels have received a disproportionate share of attention. Until more evidence than has been presented in this report has been found, it is only possible to speculate on the form and extent that early military fortifications in London may have taken.

The exact position of any bridge at this or any later period is a much debated topic,⁹ but the skill of the Roman engineers in choosing an area where a hard spit of sand on the south bank broke through the marshes to the water-front has been demonstrated in a recent paper by Peter Marsden.¹⁰ Bridge-head defences on both the north and south banks are likely to have existed,¹¹ as such an important communications link is unlikely to have been left without close defences in an area which was still essentially enemy territory. The two hills on the north bank on which the city later developed are also obvious defensive positions, and the presence of a fort on the eastern one has long been mooted. No firm evidence of such a fort has been found, though it has been suggested that traces of an early (pre-Boudiccan) east-west road south of the later forum and running parallel to the river perhaps constituted the *via praetoria* of a fort.¹² Early structures of both timber and stone have also been seen in the area. The suggestion is very plausible, but it must await further evidence before confirmation. It is unlikely, however, that such a hill-top site would be the only defensive position, leaving as it does a force cut off from the all-important river. It is worth suggesting, as either an alternative or additional site, that there may have been a fort on the river bank, upstream of the bridge, using the Walbrook to guard its western flank and the river itself on the south. It is tempting to think that the position of the Flavian Palace, a large official building, in this area has some earlier significance.

Graham Webster has published some of the military equipment from London,¹³ though a recent assessment of the collections of the Guildhall, London and British Museums shows that there is clearly very much more material to be added to this list, both in terms of objects directly connected with military use, and material which may possibly have military connections and associations. It is equally clear that not all this material belongs to the first century A.D., and some of it is demonstrably later. The find spots of the individual pieces appear at the moment to have no great significance as the majority of them come from the River Walbrook or its feeders.

Both this material and the epigraphical evidence of seven military tombstones and other dedications by military personnel from the city¹⁴ add considerably to a large body of evidence that suggests that London had a continuous military presence after A.D. 43. Following the initial conquest, its position as the hub of the Roman road system on the bank of a wide navigable waterway that linked Britain with the Rhine and the military zones in the northwest of the Empire, was an obvious place to develop and maintain a military supply base. Seventeen years after the invasion at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion, troops were still stationed in London. Tacitus¹⁵ tells us that the procurator Catus Decianus, who was almost certainly operating from London,¹⁶ sent 200 men to the defence of Colchester, before he

himself fled to the continent, and we are also told that Suetonius Paulinus on arriving in London considered defending the site. Tacitus says that he decided against such a course of action, not because the city was devoid of troops, but because there were apparently an insufficient number to make such a stand. Between A.D. 43 and A.D. 60, therefore, a military unit of no great size, but able to maintain a supply base, existed in London. By the early years of the second century A.D. with the building of the five hectare Cripplegate fort,¹⁷ the military force stationed in London, whatever its purpose at that time,¹⁸ was firmly established in the north-west corner of the city, making a situation unique amongst the Roman towns of south Britain.

There is therefore sufficient evidence to suggest that London had a continuous military presence of various strengths and characters from the time of the invasion to at least the end of the occupation of the Cripplegate fort. By far the most important period, however, was during the invasion itself when the site of London played a vital role in the Roman invasion of Britain. The building of a bridge across the river and the establishment of a military base on the north bank provided both the origin and impetus for a town that was to become the capital of the country. To say that the military origins of London are obvious from its position alone is to beg the question, but it nevertheless remains the truth.

* * * * *

Finally, the two sites in this report do show that such an early military occupation does exist in London and that even sites which at first seem unpromising because of destruction of the archaeological levels by deep modern cellars, are worth investigating. In a sense the archaeologist is positively helped by such deep cellars, in that he is automatically taken down to the early strata. The recovery of early military levels holds exciting possibilities for London archaeology in the future, but it must be stressed that their very nature ensures that they can only be recorded and interpreted if controlled modern excavating techniques are employed.

NOTES

- ¹ R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London* (1965), p. 29.
- ² For example, Graham Webster and D. R. Dudley, *The Roman Conquest of Britain* (1965), and S. Frere, *Britannia* (1967), p. 61ff.
- ³ Dio Cassius LX 19–22.
- ⁴ M. W. C. Hassall, "Batavians and the Roman Conquest of Britain", *Britannia* 1 (1970), p. 131.
- ⁵ R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–35.
- ⁶ For such a bridge depicted on Trajan's Column, see I. A. Richmond, "Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column", *Pap. Brit. School at Rome*, 13 (1935), p. 5 and Fig. 1.
- ⁷ Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 17.
- ⁸ C.I.L. VI 920 (=Dessau 216).
- ⁹ R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117. Also see M. Honeybourne, "The Pre-Norman Bridge of London" in *Studies in London History* (1969), p. 17ff.
- ¹⁰ P. Marsden, "Report on Recent Excavations at Southwark", *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 23 (1971), p. 21.
- ¹¹ For an example of a Roman bridgehead defence on Trajan's Column, see I. A. Richmond, *op. cit.*, p. 32 and Fig. 13.
- ¹² For the road see R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–9. For the suggestion that it relates to the road of a fort, see R. Merrifield in N. Pevsner, *The Cities of London and Westminster* 1 (1973 edition), p. 26; also W. Rodwell, *Roman London, Its Roads and the Antonine Itinerary*, pp. 17–19, unpublished undergraduate thesis, Institute of Archaeology, London (1972).
- ¹³ Graham Webster, "The Roman Military Advance under Ostorius Scapula", *Archaeol. J.* CXV (1958), p. 84. For the dagger from Cophthall Court see B. W. Spencer, "Two additions to the London Museum", *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 20 (1961), p. 214.
- ¹⁴ R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 1 (1965), p. 1ff; also of course the military tombstone from the Camomile St. bastion, R. Merrifield, *op. cit.*, plate 95.
- ¹⁵ Tacitus, *Annals* XIV 32.
- ¹⁶ D. Dudley and Graham Webster, *The Rebellion of Boudicca* (1962), p. 61, and S. Frere, *Britannia* (1967), pp. 88–90.
- ¹⁷ W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (1968), p. 17ff.
- ¹⁸ For a suggestion that it housed *equites* and *pedites singulares* of the Governor's body guard see M. W. C. Hassall, "Roman Soldiers in Roman London" in *Archaeological Theory and Practice*, ed. D. E. Strong (forthcoming); papers presented to Professor W. F. Grimes.

THE EXCAVATION OF A SECTION ACROSS ALDERSGATE STREET, CITY OF LONDON, 1972

BY JEREMY HASLAM

SUMMARY:

The recording of a standing section across Aldersgate Street, left by the contractors during building work for the new Museum of London, provided evidence for a build-up of street levels from the Roman to the late Medieval period; these are described in detail below. The front and back walls of the cellar of a fourteenth-century house fronting onto Aldersgate Street, as well as some of its internal floor levels, were also observed in section and recorded.

INTRODUCTION.

In March 1972, contractors' work on the site of the Rotunda of the new Museum of London left a large hole which penetrated well into the natural London Clay.¹ This excavation took away a length of about 50 metres of the east half of Aldersgate Street, one of the main roads leading directly from a gate in the City Wall, in consequence leaving a standing

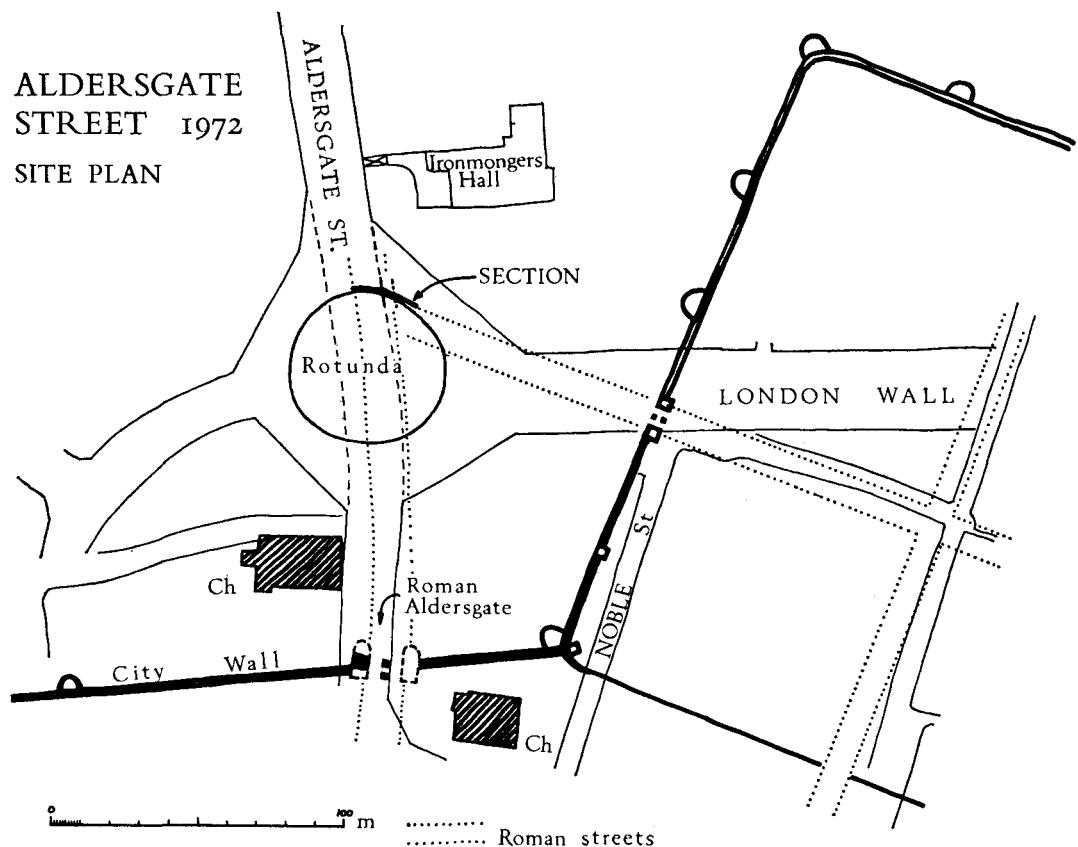


Fig. 1. Aldersgate Street Site Plan

section across part of the street on the north edge of the site, as well as across some of the medieval sub-cellars deposits on its east side. The exact position of this excavation is shown on the plan, Fig. 1, and the complete section shown in Plate 1. There was no opportunity to records the equivalent deposits on the south edge of the contractors' excavation.

The limited amount of excavation of these deposits which circumstances allowed was enough, however, to reveal a virtually undisturbed sequence of Roman and Medieval road surfaces and layers under the modern street, built up from the top of the natural brickearth to a height of over 2 m. These layers, comprising the eastern half of the width of the modern street, were traceable horizontally for a distance of 7·5 m., from the nineteenth-century brick foundations on the east, to a deep modern concrete-enclosed sewer along the middle of the road to the west. The western half of the street was unfortunately not exposed in the contractors' excavations. The sequence of street levels was somewhat cut into by other service trenches excavated at different times, but these were fortunately not deep enough to disturb the lowest layers of the road make-up.

To the east of the line of the street, and underneath the floors of the nineteenth century cellars, the excavations left a standing section across the front (west) and back (east) walls of the cellar, dateable on ceramic evidence to the early or middle part of the fourteenth century, of one of the houses fronting onto the eastern side of Aldersgate Street. As will be shown below, this is of considerable interest in showing the position at this period of a substantial stone-built house in relation to the roadway, as well as the depth of the cellar floor from a road level which strong evidence suggests is contemporary.

DESCRIPTION OF LAYERS AND FEATURES

(Layer and feature numbers are marked on the section, Fig. 2. Inset paragraphs after the layer numbers below represent interpretation and comments.)

INTRODUCTION:

The various layers underneath the line of Aldersgate Street represent a fairly typical series of superimposed layers of silt, earth and gravel, dating from the Roman to the later Medieval periods. It has been found elsewhere² that one of the characteristic features of streets, at least of the Medieval period, which have been subjected to long periods of use lies in the alternation of layers of more or less hard-packed gravel or stones laid down as new road surfaces, and layers of soft silt and earth (usually containing much household rubbish) representing a casual build-up of material thrown onto the roadway from the houses on either side, or accumulated through the action of rainwash and the passage of numerous carts along over and through the roadway.³ Roman roadways, however, appear to have been cleaner and probably more frequently re-surfaced.⁴

LAYER

49. The earliest feature on the site; a deep round-bottomed pit or gully, to the W. of the section, with homogeneous fill of the same material as the "ploughsoil", l.29, but with an admixture of a small proportion of gravel, bones and Roman building tile.

It was not possible in the short space of time available to draw any conclusions as to the nature or date of this feature, except to say that it was overlain by a thick layer (l.29) of ploughsoil—which suggests an early Roman date.

- (29a. Modern disturbance caused by a horizontal tunnel for a small drain or sewer.)

29. Light grey-brown friable clay with charcoal specks throughout, and homogeneous in composition. Contained several Roman pottery sherds (see below, p. 81), fragments of building tile and some bones.

The sharp break between this layer and the natural brickearth with the absence of any natural soil horizons, and the presence of pottery and tile at all levels, would suggest that this soil has been extensively ploughed at some period.

28. Gully cut into ploughsoil l.29. Homogeneous fill of mud and gravel mixed with fragmented pink wall plaster, bricks, some bones and a few sherds of pottery.

It was unfortunately only possible to excavate this feature for a length of under half a metre, but even so it appeared that the longitudinal axis of this feature was approximately parallel to the road —*i.e.* N.—S.

Above the level of the ploughsoil the various road layers have been cut roughly into two halves by the combined effects of the Medieval pit or gully, layers 36 and 37, and the modern service trenches features 3, 4 and 5, with the consequent interruption in the horizontal stratigraphy between the east and west edges of the section. The two vertical sequences so formed have therefore been numbered separately, from layers 48 to 30 on the west, and from layers 27 to 1 on the east.

48. Compacted layer of gravel, small stones and a little crushed brick, with several large flattened rag-stone cobbles very smoothed on the upper surfaces; laid directly onto the ploughsoil.

This layer was obviously a deliberate spread to form a roadway, the worn cobbles showing considerable use. It extended E. as l.27, though cut by the medieval pit l.36–37. However, for a primary road leading directly out of the City via Aldersgate, its composition appeared remarkably insubstantial, although it showed a considerable degree of compaction.

47. Compacted gravel, overlying l.48.

Probably continuous with layers 23 and/or 25, and possibly representing a later Roman road layer. Cut into or obliterated by activity associated with l.46.

46. Dark muddy earth with a little gravel and bones, in part overlying l.47, and for the rest overlying l.48; no dating evidence.

45. Compacted gravel and large and small stones.

Deliberate spread of gravel forming a road surface; possibly continuous with layers 21 to 26, and could be said to be either the last of the Roman or the first of the Medieval road levels.

44. Mud and earth.

43. Thin compacted gravel, though forming a well-defined road surface.

Possibly equivalent to the road surface formed by l.15, and therefore probably late thirteenth century in date (see below).

42. Localised layer of compacted large and small gravel.

Forming a minor road surface, possibly formerly continuous with l.13, and cut into by l.41.

41. Dark gravelly mud and earth.

40. Black sandy mud, with a few sherds of pottery (see below p. 83 and Fig. 3), bones and oysters, with black charcoaly mud and sand at the bottom.

39. Thick deposit of homogenous black slightly sandy silt.

Layers 40 and 39 represent the fill of a deep pit or gully which has cut well into the natural brick earth, in or along what was presumably more or less the centre of the Medieval roadway. It was only observed in section and could not be excavated along any of its length, but its position and shape, as well as the composition of its filling, suggests that it was a water-worn gully running along the length of the road and acting as some sort of central drainage ditch. Its origins could either have been natural—possibly being an enlargement by storm water flow of a series of deep cart ruts—or else dug deliberately with this function in mind. The section to the east of the roadway shows that there were no lateral drainage gutters at any time during the Medieval period. The few ceramic finds from the bottom, l.40, indicate a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date.

When this gully was blocked a new road surface, l.38, was spread over it.



Plate 1. Section across Aldersgate Street and Medieval Cellar

38. Thick layer of compressed muddy gravel, forming a well-defined compacted road surface.
This was probably continuous with l.11, another well-defined surface. From both these layers was cut another probable gully represented by layers 37 and 36.
37. Soft dark sand with domestic refuse and a little gravel.
36. Soft black sandy mud and earth, with lenses of mud and gravel, and a little domestic refuse, including animal bones and shells, and a number of pottery sherds (described below, p. 83 and drawn in Fig. 3).
Layers 37 and 36 fill another gully with probably the same function and origin as that to the W. in the middle of the road. The dateable finds from l.36 indicate a date of filling in the early part of the fourteenth century. It is somewhat later than the western gully, being cut on the W. from the road make-up which sealed the earlier gully. Its eastern lip was just observed on the E. edge of the service trench F.5 to have been cutting l.11, which makes this layer equivalent to and contemporary with l.38. At some stage the gully became blocked with silt, and was covered with a fresh spread of gravel, l.35.
35. Compacted dirty gravel, appearing on both sides of service trench F.3, and merging horizontally to the W. with l.34.
34. Black earth and gravel, overlying l.38.
33. Localised layer of dirty mixed earth and gravel, merging to the W. with the upper part of l.34.
32. Thick spread of dirty gravel with well-defined surface of compacted large gravel stones, and becoming cleaner towards the E. Appeared also between service trenches 3 and 4.
Possibly equivalent stratigraphically with the road surface represented by l.5, another well-defined surface. Dateable by inference possibly to the mid or late fourteenth century.
31. Dirty earth and gravel. Also appeared between service trenches 3 and 4.
30. Thick layer of very highly compacted yellow sandy gravel.
Possibly equivalent to l.3 to the E. Any used road surface, for which this layer was the make-up, had been cut away by modern disturbances. Possibly late fourteenth or fifteenth century in date.

EASTERN HALF OF THE SECTION

All levels on the east edge of the road have been truncated by the cutting made for the brick wall which formed the nineteenth-century frontage of the street. This extended well into natural, and as is shown on the section (Fig. 2) rests on the base of the cellar wall of the Medieval stone house. The upper levels were disturbed by a modern coal chute. To the west, in the middle of the available section, these levels have been truncated by the fourteenth-century gully (layers 36 and 37) and by the service trenches. It will be seen that there are rather more road levels remaining in the section towards the edge of the road than in the middle—the result both of the greater frequency of casual spreading of gravel immediately outside the house fronts, as well as the greater disturbance caused by carts nearer the road centre.

27. Compacted layer of gravel, smoothed stones, crushed tile, similar in every respect to the first Roman layer 48. Like l.28 it is laid directly upon the ploughsoil l.29, and is laid directly over the filling of the Roman gully l.28. Forms a very hard packed road surface.
26. Thin spread of dark sticky earth and mud.
25. Thin compacted gravel.
24. Dark earth and mud.
23. Compacted gravel.
22. Dark earth, with a few bones and oysters; overlying l.23, and continuing as the filling of a possible cart rut cut through layers 23 to 26 and into l.27.
21. Compacted large and small gravel.
Possibly equivalent to l.45. The three road levels represented by layers 21, 23 and 25, together with layers 47 and possibly 45, are the only ones it would be legitimate to consider as being the later Roman successors to the first surface (layers 48/27), for which a date in the third century is argued (see below).

20. Compact dark mud and earth with some gravel, with bones and oysters; grades upwards into 1.19.
19. Compact dirty earth and gravel.
18. Small pit cut into earlier layers, with filling of soft earth and a little gravel, with some bones, oysters, roof tile and ceramics.
The ceramic material can be dated to probably the middle or late thirteenth century (see below, and Fig. 3). Layers 19 and 20 are all that remain therefore of any deposits accumulated between the end of the Roman period and the thirteenth century.
17. Spread of gravel and stones, with a compacted flattened surface. Grades into 1.15 westwards, and directly seals the pit 1.18.
16. Local spread of dirty mud.
15. Thin but well-compacted layer of gravel, forming a good road surface.
Possibly equivalent to 1.43, and probably late thirteenth-century in date.
- 14 and 13. Thin spreads of gravel overlying 1.15, and cut into by activity associated with 1.12.
12. Muddy earth with a little gravel, and small lens of clay.
11. Compacted layer of large and small gravel and stones, with well-marked flattened surface.
This road level is cut into immediately to the E. of the service trench F.5 by the lip of the early fourteenth-century gully 1.36/37, and therefore itself of the same date. This date is also supported by the probable association of 1.10—below. Probably equivalent to 1.38.
10. Local spread of creamy yellow mortar with a little gravel and small chips of stone, becoming thicker to the E., and laid directly on the road level 1.11.
In all probability this represents the debris thrown onto the street during the construction of the stone house fronting at this point onto the E. side of the street, the bottom of the cellar walls of which remained under the modern cellar floors (see descriptions below). The colour and texture of the mortar in this layer appeared to be the same as that bonding the stones of the wall F.8. Unfortunately the whole section was destroyed before samples of these mortars were taken. If this is the construction level of the stone house—for which a date in the fourteenth century is suggested below—then it both indicates the level from which this structure was built, and also provides the only archaeological link between the build-up of the street surfaces and the construction of the medieval cellar and its associated layers. It is possible to estimate the depth of the cellar from the contemporary street level to its floor as being 2.40 metres.
9. Dirty clay and mud, with a little gravel.
8. Dirty yellow coarse gravel, grading W. into 1.5.
7. Thin dirty mud.
6. Local spread of thin compacted gravel.
5. Thick hard yellow gravel, with well-marked flattened surface. Probably equivalent to 1.32.
4. Dirty mud and earth.
3. Compacted yellow gravel and stones.
2. Mortary gravel.
1. Yellow sandy gravel.
Equivalent, at least in date, to 1.30.

CONCLUSIONS:

The road levels and other deposits described above, form a relatively undisturbed record of activity on the road in both the Roman and Medieval periods. One remarkable result of the recording of this section was the support given to the conclusions drawn from observations on contractors' workings on the site of Aldersgate itself in 1939.⁵ The Roman gateway was then observed to have been inserted into the City Wall, and Aldersgate—and therefore possibly the Roman Aldersgate Street itself—cannot be earlier than the third century.

The pottery from the ploughsoil, 1.29, from the Roman gully, 1.28, and from the road make-up itself, ls.27 and 48, was rather mixed in date, and its evidence is therefore by no means equivocal. The latest dateable finds, however, were not earlier than the late second century. Moreover, the absence of any appreciable build-up of superimposed road metal-lining during the Roman period also suggests that the roadway under Aldersgate Street was both late in date, and of rather lesser importance than would have been, for instance, those leading from Aldgate, Bishopsgate or Newgate.⁶

Another major point of interest shown by this section lies in the virtual absence of any sign of deposition of either silt or gravel during the period from (presumably) the end of the Roman period until the twelfth or thirteenth century. The only layers which seem to suggest any activity during this period are layers 19 and 20, and possibly 45 and 46, though no dating evidence was obtained from any of them. Aldersgate Street must have always been a comparatively minor thoroughfare, and Aldersgate itself a comparatively minor gateway in the City Wall—although there is no evidence to suggest that it remained unused for any length of time. On the one hand, if the Roman street out of Aldersgate had become completely abandoned during the early (or indeed later) Saxon period, it would have seemed reasonable to have expected a fairly thick deposit of probably black wind-blown or rain-washed soil, on which vegetation would have grown, or else some signs of squatters' huts and occupation debris. Frequent use of the road during this period, on the other hand, would have resulted in the deposition of layers of more or less similar composition to those laid down during the Medieval period. The absence of either sorts of deposits between the certain Roman and Medieval levels would suggest, therefore, a continued though infrequent use of the road leading out of Aldersgate during the Saxon period—a deduction which, if taken to its logical conclusion, would have implications which the evidence of this one small section ought not to be made to bear alone.

No excavations have been carried out along either side of Aldersgate Street outside the walls, or even much relevant documentary research. It is therefore not possible to know the extent of occupation of this area during the Saxon or early Medieval periods, or indeed for the later Medieval period on which documentary sources should be able to throw at least some light. The archaeological evidence from this road section argues, however, for the construction and use of Aldersgate Street as a road—albeit a rather minor one—during at least the later part of the Roman period on what had probably been open ground. Nothing was observed to enable any connection to be made between this road and that which must have led from the west gate of the Fort, and which was observed to have been blocked at some point—it has been suggested at the same time as Aldersgate was inserted into the City Wall.⁷ From the thirteenth century onwards the evidence suggests that increasing use was made of the old Roman road, which had probably never been entirely abandoned, with gullies cut along the road during the fourteenth century, and with more and more attention paid to the surfacing of the road during the later Medieval period.

At this point, however, it should be stressed that considerably more information could have been obtained concerning this overall historical picture if the successive deposits under a length of this roadway could have been stripped off horizontally layer by layer, each observed in plan as well as in section. There were various problematical features in the section which could have been considerably clarified had they been seen in plan. It is to be hoped that with the destruction of so many of the streets and lanes of Roman and Medieval London, some attention will be paid to the examination of lengths of, as well as sections

across, their various constituent layers. Even if this is not possible, however, it must be clear that the careful archaeological investigation, even in section, of the deposits underneath the modern streets can provide more information for the history and topography of an area over a long period than can almost any other type of site in a heavily built-up area.⁸

THE MEDIEVAL CELLAR.

As has been mentioned above, to the east of the line of Aldersgate Street the contractors' excavations cut through the back and front walls, and the internal deposits, of a Cellar, sealed underneath the modern cellar floor. This was dateable on ceramic evidence to the early part of the fourteenth century. The section across these features which was left as a result of the contractors' work was somewhat oblique to the line at right-angles to both walls. Allowance has been made for this on the plan (Fig. 1), but the section (Fig. 2) is drawn out as observed. Again it was only possible to observe these features in section.

Immediately underneath the nineteenth century brick wall (f.7) on the east edge of Aldersgate Street the stump of the west wall of the Medieval cellar was preserved (f.8). This had been cut through the natural brickearth into the underlying sand and gravel and rested on the compacted infilling of probably a construction trench (l.60). It was built of chalk blocks, with a sandy yellow mortar, and of similar build to the east wall (f.11).

LAYER

- 60. Packed yellow-grey gravel and clay.
- 59. Infilling of a pit or trench in the middle of the cellar; homogenous mixed brown clay and gravel. One sherd of a Surrey ware jug of the early or mid fourteenth century found at the very bottom.
The function of this excavation is somewhat uncertain. It lay exactly in the middle of the cellar, its sides were clean-cut, and its fill was not that of a domestic rubbish pit. A mine for sand and gravel might be suggested. Its fill was overlain directly by the clay floor l.57.
- 58. Localised layer of mortar and gravel abutting against the interior of the E. cellar wall F.9, and directly overlying the natural sand.
Possibly the construction level of this wall.
- 57-50. Floor deposits in the interior of the cellar.
- 57. Thin layer of packed stiff brown clay.
- 56. Mortar and stone chippings, abutting against inner face of W. cellar wall, F.8, and overlying l.57.
- 55. Localised layer of ash and earth.
- 54. Grey mortar, earth and gravel, with some fragments of roof tile.
- 53. Brown earth and gravel.
- 52. Thick layer of black gravelly earth with much charcoal, and frequent specks of oxidised and decayed copper waste. A fragment of crucible, and a sherd of a Raeren stoneware mug were also recovered from this layer.
This deposit probably represents the debris from the workshop of a bronze or copper smith; the sherd of Raeren stoneware (not drawn, below) puts the date of this most probably in the late fifteenth or the first half of the sixteenth century.
- 51. Compact brown earth.
- 50. Floor of orange-brown sandy clay.
- 61-63. Layers of cess pit.
- 63. Brown earth and cess, large stones and some bones and pottery sherds of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. (See Fig. 3)
- 62. Brown cess, with some complete and fragmentary bricks of fifteen-century type (retained, see below).
- 61. Plaster, bricks and earth.

During the contractors' excavations the back wall of the Cellar was observed by one of the machine operators to have extended some way to the south. This has been indicated on the plan (Fig. 1).

The date of the construction of this Cellar can be put to the early or middle part of the fourteenth century on the evidence of two sherds of pottery, one (p. 84 below) in the bottom of the pit 1.59, the other (p. 84 below) sealed immediately underneath the first clay floor 1.57. The position of the probable construction level of the building of this Cellar, overlying an early fourteenth-century road level, also suggests a date at this period. Its period of use extended well into the sixteenth century. All the archaeological levels later than this had been destroyed by the modern cellar floor; and all the occupation levels earlier than the fourteenth century had of course been destroyed by the construction of this Cellar.

The archaeological evidence therefore points to the existence of a fairly substantial building fronting onto Aldersgate Street, which was probably stone-built up to the level of the first floor, and with a timber-framed upper storey or storeys. It is very much to be hoped that further research on the documentation of the area will produce more evidence of a similar nature.

THE FINDS.⁹

All finds are illustrated in Fig. 3, to which numbers in the text refer.

ROMAN.

Several sherds of Roman pottery and building tile were recovered from layers 27, 28 and 29. Although rather fragmentary, as well as being somewhat mixed, they help to date these Roman layers as being probably not earlier than the later second century. Considering the derived nature of most, if not all, of this material, this dating is not inconsistent with a suggested date in the third century for the probable insertion of Aldersgate into the City Wall, and the consequent laying down of Aldersgate Street itself.

LAYER 29 (PLOUGHSOIL)

Body sherd of Samian, Drag. 37, dated to c. 150–180 (No. 1).

Large fragment of building tile.

Small fragment of roller-stamped tile.

LAYER 28 (FILL OF GULLY)

4 sherds Samian: Drag. 37, base;

Drag. 18/31, body sherd;

Ritt. 12, rim;

Curle 11, body sherd.

Also sherds of Verulamium ware, South Spanish amphora, a mortarium (rim), and one sherd of a vessel in fine off-white sandy fabric (?neck of a beaker), and three fragments of wall tile.

A terminal date of c. 150–160 is suggested for these finds.

LAYER 27 (FIRST ROAD MAKE-UP)

Body sherds of Verulamium ware;

One body sherd of mortarium, probably from Colchester or N. Kent, c. 55–80.

Three fragments of wall tile.

MEDIEVAL.

Three groups of medieval pottery provide valuable dating evidence for the post-Roman road levels. These are the groups from the two gullies, layers 39/40 and 36/37, and from the small pit on the east of the section, 1.18. Two sherds of pottery from the Cellar (layers 57 and 59) also provide a chronological link between the road layers and the building of the house fronting onto the street.

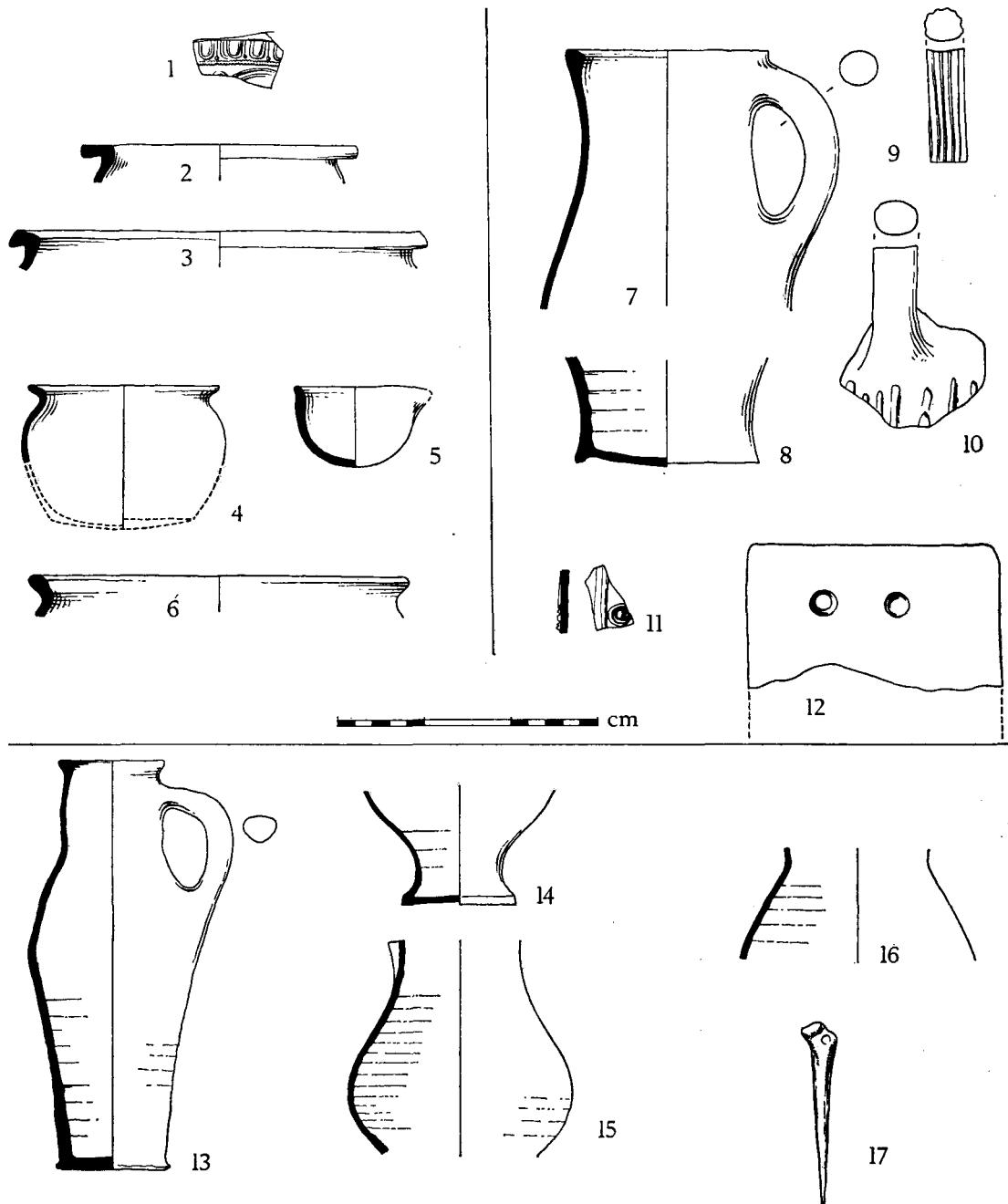


Fig. 3
Pottery from Aldersgate Street (4)

LAYER 18

Eight small body sherds from 1 jug; fine red-brown sandy fabric with grey core, with traces of thin lead glaze on exterior; one sherd showing a painted stripe of red iron-rich slip.

Cooking pots (Nos. 2 and 3). Several small sherds of shell-tempered ware, dark grey or brown, of which one flanged rim is illustrated, No. 2.

Four sherds of "hard Medieval grey ware",¹⁰ one (No. 3) a squared rim, the other decorated with slight wavy combing on the exterior. Also several fragments of Roman wall tiles, one small fragment of Medieval roofing tile, a few animal bones, oyster shells and a winkle.

Dateable to the middle of the thirteenth century.

LAYER 12

One small body sherd of a jug, brick-red sandy fabric with dark grey core, with yellow glaze over a thick white slip on the exterior.

Two sherds cooking pots, sandy grey ware.

Six fragments roofing tile, one with brown glaze on upper surface.

Probably late thirteenth-early fourteenth century; statigraphically contemporary with the filling of the W. gully, Layers 39/40.

LAYER 9 (No. 6)

Three small sherds of decorated jug (not drawn): (i) body sherd of Surrey-ware jug, off-white to pale grey sandy fabric w. tempering of rounded white quartz sand, w. decoration of vertical applied strips w. a rouletted pattern, and covering of green glaze. (ii) base of handle of jug, grey to grey-brown fine sandy fabric w. green glaze over a white slip on exterior. (iii) body sherd, grey sandy fabric w. brown interior surface, w. yellow green glaze over a white slip on exterior.

Rim sherd of "hard Medieval grey ware", No. 6.

Dateable to the early fourteenth century.

LAYERS 39 AND 40 (WESTERN GULLY). (Nos. 4-5)

Two very small body sherds of decorated jugs: (i) brick-red sandy w. decoration of part of an applied strip and small spots of applied white slip, w. over-all yellow glaze. (ii) dark grey-brown sandy fabric w. part of an applied strip of white slip, w. over-all yellow-brown glaze.

Cooking pots. Two body sherds and one rim, "hard Medieval grey ware". The rim sherd illustrated (No. 4) can be compared directly to the smaller example of this type in Hurst's report.¹¹

Crucible, No. 5. Part of small vessel, creamy-buff fine sandy fabric, w. tempering of rounded white quartz sand, unglazed.

Also present: 10 fragments of tile, one with a round hole, and some glazed on one surface; several animal bones and oyster shells.

LAYERS 36/37 (EASTERN GULLY). (Nos. 7-12)

7. Part of neck and handle of jug; pale pinkish-buff sandy fabric (Surrey ware), with tempering of small rounded pink and white quartz sand. Speckled green glaze over most of exterior. Rounded rod handle.

8. Base of large jug, w. pronounced foot-ring; reddish-brown fine sandy micaceous fabric w. grey core, and patches of white slip on the exterior.

9. Part of rod handle of jug; fine untempered off-white fabric w. thick dark green glaze over exterior. Handle markedly ridged on outer side.

10. Bottom part of handle of jug; pale pinkish-buff fine sandy fabric, with tempering of small rounded red quartz sand; glazed green on the exterior, with decoration probably of alternating vertical applied strips of white slip and rows of applied scales. Lower handle attachment made by pressing against a finger on the interior of pot.

11. Sherd of decorated jug; reddish-brown sandy fabric, with covering of white slip, and a pellet of white clay stamped in the form of an eye.

Not drawn: small body sherds of nine other separate jugs, all standard London types of the period, of which only one is Surrey ware. Of the other eight, all are of reddish-brown to grey-brown sandy fabric, and all except one with green glaze over a white slip over the exterior. One vessel has thin vertical lines of painted white slip, another is probably of "London Baluster" type.¹² Cooking pots: eight small body sherds, of which five are of "hard Medieval grey ware".

Tiles: 12 fragments of roofing tiles, one illustrated (No. 12) having two round peg holes, one not going right through the thickness of the tile. Thickness: 1.5 cm.

Also present: a small number of animal bones and oyster shells, and two fragments of coarse gritted white wall plaster.

Dateable to the early fourteenth century.

LAYER 63 (CESS PIT TO E. OF CELLAR). (Nos. 13-17)

13. Tall biconical jug; pale buff slightly sandy fabric, with small bib of yellow-green glaze on shoulder. Made at Cheam.¹³

14. Bottom part of "Tudor green" pedestal cup; fine off-white fabric with a little fine sand tempering; lustrous holly-green glaze on interior only.

15. Large sherd of jug; off-white to buff slightly sandy fabric, w. pale turquoise-blue tin glaze on both interior and exterior; shows part of a simple pulled spout, and originally had a handle; base missing. Mediterranean origin.

16. Sherd of shoulder of biconical Cheam-type jug with bib of speckled green glaze.

Also two other sherds of off-white to buff sandy Surrey-ware vessels.

17. Part of a bone cut to form a pointed implement, possibly connected with weaving.

Dateable to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

LAYER 59 (VERY BOTTOM OF PIT UNDER CELLAR). Not drawn.

One sherd of Surrey-ware jug with moulded decoration; off-white to pale buff sandy fabric with tempering of small rounded red and white quartz sand, w. dark green glaze on exterior. Part of press-moulded decoration in the form, probably, of a wheat sheaf. Probably early to mid-fourteenth century.

LAYER 57. Not drawn.

Another very small sherd of similar type to that from 1.59.

NOTES

¹ The excavation was carried out by the writer on behalf of the Guildhall Museum, where the finds and site records are now lodged.

I am particularly grateful to the Contractors, Messrs. G. E. Wallis and Sons Ltd., for unhindered access to the site at all times; and to Ralph Merrifield and Hugh Chapman for their help in the subsequent interpretation of the site.

² Streets are now being excavated in a number of towns, but see in particular published sections across Saxon and Medieval Streets in Oxford and Winchester—in T. G. Hassall, "Excavation in Oxford, 1970 (3rd Interim report)", *Oxoniana XXXVI* (1971), 8-9; and M. Biddle, "Excavations at Winchester (3rd Interim report)", *Antiquaries Journal*, XLV pt. II (1965), 242-3.

³ Graphically illustrated by various contemporary documentary references to the bad state of streets. See an "Order . . . for the Repair of the Roads" of 1356 (from H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London Life*, p. 291): ". . . all the folks who bring victuals and wares by carts and horses to the City, do make grevious complaint that they incur great damage, and are oftentimes in peril of losing what they bring, and sometimes do lose it, because that the roads without the Gates of the City are so torn up, and the pavement so broken, as may be seen by the by all persons on view thereof . . ." See also on the condition of Medieval roads and streets: H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England*, 128-136; and E. L. Sabine, "City cleaning in Medieval London", *Speculum*, XII (1937), 33-34.

⁴ R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London* (1965), 133 ff.

⁵ The results of these excavations are recorded in MS notes, with plans and sections) deposited in the Guildhall Museum, and are briefly summarised in R. Merrifield, *ibid.*, pp. 102 and 319.

⁶ See R. Merrifield *ibid.*, pp. 113-130, for general discussion of Roman streets in London.

⁷ See reference in Note 5.

⁸ See also J. Haslam "Medieval Streets in London", *The London Archaeologist*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1972), 3-8.

⁹ I am especially grateful to Mrs. Joanna Bird for help given on the identification of the Roman material. Comments on the Medieval material are by the writer.

¹⁰ J. G. Hurst, "The Kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex", *Medieval Archaeology* V (1961), 267 where this type of ware is given a general date range of 1225 to 1325.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 268, Fig. 70, No. 1.

¹² London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue*, 216, No. 5.

¹³ *Surrey Archaeological Collections XXXV* (1924), 79; and *XLVII* (1949), 99.

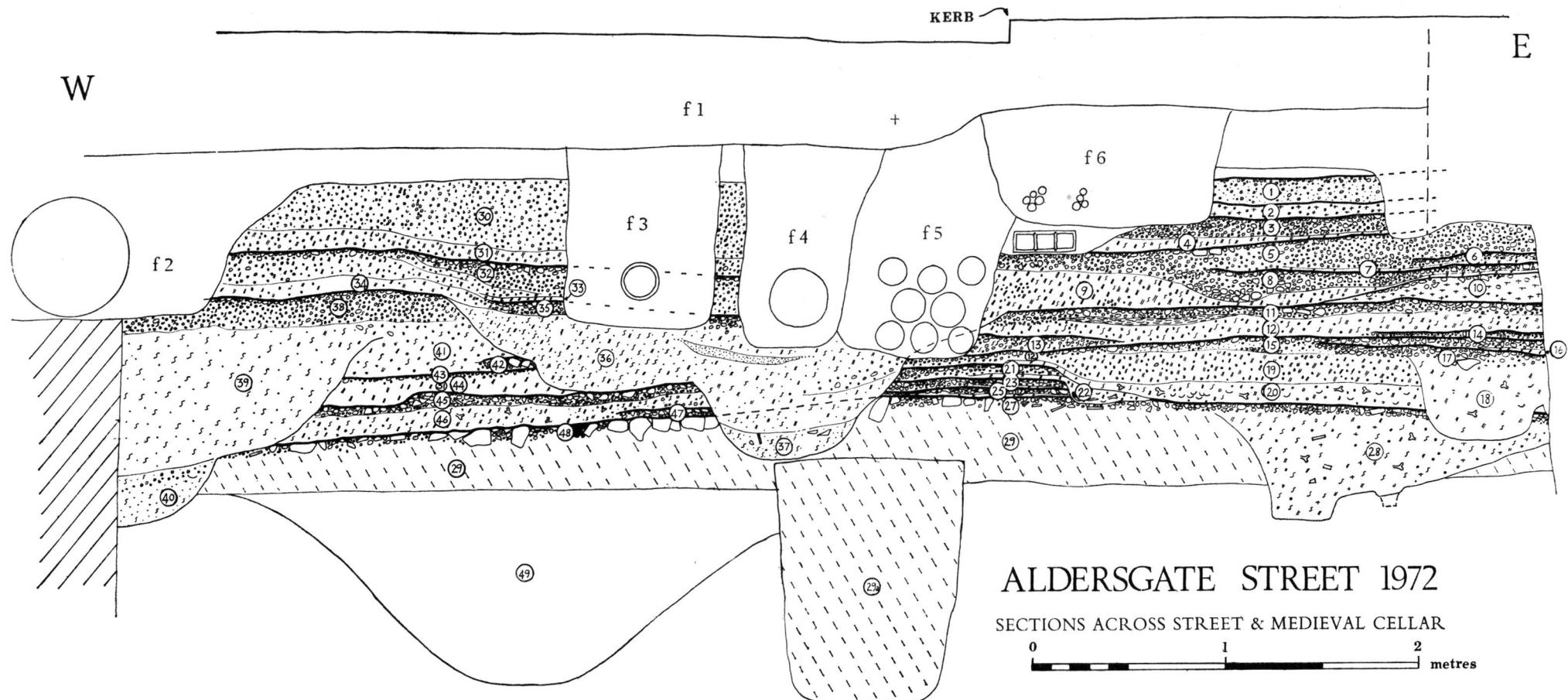


Fig. 2 Sections across Aldersgate Street and Medieval Cellar

EXCAVATIONS ON FIELD NO. 157, BROCKLEY HILL (SULLONIACAE?) MIDDLESEX

FEBRUARY—AUGUST 1968

BY STEPHEN A. CASTLE AND JOHN H. WARBIS

The site (N.G.R. TQ: 174942) comprised the field to the south of Wood Lane on the west side of modern Watling Street and fairly near to the Roman kiln sites excavated from 1937 onwards.¹ Excavation was undertaken as a matter of urgency in view of the extensive tipping taking place.

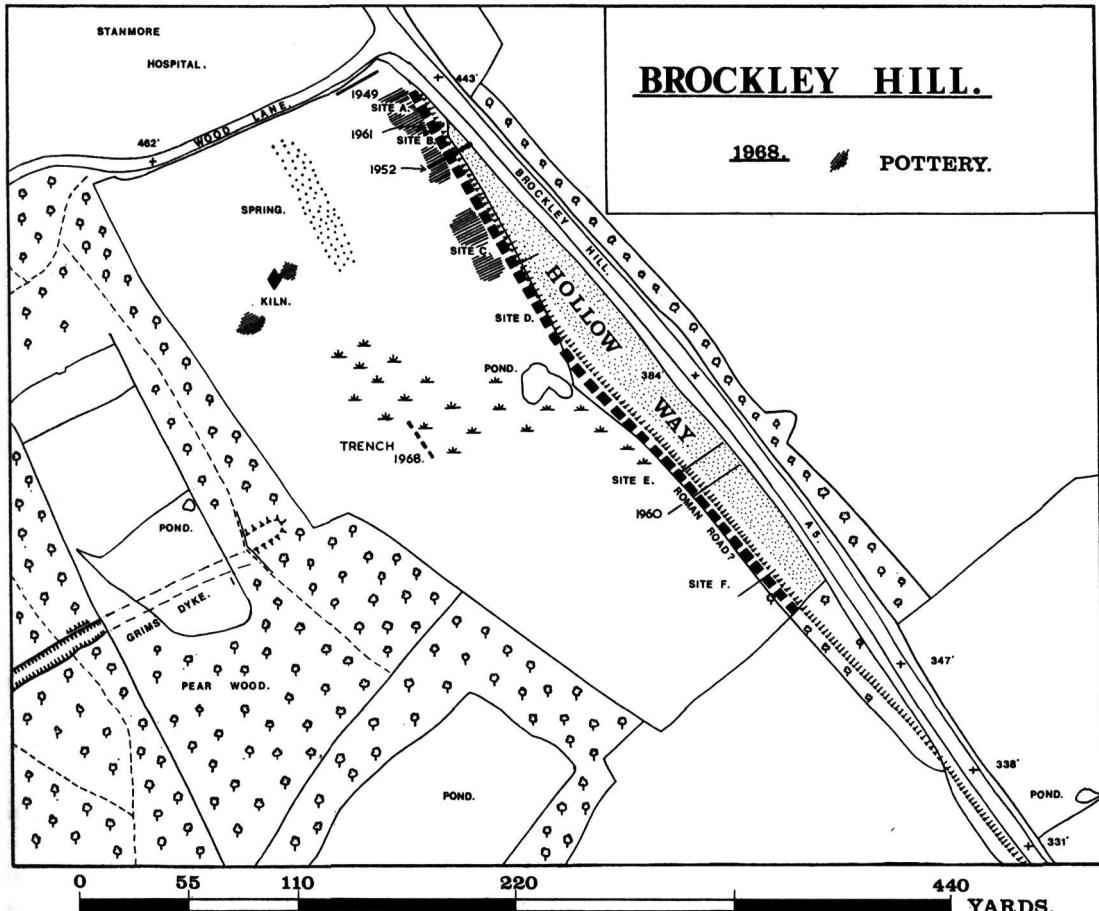


Fig. I

Plan of sites excavated in 1968, showing the hollow way and, west of this, the alignment of the Roman(?) road. The hatching represents concentrated scatters of pottery and other artifacts. (Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown Copyright reserved.)

SITE A (FIG. I).

A scatter of Roman pottery was revealed in the north-east corner of the field adjacent to the hollow which runs parallel with modern Watling Street the entire length of the field.

Unfortunately the continued tipping of soil encroached on this area before it could be fully excavated but the potsherds recovered ranged in date from first to late second century.

SITE B (FIG. 2).

Immediately to the south, trenching (T I-3, 6-8), revealed a U-shaped gully of Flavian date, at least 55 ft in length, sloping from east to west. The brown silt infill of the gully contained a considerable quantity of pottery of the early Flavian period, including much native ware (Fig. 5, 2-5). Two notable finds were an infant's feeding bottle (Fig. 5, 7), and a fragment of sandstone masonry. The gully, as suggested by evidence to the south, may have joined the west ditch of Roman Watling Street, which appears to have been 20 ft to the east. The presence of the bulldozer's spoilheap prevented its excavation.

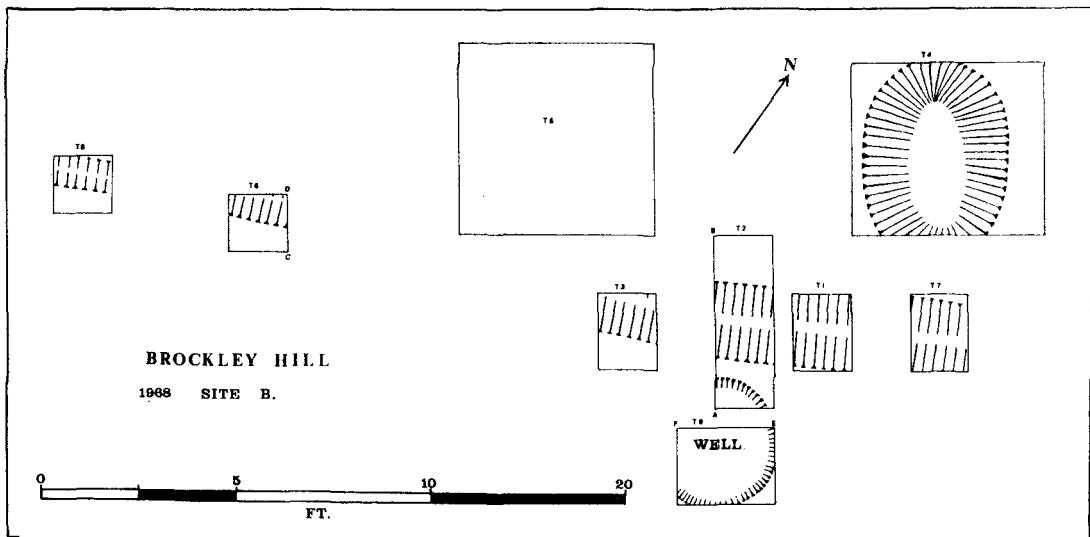


Fig. 2
Plan of Site B

Dug partly into the upcast of the gully on the south side was the top of a well-shaft approximately 7 ft in diameter. Owing to the restriction on time and the presence of a rising water-table it could be excavated only to a depth of 3 ft 6 ins. Finds from the three layers excavated within it are datable to c. A.D. 120-250 (Fig. 5, 14-23). Finds from the loam sealing layer include a sestertius of Hadrian, a dupondius of Faustina II, and sherds of colour-coated ware, roll-rimmed pie dishes (Fig. 5, 14-15), and a folded beaker, all non-local types. Both of the coins were badly worn, indicating lengthy circulation. Judging by coin hoard evidence, for example that from Alcester, 1967, badly worn coins of Hadrian and even Trajan, were in use as late as the reign of Postumus, A.D. 259-267.² This suggests a date contemporary with those proposed by Mr. B. R. Hartley, for some of the colour-coated sherds from the same layer. The sealing layer is probably a domestic rubbish deposit, no earlier than the third century.

Immediately north-east of the gully and well was a small oval clay pit (T4), with infill consisting of brown clay silt, potters' clay and charcoal. Finds from this layer, which include a samian platter Dr. 15/17, a flagon neck (Fig. 5, 13) and a child's bronze bracelet (Fig. 8, 1), appear to be contemporary with those from the gully.

Covering the whole of this area was a layer of pebbly-brown loam containing a considerable quantity of second- and third-century pottery. Other finds included a bronze brooch spring (Fig. 8, 2) and dupondii of Trajan and Commodus.

SITE C (FIG. 3).

A small gully aligned north-west to south-east ran for a distance of 17 ft and then deviated to the south-west for a distance of 10 ft where it ended (T10-13). Castor ware in the silt infill dates it to the third century or later. There was additionally a large quantity of first-century native ware (Fig. 5, 24-6).

Immediately south-east of the gully was a vertical sided pit (T19). Its grey silt infill contained pottery of Claudian to early Flavian type (Fig. 5, 27-29), including native ware of Belgic type. Two notable finds were a brooch and a bronze figure of a dog (Fig. 8, 3-4).

A scatter of gravel (T21) observed south of the pit was found to be a trackway 7 ft 6 ins wide with gravel metalling 1 ft thick, of two phases. On the east side, part of a ditch-like feature was excavated, the west lip of which was aligned north-west to south-east. The trackway continued for a distance of 15 ft to the south-west at which point a pit had been dug across its path. Its infill consisted of brown silt with charcoal containing a considerable quantity of first-century native ware (Fig. 5, 30-9), and the base of a fourth-century Castor ware beaker (Fig. 5, 40).

The brown loam above the pit contained four folles of Constantine I, c. A.D. 315-17, which had corroded into a roll. The metalling of the trackway could not be traced to the south-west. Dug across the infill of the pit was a small gully, apparently to drain an area to the north.

WATLING STREET (FIGS. 1, 3 AND 9).

A trench (Fig. 3, T34), 290 ft south of Wood Lane, revealed part of what appears to be the metalling of Roman Watling Street, consisting of rammed gravel with clay and fragments of Roman tile. This was $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide and 9 ins thick and on the east side was a ditch 4 ft 6 ins wide and 1 ft 8 ins deep containing a small quantity of fourth-century pottery (Fig. 5, 41-3). A trench (T22), 360 ft south of Wood Lane, intersected a V-shaped ditch 2 ft wide and 1 ft 2 ins deep containing a layer of grey silt. Contemporary with it, and to the east was a ditch 10 ft 3 ins wide and 1 ft 8 ins deep; trenches T23-25 showed it to be at least 50 ft long. Its lowest level of grey silt contained fragments of Roman tile (T22) and flagon neck 45, of first century date (T23). East of the ditch was the road metalling which consisted of a clay bank 9 ins thick capped with rammed gravel 13 ft wide by 6 in thick. Farther east two ditches were exposed, one 5 ft 6 ins wide and 2 ft 3 ins deep, the other 4 ft 9 ins wide and 2 ft deep. The presence of medieval pottery at a depth of 1 ft and a loose scatter of gravel above the metalling and west ditches suggests robbing. A trench (T33), a few feet to the north, where the junction of the road and trackway would have been revealed part of a trench 3 ft 6 ins deep, near the bottom of which was a sherd of late medieval pottery. On Site D (Fig. 1), no trace of any features was found as this area was badly disturbed by ploughing and clay digging.

SITE E (FIG. 1).

A trench 716 ft south of Wood Lane, was cut, 75 ft long across the full width of the hollow running beside the modern road and a bank to the west. From west to east it revealed a ditch-like feature, the full width of which was not excavated due to flooding.

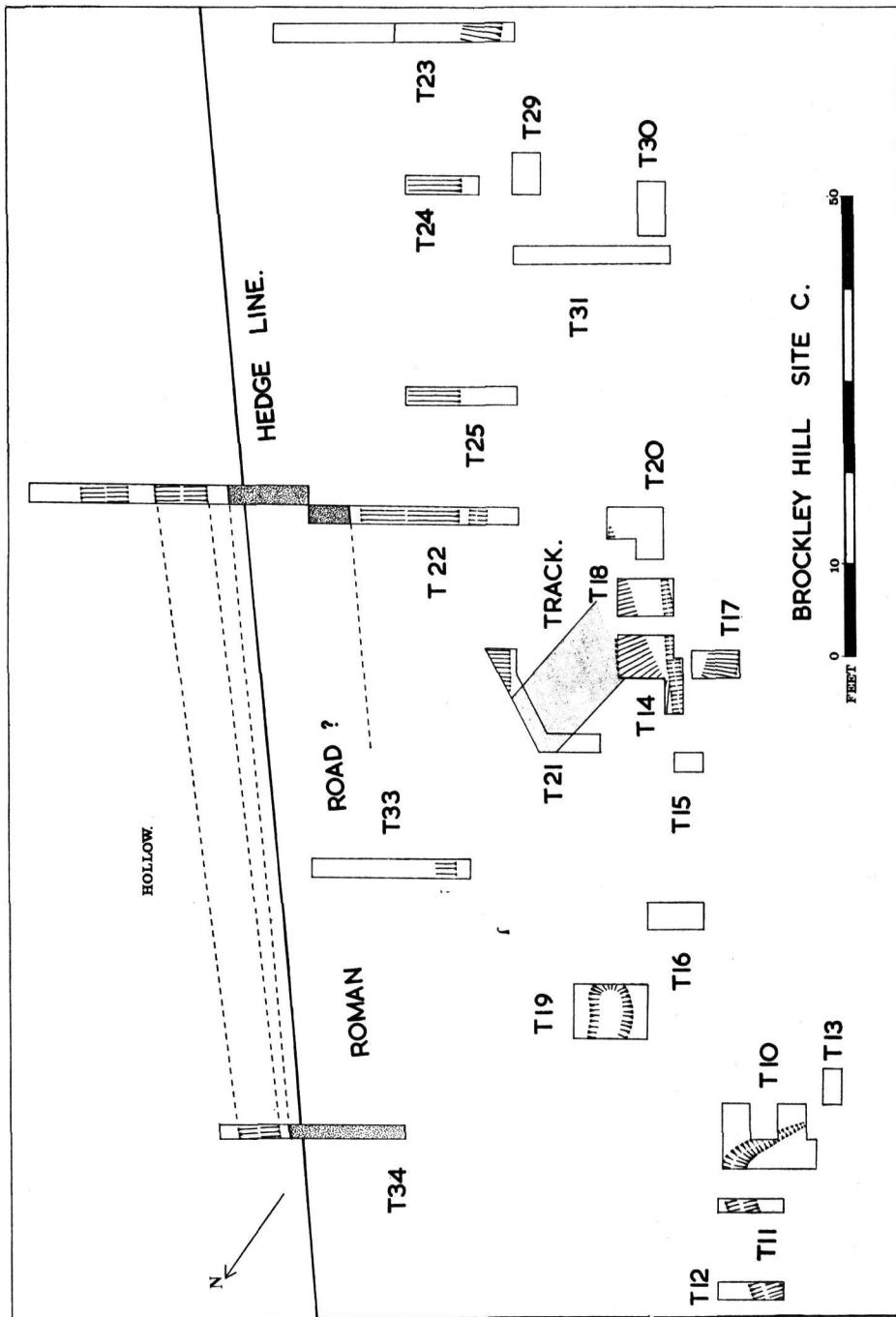


Fig. 3
Plan of Site C

It was, however, 2 ft 3 ins deep, the infill being grey silt with charcoal containing sherds of first-century pottery. At 21 ft 9 ins was the lip of a W-shaped ditch 10 ft wide, with both parts 1 ft 6 ins deep. The western part contained a rim of samian ware (South Gaulish, first century). Bordering the west lip of the ditch was a layer of rammed gravel 4 ft 6 ins wide by 9 ins thick, some of which had washed down into it. This and a spread of rammed gravel further to the west appears to be all that remained of the Roman road. East of the W-shaped ditch, in the hollow, yet another ditch was exposed, 6 ft 8 ins wide and 2 ft 2 ins deep, partially recut. The recut is contemporary with a layer of rammed gravel with clay (metalling of the hollow way) at least 30 ft wide and in places 1 ft 6 ins thick, the surface of which was firm and well compacted.

SITE F (FIG. 1).

At 256 ft south of Site E, 80 ft north of the southern field boundary, a trench was cut across part of the hollow and the bank. This revealed from west to east, a layer of charcoal containing sherds of second-century coarse-ware. The eastern edge of this layer bordered a ditch 6 ft 6 ins wide and 2 ft 3 ins deep. Contained in its silt infill was a sherd of first-century native ware. East of this ditch was a bank of dirty clay 25 ft wide and 1 ft 3 ins thick. Resting on this at the eastern end was a layer of rammed gravel 1 ft thick by 12 ft 8 ins wide, the surface of which was well compacted. The western edge of this layer of gravel was vertical, having the appearance of being damaged by ploughing; this metalling, however, represents the continuation of presumed Roman Watling Street. East of the gravel was another ditch 5 ft 6 ins wide and 1 ft 6 ins deep. A recut of this was made at a later date, contemporary with a portion of metalling 7 ft 6 ins wide and 6 ins thick, representing the continuation of the road in the hollow at Site C.

DISCUSSION ON THE ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL ROADS (FIGS. 1 AND 9).

If the road on the clay bank is Roman Watling Street, the variation in its width over a distance of 250 yards is considerable. At Site C, the width between side ditches was 13 ft, at Site E 22 ft, and Site F 25 ft, clearly indicating that the road became wider as it descended the hill. This may be a reflection on the problem of road construction in the countryside: near Verulamium, for example, the metalling of Watling Street was consistent and substantial.³ Repairs to its metalling at Brockley Hill, throughout the period of Roman occupation, may have been limited to the filling in of ruts and resurfacing. The narrowness of the road at Site C (13 ft) need occasion no surprise, for the metalling of the earliest phase of Watling Street at Verulamium, was only 10 ft wide.⁴

North of the hospital on the west side of modern Watling Street the Roman and medieval roads converge, the two being partly covered by the modern road.⁵

Roman Watling Street was apparently still in use in the twelfth century. Thereafter it ceased to be the main route from London to the north which ran through Barnet.⁶

The full width of the hollow way is not known as it may partly underlie the present road. A quantity of eighteenth-century material found beside the metalling, on the bank of the hollow points to it being in use in that century. Fragments of peg hole roof tile were found in the metalling. Gravel removed from Roman Watling Street was probably used for the construction of this road. This hollow road was closed when the present road came into use in c. 1800. A field map of 1827 by F. H. Bumball, a cartographer of St. Albans, shows the hollow, marked as marginal land, to the west of the present road. He illustrated on the west side of the hollow a row of evenly spaced trees which appear to be the same

trees as were there until recently. They were felled when tipping began in the hollow, and examination of the tree-rings showed them to have been about 200 years old. They ran along the top of what has presumed to have been the Roman road.

Later observations in the field during 1968–69 after stripping of topsoil in this area, showed a large portion of the metalled hollow way, about 100 ft long, and gravel on the line of the suggested Roman road, between Sites E and F.

THE KILN SITE (FIGS. 1 AND 4).

At 300 ft west of the well on Site B an immense quantity of pottery was revealed, much of which had been crushed by the bulldozer.

Excavation revealed an oval-shaped structure resembling a kiln, built of tile rubble and yellow clay. At the south-west end was an opening 10 ins wide, perhaps intended to be a flue entrance. However, the absence of burning and of a stoke-hole indicate that this structure was not completed. The presence of grey clay within it suggests that it may have been used as a puddling hole for the preparation of clay before use on the wheel.

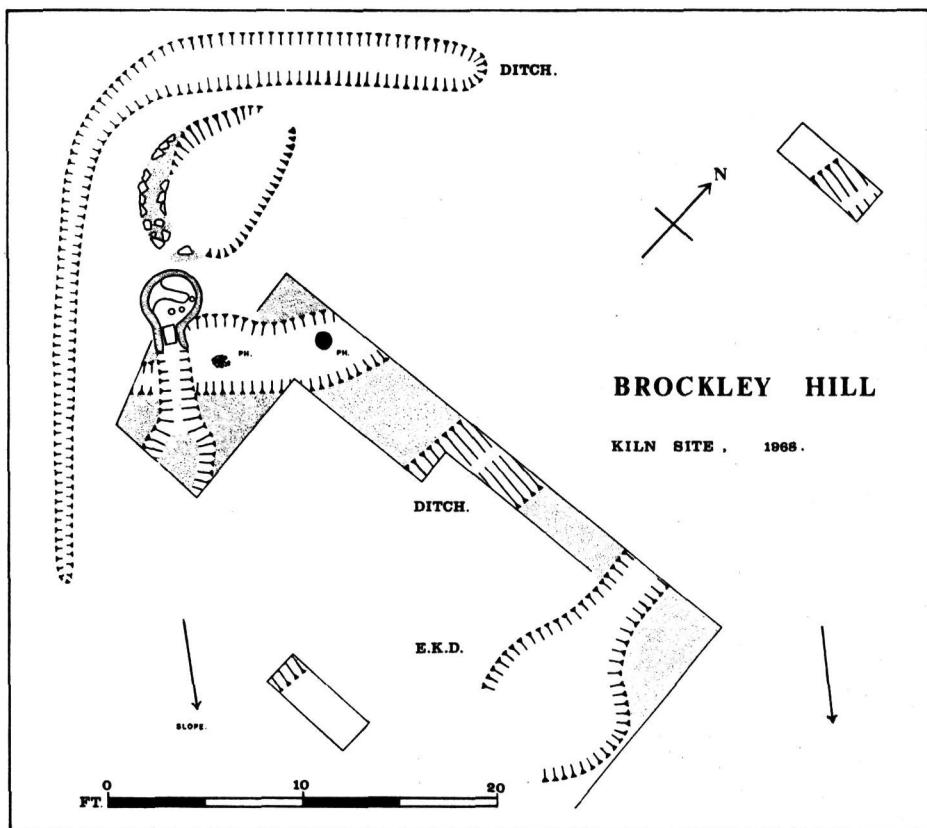


Fig. 4
Plan of kiln site

South of this structure and of earlier date was a pottery kiln of normal "up-draught type" 3 ft 6 ins in diameter with walls 5 ins thick and 1 ft 2 ins high built of tile rubble fused with burnt clay daub and a few potsherds (67, 87 and P4). Adjoining to the south was the flue entrance which was 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins wide and 1 ft 5 ins long, the floor being a fragment of bonding tile 9 ins by 1 ft 3 ins. The pedestal in the furnace was 1 ft 9 ins by 6 ins wide, projecting from the west wall, leaving a gap of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins between its end and the east wall. It supported the floor (not complete) which was 2 ins thick, built of burnt clay daub, into which were pierced the ventilation holes, three of which remained. In view of the position of the pedestal, the raking of ash and soot from under the furnace floor between firings of this kiln must have been a difficult task.

The furnace and flue were constructed in a pit dug into the natural yellow clay to a depth of 1 ft. It is evident from the severe burning on the walls and the floor that the kiln had been used. It was fired from the south-east by a stoke-hole at least 7 ft 6 ins long and 1 ft 10 ins wide. At 3 ft 6 ins south of the flue entrance it widened to 3 ft 9 ins and 1 ft 2 ins deep, where the floor was lined with trodden pebbles. The narrower part of the stoke-hole contained an accumulation of charcoal containing pottery assignable to c. A.D. 70-120 (Fig. 6, 89-108). Below the charcoal was an infill of grey silt, in places 6 ins thick, indicating either that the kiln was not used immediately after construction or that it went out of use temporarily. Contained in this infill were native ware sherds, an amphora and a wide-mouthed jar (Fig. 6, 85).

West and north of the kiln and the structure to the north was a ditch L-shaped in plan, contemporary with the kiln. It was dug to drain the water running downhill from the north, which would otherwise have flooded the kiln working area. Its infill consisted of an undifferentiated mass of potters' clay and charcoal crammed with several hundredweights of sherds. A number of these are wasters (Fig. 6, 47, 53, 57-58, 62 and 67) some almost complete vessels together with samian and a surprising quantity of glass (G2-16, not illustrated).

The pottery as a whole dates from c. A.D. 70-130. Included were sherds of amphorae, mortaria (Fig. 7, 114-16, M3, M6, M12 and M18), pinch-mouthed flagons, flanged bowls (Fig. 6, 53), reed-rimmed bowls (Fig. 6, 48-52), ring-necked flagons (Fig. 6, 55-58), cordon-jars (Fig. 6, 68-73) and tazzas (incense cups). See the pottery report.

Underlying the ditch was a layer of grey silt containing pottery of first century date (Fig. 6, 46).

The stoke-hole of the kiln was dug across an earlier ditch in which was a layer of potters' clay. At the bottom were two puddling holes 1 ft deep; the east hole contained a flagon neck (Fig. 6, 86). East of this was an earlier ditch containing an infill of grey silt. It was aligned north to south. Farther east was an irregularly shaped ditch containing a considerable quantity of sherds, similar to those from the ditch west of the kiln, though a sherd of a rough-cast beaker possibly of Antonine date was present. These sherds seem also to represent kiln waste.

CONCLUSIONS.

Observations have confirmed that the linear earthwork, Grim's Dyke,⁷ does not encroach on the area of the field, but apparently ends at the eastern edge of Pear Wood. The presence of marsh-like conditions to the east, in the central area of the field probably made it unnecessary for it to be continued farther.

Native ware was widespread on Sites A, B and C, though nowhere was it found in a purely native context, being in most cases intermingled with Roman wares in early Flavian deposits. It is clear, therefore, that native folk were living in this area at least by the early Flavian period. Good communications to markets, the abundance of timber (beech, hazel, maple and oak), good clay and the attractions of a possible posting station, led to large-scale pottery manufacture. Although the 1968 excavation provided no evidence of pottery manufacture prior to c. A.D. 70, earlier kilns may await discovery elsewhere at Brockley Hill. Native ware vessels were widely used until they were superseded during the Flavian period by the abundance of good quality Roman wares such as were produced at the kiln site.

The gully on Site B may have formed an occupation boundary. It is regretted that adequate excavation was not permitted in the area to the north.

The kiln was ideally situated near a spring. A scatter of pottery was revealed south-west of the kiln, but this area was covered before excavation could take place. It seems likely, therefore, that other kilns lay nearby. Evidence from this area as a whole indicates pottery manufacture in the Flavian to Trajanic period, about contemporary with the kiln and associated pits excavated in 1947 and 1952 on the east side of modern Watling Street. No evidence was found in 1968 to suggest pottery manufacture appreciably later than c. A.D. 120. It is, however, clear that pottery was being produced in the Hadrianic to Antonine period, at the kilns north of the hospital.

The problem of identifying a civil settlement, and, indeed a posting station,⁸ if they existed at Brockley Hill, still remains, though it is possible that their remains lie north of Wood Lane, perhaps under the hospital, on the top of the hill where conditions would have been drier.

This was the last opportunity of examining this field, since, due to the immense quantity of soil and rubble dumped here, in places 15–20 ft thick, future excavation will be impracticable.

DATING EVIDENCE I: THE COINS

SITE B (All badly worn).

1. Loam above gully. Ae dupondius of Trajan A.D. 98–117, *B.M.C.* 934.
2. Sealing layer of well. Ae sestertius of Hadrian A.D. 117–138.
3. Ae dupondius of Faustina II A.D. 146–175. *B.M.C.* Marcus Aurelius 981.
4. Loam above pit. Ae dupondius of Commodus A.D. 177–192. Not in British Museum, but type as *B.M.C.* 1530 (sestertius).

SITE C. Loam above pit.

The following four folles had been in contact long enough to corrode into a roll and therefore were possibly the contents of a purse or cloth bag now decomposed:

Constantine I, A.D. 307–337. Soli invicto comiti, type.

5. R.I.C. Trier 102, A.D. 316.
6. Fragmentary, c. A.D. 317.
7. Obv. CONSTANTINVS PF AVG, head right.
Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. London, c. A.D. 316.
8. Fragmentary. Obv. illegible, London, A.D. 315–16.

DATING EVIDENCE II: THE POTTERY

SITES A-C (Fig. 5).

Native ware, of Belgic and earlier Iron Age type was widespread on Sites A, B and C, and in view of the associated Roman wares is assignable to the early Flavian period. The later pottery, c. A.D. 160-350, is domestic and includes a number of types not local to the London and Verulamium region, especially from the well (e.g. 14-15, and the colour-coated ware).

SITE A. BULLDOZERS SPOIL HEAP (Fig. 1).

Native ware:

1. Everted-rimmed jar in black gritty ware. Cf. Camulodunum form 249d, first century.

SITE B. GULLY, LAYER 2 (FIG. 2).

Samian ware: A few tiny fragments of South Gaulish ware, first century.

Native ware:

2. Burnished jar in black gritty ware. Cf. B.H. 1950, 212, 48.
3. Bead rim jar in grey gritty ware. Hand made and probably finished on a wheel. Cf. Park Street, 83, 2, Claudian.
4. Platter in reddish-brown sandy ware with burnished surface. Cf. Camulodunum 5b.

Roman ware:

6. Bead rim jar in light grey sandy ware.
7. Infant's feeding bottle in pinkish-orange ware with smooth exterior, one nipple, and a single handle springing from just below the rim. Cf. May 1930, p. 253, 327 and p. 285, grave 2g, Claudian.

The pottery in this layer is of early Flavian date.

LOAM ABOVE GULLY AND PIT.

Samian ware:

- S1. South Gaulish, Dr. 29. Part of upper zone of decoration with running scroll, rosettes and lyre-shaped leaves. Style reminiscent of Coelus, cf. Knorr 1919, Taf 24d. Leaf detail Taf 23, 25, c. A.D. 70.
- S2. S.G., Dr. 30. Part of a cruciform panel with leaf motifs. Detail similar to Knorr 1919, Taf 62, 44 (Passienus), c. A.D. 55-75.

Colour-coated ware:

- C1. Sherd of folded beaker, late second or early third century.

Native ware:

8. Platter in dark brown gritty ware with smooth surface. Cf. Verulamium, 174, 12.
9. Platter in grey sandy ware with smooth surface. Cf. Camulodunum, 12.
10. Cordoned jar in greyish-black gritty-sandy ware.

The pottery in this layer dates from first to third century.

SILT INFILL OF PIT.

Samian ware:

- S3. S.G., Dr. 15/17, c. A.D. 70-80.
- S4. S.G., Dr. 15/17, stamp worn away, c. A.D. 70-80.

Native ware:

11. Jar in grey gritty ware with horizontal combing. Many sherds of vessels of this Belgic type were found on Sites B and C. Cf. Verulamium, 169, 61d.

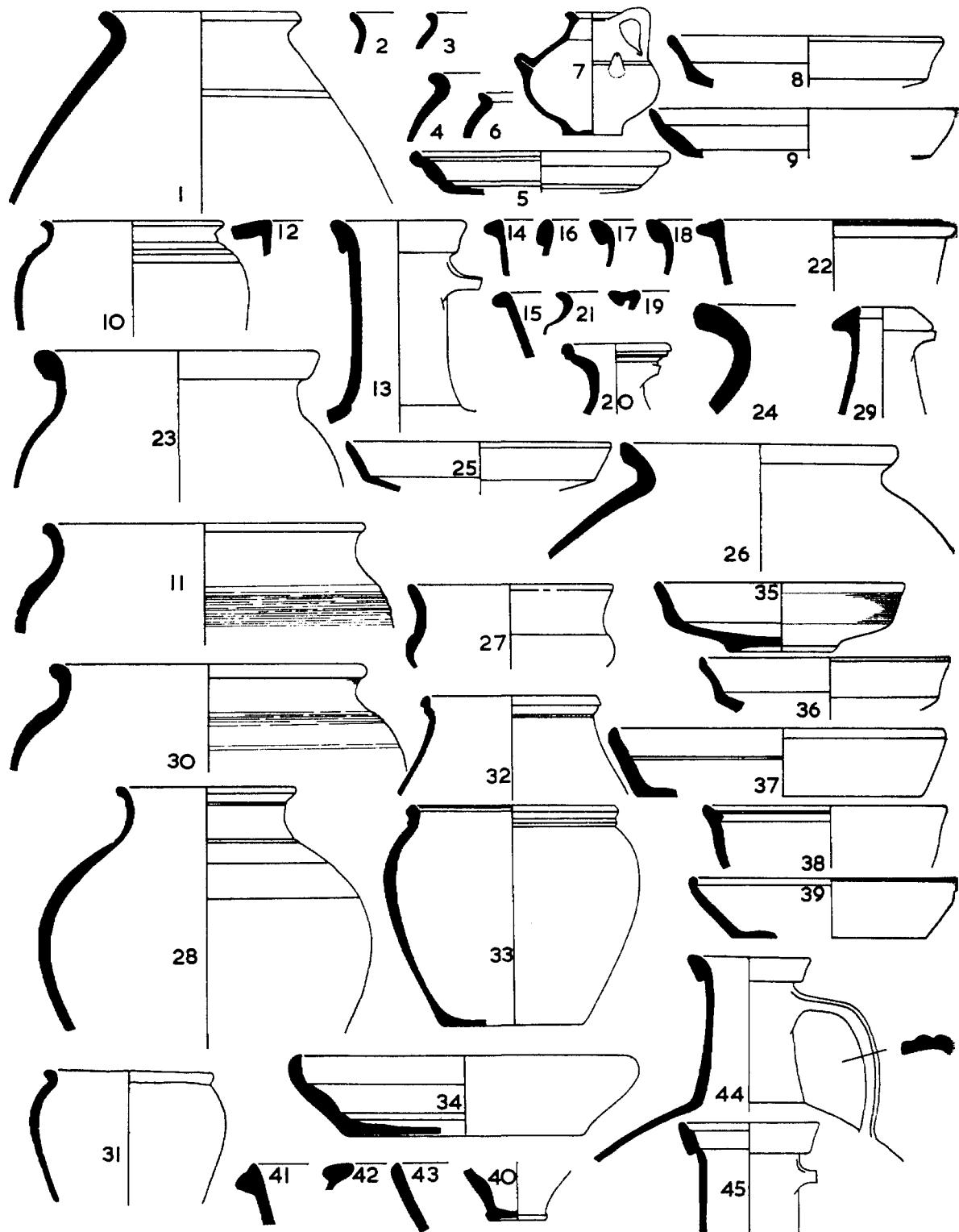


Fig. 5
Pottery from Sites A, B and C (1/4)

Roman ware:

12. Reed-rimmed bowl in light grey ware, speckled blue. Rectangular rim indicates Flavian date. B.H. 1947, 9, 12.
 13. Hofheim type, single-handled flagon in smooth hard cream ware. Cf. Camulodunum 140c, first century.
 An early Flavian date is suggested for this pit.

WELL, LAYER 1, SEALING LAYER.*Samian ware:*

- S5. Central Gaulish, Dr. 45, c. A.D. 150–200.

Colour-coated ware:

- C2. Fragments of a funnel-necked beaker, third century.
 C3. Fragment of folded beaker, c. A.D. 200–250.
 C4–5. Two small sherds, c. A.D. 200–250.

Roman ware:

- 14–15. Roll-rimmed pie dishes in black-burnished ware, non-local. Cf. Hull 1958, 23, 16 and 17, Antonine.
 16. Small beaker in buff ware. Cf. B.H. 1947, 13, 50.
 17–18. Jars in orange to buff ware, as 23.
 19. Reed-rimmed bowl in cream ware. Cf. B.H. 1947, 9, 24.
 20. Ring-necked flagon with short-expanding neck in fine-textured cream ware. Cf. Verulamium, 196, 67. A.D. 120–150.
 The pottery in this layer dates from c. A.D. 120–250.

WELL, LAYER 3.*Colour-coated ware:*

- C6. Fragment of folded beaker, c. A.D. 200–250.

Roman ware:

21. Beaker in bright orange ware.
 22. Reed-rimmed bowl in dark grey ware. Cf. Cotton 1953, 76, 19. A.D. 125–170.
 23. Jar in orange to buff ware. Cf. Corder 1941, 288, B, third century.
 This washdown layer is clearly no earlier than the third century.

SITE C (FIG. 3).**GULLY (T 10–13) SILT.***Native ware:*

24. Large roll-rim storage jar in gritty light brown ware. Cf. B.H. 1953–54, 70, N 3, first century.
 25. Platter in dark brown gritty ware.

26. Globular jar in black gritty ware. Cf. Park Street, 81, 15, first century.

Roman ware; colour-coated ware:

- C7. Fragment of funnel-necked beaker, third century.
 This gully is clearly no earlier than the third century.

PIT (T 19) SILT.*Samian ware:* All South Gaulish, c. A.D. 70–80.

- S6. Dr. 29, scroll and arrowhead in upper frieze straight gadroons in lower.

- S7. Dr. 29 bowl. S8. Dr. 15/17 platter. S9 Dr. 27 cup.

Native ware:

27. A small bowl or cup of Belgic type in dark brown gritty ware with burnished surface. Cf. Verulamium, 162, 37.
 28. Cordoned jar in black gritty ware with burnished surface. Rim form as B.H. 1952, 275, 43.

Roman ware:

29. Disc-mouthed flagon in cream ware. Cf. Camulodunum 148, Claudio-Nero.
 Also a rim of a flagon as 13.

The pottery in this layer is of early Flavian date. Mortarium, M10, of Secundus, c. A.D. 70-90, was in the soil above.

PIT (FIG. 3, T14, T17-18, T20) SILT.*Native ware:*

30. Jar with horizontal combing in brown gritty ware.
 31. Bead rim jar in gritty ware. Cf. Camulodunum, 259.
 32. Beaker in hard brown ware with burnished exterior. Cf. Welwyn, 359, 1.
 33. Cooking pot in brown gritty ware with blackened surface. Cf. Irchester, 85, 61.
 34. Platter in grey gritty ware with brown to black-burnished surface. Similar to Camulodunum 14 and 27.
 35-36. Platters with footings in dark brown gritty ware with burnished surfaces. Cf. Verulamium, 174, 12.
 37. Platter in dark brown to yellow ware with internal cordon. Cf. Camulodunum, 33, but without quarter-round moulding.
 38. Platter in brown gritty ware with black-burnished interior and recess for a lid. Cf. Camulodunum 16.
 39. Platter in hard black ware. Cf. Camulodunum 12.
Roman ware; colour-coated ware (at bottom of fill):
 40. Base of a beaker, early fourth century.

EAST ROAD DITCH (T34), GREY SILT.

41. Flanged bowl in black-burnished ware. Cf. Park Street, 86, 11, fourth century.
 42. Jar in grey ware.
 43. Bowl in greyish-blue ware with burnished surface. Fourth century.

BROWN LOAM (T27).

44. Hofheim type, single-handled flagon in hard cream ware. Cf. Camulodunum, 140c, first century.

WEST ROAD DITCH (T23).

45. Hofheim type, flagon in hard cream ware. Hofheim type flagons have been found at both Camulodunum and London in deposits of the Neronian to early Flavian period. It seems that this type had not previously been found at Brockley Hill. Similar flagons were manufactured at Kiln 26 at Camulodunum in c. A.D. 60. Hull 1963, 158-161.

POTTERY FROM THE KILN SITE (FIGS. 4, 6-7).**SILT UNDERLYING DITCH WEST OF KILN.***Roman ware:*

46. Reed-rimmed bowl in dark buff to pink ware with black slip. Cf. Camulodunum, 243/246b, Claudio-Neronian.

DITCH WEST OF THE KILN. DARK BROWN LOAM, CHARCOAL AND POTTERS' CLAY.

Samian ware:

S.G. c. A.D. 70–100.

S10. Dish, Dr. 15/17. S11. Dish, Dr. 18/31. S12. Dish, Dr. 18/31.

S13. Cup, Dr. 27, stamp worn away. S14. Dr. 35.

C.G. c. A.D. 100–130.

S15. Dr. 18. Stamp PA . . . (PATERCLINVS?). S16. Dr. 27. S17. Dr. 35.

S18. Bowl Dr. 37, Ovolo 9, unidentifiable figure. Potter (X-2) of Lezoux.

S19. Bowl Dr. 37, dolphin motif in place of Ovolo. Drusus I (X-3) Les-Martres-de-Veyre.

S20. Bowl Dr. 37, figure type O. 407. Drusus I (X-3) Les-Martres-de-Veyre.

S21–23. Fragments of three bowls Dr. 37, one with a lead rivet.

S24. Dr. 38, c. A.D. 110–310 (top of the fill).

Stamped Mortaria:

M3. Candidus, c. A.D. 90–125. M6. Doinus, c. A.D. 80–110. M12. Lallans, c. A.D. 90–125.

M18. G. Attius Marinus, c. A.D. 95–105.

Roman ware:

47. Cordoned jar in hard bluish-grey ware with milk white slip and impressed with vertical lines. A waster. Cf. Cotton 1953, 70, 23, late first century.

48–52. Carinated and reed-rimmed bowls in buff, pink and cream ware; all are reddened or cracked by heat. B.H. 1947, 22–30, c. A.D. 70–120.

53. Flange of a bowl as 79, in coarse greyish-blue ware. A waster.

54. Shallow bowl in orange sandy ware with mica-dusted exterior, Cf. Richborough I, 85, A.D. 80–110.

55–56. Ring-necked flagons in cream ware. Cf. B.H. 1947, 10, 32–9, c. A.D. 70–120.

57–58. Ring-necked flagons in reddened cream ware. These tops are badly distorted and are wasters.

59. Neck of a small vessel possibly an infant's feeding bottle in pink ware.

60. Disc-mouthed flagon in cream ware.

61. Flagon in pink ware.

62. Distorted jar in grey ware with burnished surface. A waster.

63. Jar in black micaceous ware with burnished surface.

64–66. Jars with moulded bead rims in greyish-cream ware. Cf. Leicester, 145, 10, Trajanic.

67. Lid in hard blue ware. Badly distorted and clearly a waster. Also from pedestal of the kiln.

68. Large wide-mouthed jar in buff ware. Cf. B.H. 1947, 14, 75.

69–73. Jars in buff sandy ware. A type of vessel in common use at Verulamium in A.D. 100–150. Cf. Corder 1941, 284, 8a.

74–76. Small shallow bowls with open spouts in cream ware. All three are badly finished, in particular 75 and 76 have excess clay adhering to their bases and are, therefore, clearly wasters. They were found piled together in the ditch. They may have been intended for use as lamps or lampfillers. Cf.: *London in Roman Times*, 61.

114–116. Mortaria in buff ware, much reddened by heat and rather badly finished. All three are wasters and date from c. A.D. 70–120.

The fill of this gully represents a well-sealed accumulation of waste pottery and a few domestic items datable to c. A.D. 70–120. Nos. 47, 53, 57–8, 67 and 74–6 are definitely wasters and therefore are Brockley Hill products. The remainder, some of which are cracked and reddened by heat are likewise, being in the sandy granular fabric typical of pottery produced in the Verulamium region, including Radlett and Brockley Hill.

LOAM OVERLYING THE KILN SITE.

Stamped Mortaria:

- M2. and M4. Candidus, A.D. 90–125. M5. Ramotus, c. A.D. 65–95.
77. Distorted ring-necked flagon in cream ware. A waster.

IRREGULARLY SHAPED DITCH EAST OF KILN (E.K.D.), GREY SILT.

Samian ware:

- S25. C.G. Dr. 18/31, c. A.D. 100–120.

Stamped Mortaria:

- M1. Brucius, c. A.D. 85–120. M16–17. Matugenus, c. A.D. 90–120.

Roman ware; colour-coated ware:

- C8. Fragment of rough-cast beaker, second century.
78. Carinated bowl in overfired blue ware. A waster, c. A.D. 70–120.
79. Bowl with overhanging flange in sandy cream ware with smooth interior (as 53). Sherds representing several of these vessels were found. Cf. Richborough IV, 440–1 (for shape).
80. Ring-necked flagon in greyish-buff ware.
81. Small globular wide-mouthed jar in pinkish-buff ware. Cf. B.H. 1947, 14, 75, c. A.D. 70–120.
82. Jar with moulded bead rim in buff ware.
83. Single-handled flagon in fine-textured orange ware with cream slip. Cf. Camulodunum, 170, Claudio-Neronian.
84. Flagon in greyish-buff ware, a variant of B.H. 1947, 12, 45.

The majority of sherds from this pit appear to be kiln waste, in particular jars Nos. 69–73, which had been severely overfired. Most are in the granular ware typical of pottery of this region.

STOKE-HOLE OF THE KILN, SILT BELOW CHARCOAL.

Roman ware:

85. Cordonated jar in blue ware with smooth surface. Slightly irregular in shape and probably a waster. Cf. 68, c. A.D. 70–120.

EASTERN PUDDLING HOLE.

Roman ware:

86. Single-handled flagon in cream ware. Cf. Richborough III, 197, c. A.D. 75–100.

KILN PEDESTAL.

67. See ditch west of the kiln.
87. Beaker in orange micaceous ware with thumb-pressed circles below the cordon.
P4 (Fig. 8). Jar in orange micaceous ware with burnished exterior. It is decorated with fine horizontal rouletting. Similar vessels of this type have been found in pre- and Flavian contexts at Camulodunum. (Form 108).

The presence of 67, a waster, which was built into the pedestal, suggests an earlier pottery kiln on this site.

WALL OF STRUCTURE NORTH OF KILN.

88. Carinated jar or beaker in hard blue ware. A badly distorted waster. Cf. British Museum, 34, 8, late first century.

CHARCOAL FILL OF STOKE-HOLE.

- 89-90. Carinated bowls overfired to bluish-grey ware. Both are probably wasters. Cf. B.H. 1947, 9, 22-30.

91. Small jar in hard blue ware.

92. Poppy-head beaker in grey ware with white slip.

93. Everted-rimmed jar in orange micaceous ware.

94. Poppy-head beaker in red micaceous ware with black-burnished surface.

95. Jar in grey micaceous ware.

96. Beaker in reddish-brown micaceous ware with polished surface.

97. Jar in light grey micaceous ware.

- 98-103. Grey and orange micaceous ware as 110-111.

104. Jar in grey micaceous ware.

105. Jar overfired to brownish-grey ware with black core. A waster.

106. Jar in cream ware, almost completely fired to greyish-black. A waster.

107. Jar which is overfired to drab greyish-brown and has severe heat cracking. A waster. Cf. B.H. 1952, 273, 19.

108. Poppy-head beaker in grey ware with milk white slip. Probably the same vessel as 92. Cf. Leicester, 144, 22, Trajanic.

P1 (Fig. 8). Vessel in grey micaceous ware with black polished exterior and incised with concentric circles. Similar vessels incised with semi-circles, B.H. 1951, 187, V2. Another similar sherd, Cf. Walters 1908, 418, 2673. A ware which has occurred with much frequency along the Thames Estuary and on the Upchurch Marshes, Kent.

P2-3 (Fig. 8). Two sherds of a vessel, probably a bowl, in ware as previous and incised with combed lines.

These sherds date from c. A.D. 70-120.

TILE AND BURNT DAUB ABOVE THE KILN FLOOR.

109. Ring-necked flagon which is much reddened and cracked by heat. A waster.

- 110-111. Beakers in blue and orange micaceous ware. Cf. Leicester, 104-5, 10-18, c. A.D. 80-120.

112. Base of a poppy-head beaker? In hard grey ware.

CLAY ABOVE CHARCOAL FILL OF THE STOKE-HOLE.

113. Badly distorted jar in grey ware. A waster.

P5 (Fig. 8). Sherd of a bowl in reddish-orange micaceous ware with polished surface. This form is reminiscent of Belgic pedestal beakers.

BROCKLEY HILL WARE.

With the presence of wasters and of pottery types commonly represented from the link site, it is possible to distinguish Brockley Hill products. It is regretted that, due to restricted

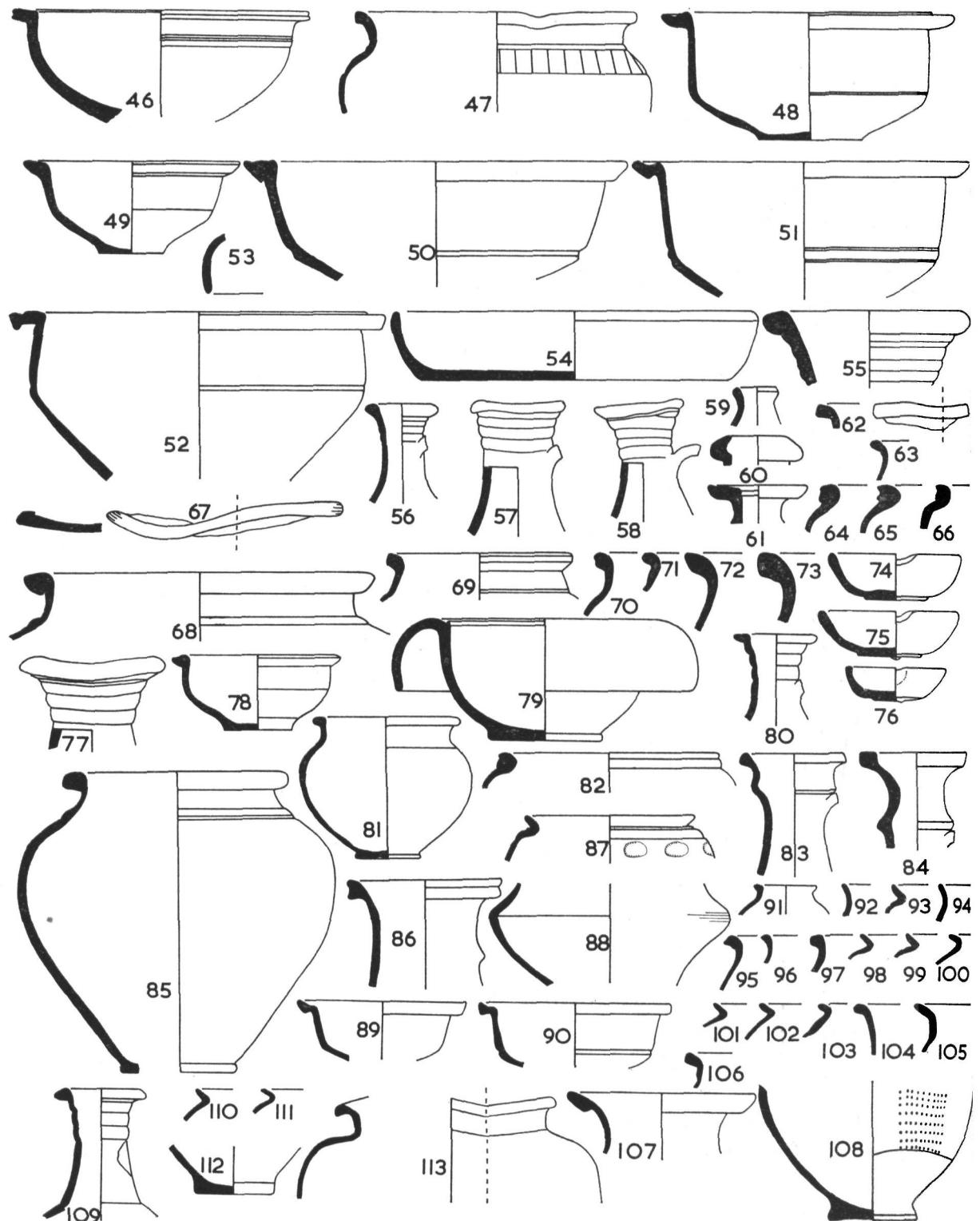


Fig. 6
Pottery from Kiln Site (1)

excavation of the kiln site, no full analysis of pottery types is possible. However, identifiable rim sherds were counted and the following appear to have been the commonest pottery types made here. All are in local ware and date from c. A.D. 70–120.

Mortaria.

At least 78 vessels. This quantity coupled with potters' stamps, some from the same dies, clearly indicates that they were made here.

Amphorae-type Flagons.

At least 11 vessels (not illustrated). Cf. B.H. 1947, 15, 84. Despite the absence of definite wasters it seems likely that this type was made here.

Pinch-mouthed Flagons.

Only 7 examples, one of which is in reddened ware with heat cracking and is therefore probably a waster (not illustrated). Cf. B.H. 1947, 12, 42.

Reed-rimmed and Carinated Bowls.

101 vessels (Fig. 6, 48–52) which seem to be wasters.

Cordoned Jars.

52 vessels of this type, including 106 and 113, which are wasters.

Ring-necked Flagons.

81 vessels, including Figs. 6, 57–8 and 77, which are wasters. Not one of these is of the short-expanding neck type, e.g. Fig. 5, 20, which was in common use after c. A.D. 110.

Lids.

These were probably for the cordoned jars. At least 50, all of which are similar to Fig. 8, 67, which is a waster.

Most of the sherds from the ditches east and west of the kiln are rejects from a nearby kiln, or a number of kilns; many perhaps from that excavated.

A further clue to the products of the kiln is offered by the presence of sherds of small vessels (60 per cent in micaceous ware) found only in or near the kiln itself. The commonest type is small jars or beakers (Fig. 6, 93 and 98–103) all in micaceous ware, some having burnished surfaces. Despite the absence of definite wasters of this type, and indeed of the other micaceous vessels, their concentration around the kiln and absence elsewhere on the kiln site suggests that they are its products.

Experiments made in firing samples of the natural yellow clay, taken from two areas in the field produced reddish-orange micaceous ware similar to the sherds mentioned. Grey potters' clay found in a ditch during the 1947 excavations, when fired, produced cream-coloured ware similar to the bulk of wares found on the site. Scientific analysis of such potters' clay and of the various natural clays is clearly desirable and should provide interesting results.

It is therefore possible that these micaceous vessels were being produced at Brockley Hill, in addition to the granular buff, pink and cream wares. It should be stressed, however, that in the absence of definite wasters this cannot be certain.

SMALL FINDS (FIG. 8).

SITE B, PIT T4.

1. A bronze child's bracelet, rather plain and in view of the associated pottery is assignable to the early Flavian period.

SITE B, LOAM ABOVE GULLY.

2. Bronze brooch spring, probably of early second-century date.

SITE C, PIT T 19.

3. Bronze Dolphin-type brooch. A common type in Southern Britain and in view of the associated pottery seems to be of the period c. A.D. 55-80. This type (Collingwood Group H) continued in use from the time of Nero to the mid-second century. Cf.: *London in Roman Times*, 95, 21.
4. Bronze figure of a dog, rather stylized in form; the tail is upright and a collar surrounds the neck. Only one of the legs remains, but its length in proportion to the body suggests that this figure represents a dog similar perhaps to the Irish Wolfhound. These figures of dogs were commonplace in the Roman Empire and were often used as votive offerings, for the dog was widely associated with the cults of healing, and seems to have been sacrificed to deities of the underworld. The dog was found near the brooch and it is likely that the two are close in date. It may be compared with the rather stylized figures from Lydney Park, some of which have collars. Cf. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman site, Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, Pl. XXVI.

KILN SITE, DITCH WEST OF KILN.

5. A manicure set consisting of bronze nail cleaner and a pair of tweezers. Cf. British Museum, 12, 10.
6. Small pierced green glass bead (not illustrated).

THE STAMPED MORTARIA (FIG. 7).

MRS. K. F. HARTLEY

Not all the mortaria listed below are illustrated.

BRVCCIVS.

- M1. Ditch E.K.D. A fragment in buff ware. Other stamps of Brucius have been noted from Alchester, Oxon.; Brockley Hill (9); Caerhun; Caerleon; Chesterholm (3); Godmanchester; Holditch; Kinderton, Ches.; Little Hadham, Herts.; London (1+1?); Rochester (2); Silchester; Templeborough; Wilderspool (2); Wroxeter (2); and Verulamium (2).

The rim-forms used by Brucius or Brucius (as his other die gives, indicate a Flavian-Trajanic date c. A.D. 85-120, and the presence of three stamps from Chesterholm (Stanegate system) contrasted with the total lack of stamps from forts on Hadrian's Wall supports this.

CANDIDVS.

- M2. Soil above the Kiln Site. M₃, Ditch to west of kiln. M₄, as M₂.

All in buff ware. (Two namestamps and one counterstamp.) His other stamps have been found only at Brockley Hill (2); London (4); and Richborough. There is no site-dating but all the rim-forms suggest a probable period as A.D. 90-125. It is possible that he worked at Brockley Hill.

DOINV S.

- M6. Ditch to west of kiln. M₁₅, Ditch E.K.D.

Both in buff ware. Two stamps from one of the four dies of Doinus. Over 100 stamps of Doinus are recorded from sites throughout the province, including Dalswinton,

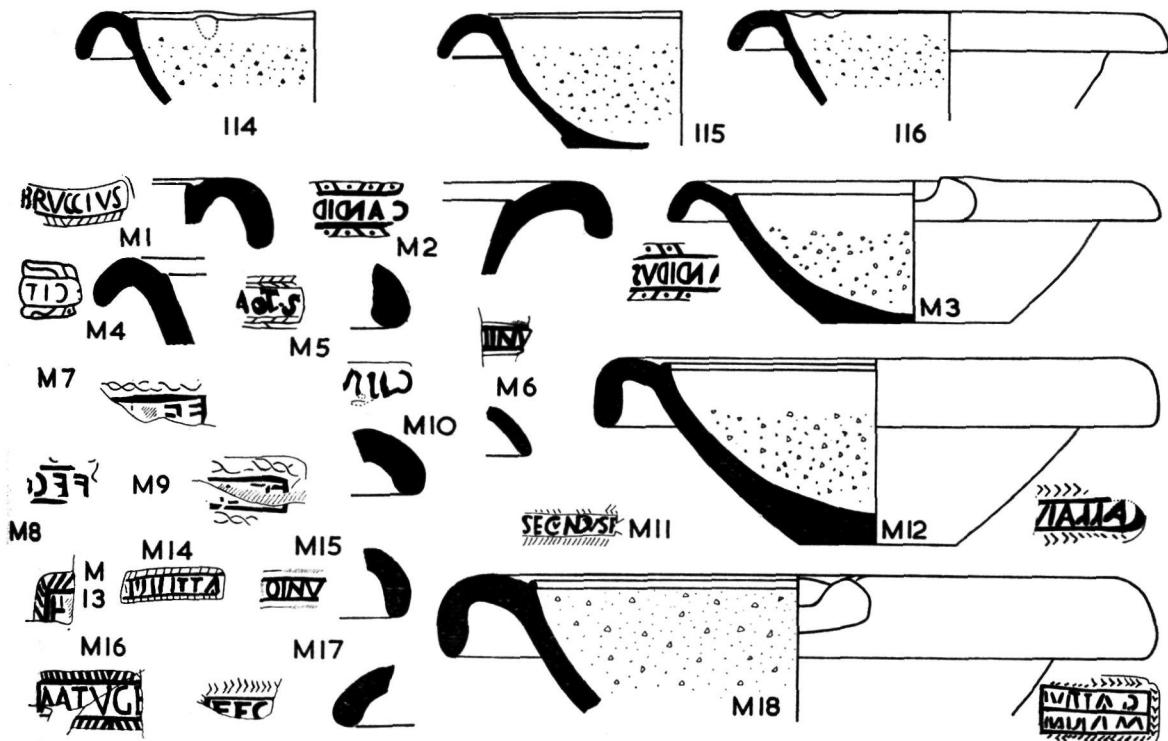


Fig. 7
Pottery Nos. II4-6 and stamped mortaria M.1-18 ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Scotland (Flavian), and the Flavian fort at Loudon Hill, Ayrshire. This and his rim-forms indicate a mainly Flavian date c. A.D. 70-110. Eight stamps of his, all from a presumed late die have been found at Brockley Hill previously.

G. ATTIVS MARINVS retrograde.

M18. Ditch to west of kiln. In buff ware. G. Attius Marinus is of particular interest, because he migrated from Colchester to Radlett, Hertfordshire cf. V.C.H. Herts., 159-62, and then to Hartshill, Warks., where the bulk of his work was produced (*Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* No. 5, 36). This stamp is from a die first used at Radlett but primarily in the Midlands.

His Colchester products have been noted from Caerleon; Colchester (3); London; Monmouth; and Leicester; the Radlett ones from Godmanchester; London; Radlett (3, others missing); Verulamium (3); and the Midlands products from Ashley, Northants.; Baginton (2); *Barton-on-Humber*; Brough-on-Noe; Elslack; Grainsby, Lincs.; High Cross; Holditch, Staffs.; Littlechester; Lincoln (2); Leicester (11); Melandra Castle (2); Rocester; Slack; Templeborough (4); Tripontium; Wall (2); Wilderspool (5); and York (there is just a possibility that those in italics were made in yet another area, probably Lincoln, but decisive evidence is needed).

The periods of production at Colchester and Radlett must both have been short compared with that at Hartshill. The only stamps from closely dated sites are those from Brough-on-Noe and Slack, the former dated earlier than A.D. 125 and the latter earlier than A.D. 140. This and the rim-forms point to total activity in c. A.D. 90–125 and activity at Radlett for a very few years in the period c. A.D. 95–105.

GISSVS.

M10. Site A, bulldozer's spoilheap. A fragment in softish, sandy cream ware with pink core; it may have suffered surface burning.

Although the letters in the stamp are bold, they are weathered, and lack clear definition. Four other stamps from the same die are known (Brentford, Middx.; Brockley Hill; and Verulamium (2)), but none is in perfect condition. However, by collating them it is possible to suggest a reading of GISSV(s) retrograde, probably a variant of the well-attested name Cissus (Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*). Most impressions of this stamp show traces of surprisingly fine cable borders.

GISSVS?

M7–8. Soil above the Kiln Site. M9 as M7–8, and ditch west of kiln. In weathered orange ware. These all have stamps from the same die which gives FECIT retrograde. Only one other stamp from the same die as these is known (from London). M9 is stamped FECIT/FECIT.

The rim-forms point to a date c. A.D. 100–135; the use of separate “fecit” stamps was undoubtedly dying out by the end of this period. These stamps all show cable borders similar to those of Gissus. Such borders are extremely rare and no others are known on similar mortaria; this, together with similarity of fabric and date, does suggest that Gissus may have been the maker of these mortaria.

LALLANS, retrograde.

M12. Ditch to west of kiln.

In buff ware. Other stamps from the same die have been noted from Aldborough; Brockley Hill (4); Brixworth, Northants.; Cambridge; Great Weldon; Heronbridge; Kirkham; London (13); Oxford, Kent (2); Richborough; Silchester; Verulamium (2); Wall; Walton-le-Dale; and Wroxeter (2). A stamp from Verulamium and that from Heronbridge are from deposits dating from the Flavian to Hadrianic periods. The rim-forms too suggest a date c. A.D. 95–130

MATVGENVS.

M16–17. Both from Ditch E.K.D. and in buff ware; M17 fired grey.

M16 is from one of the name-dies and M17 is the counter-stamp normally coupled with the two-line namestamp

Other stamps have been noted from Abington Piggotts, Cambs.; Alchester, Oxon.(2); Aldborough; Bayford, nr. Sittingbourne; Binchester; Blenheim Park, Oxon.; Braughing, Herts.; Brockley Hill (29); Caerleon (7); Canterbury; Chichester; Chigwell; Corbridge; Dorchester, Oxon.; Gellygaer; Hambleden Villa, Bucks.; Holditch, Staffs.; Holt; Joyden's Wood, Kent; Kingsbury, Middx.; Leicester (2); Lincoln; London (43); Melandra Castle; Rocester; Segontium; Sandy, Beds.; Silchester (4); Springhead; Stag's Holt, March; Templeborough; Verulamium (10); Wilcote, Oxon.; Wilderspool (3); and Wroxeter.

The stamps from Verulamium are from deposits earlier than A.D. 120. Matugenius is recorded on stamps as the son of Albinus, and the similarity of work confirms that it was the mortarium potter of that name, whose work is dated *c.* A.D. 65–95. Where so prolific a potter as Matugenius is concerned, the complete absence of his stamps from Scotland and from Hadrian's Wall is significant and supports a primarily Trajanic date. A date of *c.* A.D. 90–125 is generally indicated for his work.

RAMOTVS?**M5. Soil above the Kiln Site.**

A fragment in buff ware reading RMAOTVS. The interpretation of this potter's stamp is not beyond doubt, but Ramotus is perhaps possible. Other stamps have been found at Camelon in Scotland, and at Leicester; London; Silchester; and Templeborough. The Camelon example is certainly Flavian, and a general date of *c.* A.D. 65–95 seems certain.

SECVNDVS.**M11. Site C, loam above Pit T19.**

A flange fragment, very heavily burnt to a brownish grey, the slip to drab greyish cream. The piece is abnormally heavy and is presumably a waster.

The rather battered stamp is from the only known die of Secundus. Other stamps have been noted from Barnham, Suffolk; Brockley Hill (at least 3); Camelon; Colchester; Goadby Marwood, Leics.; London (10); Mancetter; Margidunum (2); Ribchester; Richborough (2); Silchester; Verulamium (2); and Wroxeter.

The first-century date of Secundus's rim-forms is beyond doubt, and the Camelon example clearly must belong to the Flavian occupation *c.* A.D. 81 onwards; the only other dated site is Ribchester, probably not founded before A.D. 79. The rim-forms used and the possession of only one die suggest a date *c.* A.D. 65–95.

M13. Ditch west of the kiln.

A flange fragment in sandy, greyish-cream ware with pink core and grey flint grit.

The corner of a stamp survives; this cannot be identified with absolute certainty but is probably from the retrograde "fecit" of an unknown potter, whose only recorded counterstamp is from Leicester. The stamp probably preserves the lower part of the F; the border is a very distinctive one which will permit distinctive identification when sufficiently complete examples from the same die are available. It is probably to be dated A.D. 85–120.

M14. Ditch to west of the kiln.

A mortarium rim in sandy cream ware with slightly pinker core and with remains of a creamy-buff slip.

The retrograde stamp is perhaps complete; it clearly begins ATT but the following series of upright strokes cannot be interpreted with absolute certainty. Names beginning in ATT- are common. (See Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, vol. 1.) This stamp suggests that some such name as Atillus or Attillius might be the name involved. No other stamps are known from the same die. The fabric is, however, similar to that produced by such potters as Matugenius, Melus, Castus and other Verulamium region potters. The rim-profile would best fit a date *c.* A.D. 70–115.

M19. Ditch E.K.D.

Four joining fragments in sandy, greyish-cream ware with thick pink core. Part of the border of a stamp survives. This cannot be identified with certainty but might well be from the upper border of the two-line stamp of Marinus. It is undoubtedly local and is probably to be dated to c. A.D. 80–110.

M20. Soil above Kiln Site.

A rim fragment in sandy greyish-cream fabric. The fragmentary stamp is clear but is open to various interpretations and cannot yet be identified. The likelihood is that it will be a stamp of Morina, Moricamulus or even Doinus. Date c. A.D. 75–115.

COMMENTS.

All of the mortaria noted are in the fabric and form common to mortaria made in the potteries south of Verulamium and including Brockley Hill and Radlett (the fabric has never been better described than by Dr. P. Corder in *Antiquaries Journal XXI*, 272). Matugenius is known to have worked at Brockley Hill (*Trans. L.M.A.S. N.S.*, vol. xi, pt. III, 259–276 and vol. 18, pt. I (1960), p. 60). A very large number of potters using stamps can be attributed to the potteries in this area generally, in fact they formed one of the two great centres for mortarium production in Britain in the Flavian–Trajanic period and retained much of their importance down to Hadrianic times.

THE GRAFFITO (FIG. 8).

MRS. K. F. HARTLEY AND MR. R. P. WRIGHT

From the brown soil overlying the kiln.

The graffito is incised on part of a mortarium, in granular pink ware, between two pairs of guide-lines. It reads: *Catiae Mari[ae]*, “(product?) of Catia Maria”. As line 2 is inset at the beginning it may have been inset at the end. The feminine *Mari[n]ae* would have been too long. Catia is a well-known nomen, and Maria is a cognomen, e.g. Dessau *I.L.S.*, 4140, 6336. As it is very rare for a woman to have a praenomen, C. Atiae is very unlikely.

This object could perhaps be a crude attempt at making a die by roughly shaping a fragment of a mortarium and scoring the name on it as a graffito *post cocturam* just as the samian potters did at Rheinzabern.

THE GLASS (FIG. 8).

DR. D. B. HARDEN

KILN SITE.

G1. Irregularly shaped ditch east of kiln.

Four fragments of a decorated cylindrical cup, bluish-green, mould-blown, unweathered. None of the fragments join and they are not enough, between them, to indicate the complete shape of the vessel. Moreover, since the walls of the cup are cylindrical, we cannot tell whether the fragments, as drawn, are the right way up, or should be reversed; but since the walls of the largest fragment increase in thickness towards one end, this end is probably at the bottom of the side, rather than at the top. Nor can we determine the complete design. It is, however, clear that the main decoration consists of a scroll of conventionalized ivy (a design of long standing in classical art, dating back to Minoan times); there are, besides, filling ornaments of circles, etc., and beaded border-ornaments.

This cup belongs to a well-defined Romano-Syrian group of mould-blown glasses of the first century A.D. bearing moulding decoration accompanied frequently by moulded convivial inscriptions and/or the signatures of the makers (Ennion, Jason, Megas, and others).¹ It is possible that our cup had an inscription as well as its floral ornament, but I think that this is unlikely, and that we should count it among the uninscribed specimens.

Most of the glasses in the group were made in Syria, though it appears that at some time during his career Ennion must have set up a factory in North Italy, since the centre of the distribution of the mould-blown cups signed by him lies in the Po valley. Apart from these Ennion cups the distribution of this group is predominantly eastern. In 1935² I recorded about 9 or 10 specimens, other than Ennion cups, from the Italian area and only two pieces from farther north or west, one from Marseilles, the other from Aix-en-Provence. Since 1935 I have been able to record two fragments from Camulodunum;³ there is also a fragment in Mr. P. R. V. Marsden's collection, found in a Flavian pit on the site of the New York Bank, Plough Court, Lombard Street, London;⁴ and nine fragments are published from Vindonissa, near Brugg, Switzerland.⁵ But, even with these additions to the list, the number of examples of the group from north and west of Italy remains meagre;⁶ so that this piece from Brockley Hill, fragmentary though it is, is of some importance. From ditch west of the kiln (not illustrated).

This ditch produced a small group of miscellaneous fragments of glass vessels, bluish-green, or deep dark blue, or olive-green, all unweathered.⁷ All identifiable specimens are of types belonging to the period A.D. 50–120; many are paralleled at Camulodunum and other early Romano-British sites. The following types are recognisable:

- G2. Nine pieces (none of which join) of the body and base of a ribbed-jug, olive-green. These pieces probably belong to a globular-bodied jug with a tall neck and a pushed-in base-ring. The shape is that of C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (Groningen/Djakarta, 1957), 70, form 52B. The type is common in Britain, with or without ribs.
- G3. Fragment of handle, green, drawn glass, from a jug. The handle was broad and flat with a central vertical rib on the outside and could come from a globular-bodied jug like G2, or from one with a conical or piriform body (Isings, *op. cit.*, 72, form 55).
- G4. Fragment of handle, exactly like G3, but deep dark blue glass.
- G5. Fragment of rim of bottle, bluish-green; rim folded outward, upward and inward and not flattened on top. Probably from a cylindrical bottle (Isings, *op. cit.*, 67f., form 51) though perhaps from a thick-walled unguentarium (*ibid.*, 41f., form 28).
- G6. Fragment of shoulder of bottle, bluish-green, very bubbly; from a cylindrical bottle (Isings, *op. cit.*, 67f., form 51).
- G7. Fragment of side of bottle, bluish-green, very bubbly; from a small square bottle, mould-blown (Isings, *op. cit.*, 6ff., form 50) with thin walls.
- G8. Fragment of rim of jar, bluish-green; rim at first folded downward and inward to form a tubular ring, then this ring and the wall for 1 cm below it was folded outward and downward to form a concave neck immediately above the shoulder of the vessel. For this shape of jar (see Isings, *op. cit.*, 86ff., form 67); see also (Harden, *op. cit.* in Note 3, 305, No. 89, pl. lxxxviii).

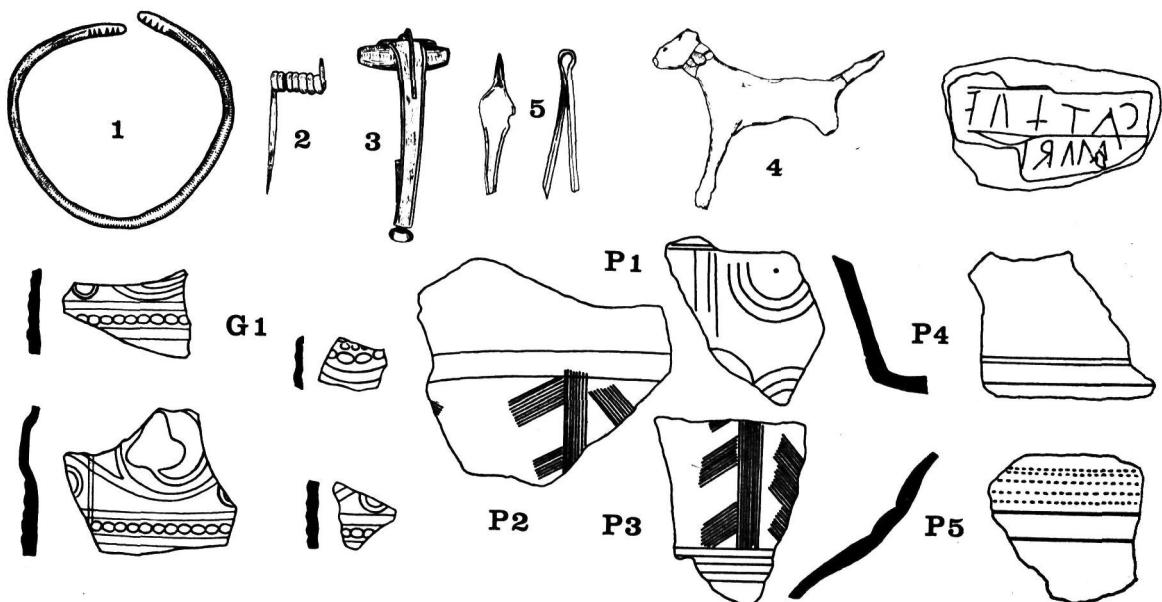


Fig. 8
Small finds, graffito, Romano-Syrian glass and micaceous potsherds ($\frac{1}{2}$)

G9. Fragment of rim of deep bowl, deep dark blue; rim folded outward and downward to join side, forming a hollow tubular ring. It is somewhat surprising to find this heavy type of bowl-rim occurring in such an early milieu, since it is normally thought of as late Roman. The deep dark-blue glass, however, is characteristic of the first century and it is never safe to argue about dating on shape alone. I do not hesitate to accept this piece as early.

G10-16. Seven indeterminate pieces of vessels; all early Roman.

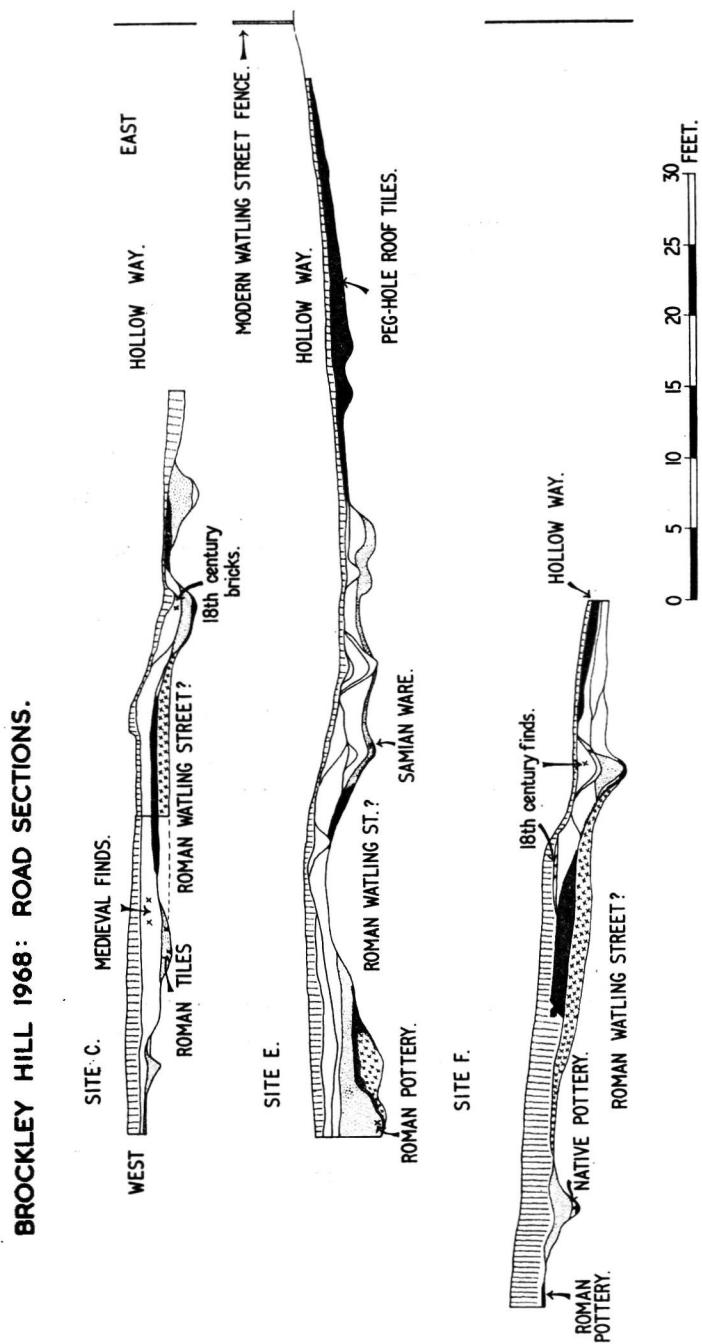


Fig. 9
Road sections

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The finds have been donated to the London Museum.

Both the author and the editor wish to express their thanks for the generous grant from the Trustees of the London Museum, and the donations from the members of the Brockley Hill Excavation and Field-work Group, that made publication of this report possible.

NOTES

- 1 *T.L.M.A.S.*, 1937, 1948, 1951, 1953–54 and 1956.
- 2 Information from Mr. R. A. G. Carson, F.S.A.
- 3 R. E. M. Wheeler, *Verulamium a Belgic and two Roman cities* (London, 1936), 63.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 Excavated in 1951, 1953–54 and 1970 (*T.L.M.A.S.*, 1972).
- 6 *The story of Potters Bar and South Mimms* 1966, 83. The route via Barnet was greatly enhanced by the founding of a market there in 1199.
- 7 Excavations, in Pear Wood in 1948–49, 1954–56 and 1958–59. Report forthcoming.
- 8 Sulloniacae was mentioned in the Second Antonine Itinerary as lying 12 miles from London and 9 miles from Verulamium. It has been suggested that it served as posting stage between the two.

NOTES (THE GLASS)

- 1 D. B. Harden, "Romano-Syrian glasses with mould-blown inscriptions", *J. Rom. Studies*, XXV (1935), 163 ff.; id "Two Tomb-Groups of the first century A.D. from Yahmour", *Syria*, XXIV (1944–5), 81–95, I(1–2).
- 2 Harden, 1935 (*op. cit.* in Note 1); see especially 180.
- 3 D. B. Harden, "The glass", ap. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (Rept. Res. Committee Soc. Antiq., London, 1947), 299, Nos. 4–9, pls. lxxxvi–vii.
- 4 Information kindly supplied by Mr. Marsden and Mrs. J. Stringer of the Guildhall Museum.
- 5 L. Berger, *Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa* (Basel, 1960), p. 49 f., Nos. 117–25, pl. 8.
- 6 Its place seems to have been taken in the northern and western provinces by the group of mould-blown circus and arena cups which is closely allied to it in shapes and style.
- 7 Roman glass is often found in good condition on British sites, but rarely in such a uniformly unweathered condition as are the fragments in this collection.

FOUR BRONZE AGE CREMATION CEMETERIES FROM MIDDLESEX

BY J. C. BARRETT

This paper is concerned with the pottery from four Derverel Rimbury cremation cemeteries in Middlesex, which forms the basis for a discussion of the related material in the Lower Thames region. The material can be seen as another regional ceramic group within the Derverel Rimbury culture. This pottery was once considered to be Late Bronze Age in date, but work in the late 1950's demonstrated that it belonged in a period running from c. 1400–1000 B.C. corresponding to the Middle Bronze Age. It has, however, often been assumed that this pottery continued through the Late Bronze Age, c. 1000–650 B.C., to form an underlying influence in our earliest Iron Age coarse wares. Two points now arise. Firstly, recent work has suggested that some aspects of Derverel Rimbury pottery may originate in a group of late Neolithic ceramics and this would therefore imply an Early Bronze Age date for some of the material. Secondly, it may now be possible to indicate certain forms of Later Bronze Age pottery which would seem unrelated to the Derverel Rimbury tradition and this would therefore call into question one aspect of a ceramic continuum for Derverel Rimbury forms into the Iron Age. These concepts are clearly of some importance and are discussed in a more detailed fashion below.

INTRODUCTION

The sites under consideration are Ashford Common, Littleton Reservoir, Yiewsley and Acton, but details are scant and all that remain are four groups of pottery, none of which have ever been published. Most of the material is in the British Museum except for the Littleton urns and some sherds from Ashford Common which are in the London Museum.

The pottery in the region has been found under varying conditions but most commonly during gravel working which was, until the late 1920's, still largely undertaken by hand (Oakley, *et. al.*, 1939, 173 and pl. XXII, 2). This will bias the known distribution of the material in the region. The Lower Thames region does not have a long tradition of field work and the archaeological record has suffered from this lack of earlier attention. The inherent characteristics of the pottery also lend neither to preservation nor, perhaps, to much respect upon discovery.

ASHFORD COMMON, SUNBURY TQ 09707045

INTRODUCTION

Ashford Common is the largest and the best recorded of the Middlesex sites under discussion. Prior to its discovery in 1870, other urns had been found in the area (V.C.H., 1969, 45), and in 1725 two urns found at Sunbury and "said to be Celtic" were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, London (Anon., 1860, 140).

The site lay in a field "west of the by-road from Feltham Hill and north of the main road from Staines to Hampton" (Roberts, 1871, 450). This is an area of flat, well drained land, below the fifty foot contour, enclosed on three sides by the broad, meandering southern sweep of the Thames from Brentford to Windsor, and the River Colne, which enters the Thames at Chertsey. At its nearest point the Thames is now 2·7 km (1 $\frac{2}{4}$ miles) away. The nearest tributary of the Thames is the little River Ashe, to the south west (Fig. 6).

The geology consists of flood plain gravels of the River Terrace Series, and some patches of Brickearth may occur in the immediate vicinity.

Until recently, some of the area of Ashford Common was still open ground and is shown as such on maps of 1966; but it is now almost completely covered by modern housing.

DISCOVERY

The cremation cemetery was first discovered in 1870 after the area had been ploughed (Roberts, 1871, 449). Some fifty years previous to this the field had comprised part of the common land, but it is unclear how long pottery was being exposed by the plough, before the owner, Mr. T. Leonard, noticed it. On digging for sand and gravel Mr. Leonard then uncovered sixteen urns, and in the October of 1871 further investigation, headed by Mr. E. Roberts, was undertaken under the auspices of the British Archaeological Association. Of the pottery uncovered on this three-day excavation they found it 'difficult to preserve any one vase' (Roberts, 1871, 450).

On the first day an area 15 m east-west and 6 m north-south was opened along with unproductive trial trenches. The top soil varied in depth from 25 cm to 45 cm and upon removing 20 cm "many . . . urns" were uncovered. Of these, eight were lifted and "some twenty others" located. All these examples were inverted and plough-damaged, but on the subsequent days of excavation "one or two" upright examples were also found. In plan the cremations lay in straight rows east to west, except for two groups which formed curves, "the convex faces of which faced east". All the urns rested on the gravel and beneath the inverted examples the soil was stained black and "of a vermiculated nature". Also located were two hollows containing burnt material which the excavator, probably correctly, connected with the process of cremation. There was also no sign of any covering mound.

Other finds included a few calcined flints and a few animal bones.

No plan or drawings accompany the original report although one of the two "curved" groups of urns is described more fully. It consisted of four urns, the southernmost example of 25 cm diameter, the next, "an upright pipe", 19 cm in diameter, then a globular of 23 cm diameter and the last, an "upright urn" of 15 cm diameter (Roberts, 1871, 451). None of these urns can be identified with any certainty although it may be worth noting that one of the two globulars (Fig. 2. 15) has a maximum diameter of 23 cm.

Roberts considered the nature of the soil beneath the inverted vessels indicative of cremation actually taking place on that spot. It is however more likely the result of still hot ashes being tipped onto the ground and then covered by an urn. The fact that the cemetery presented an ordered rather than random layout would seem to suggest that each deposit was marked on the surface in some way (V.C.H., 1969, 44).

The actual size of the cemetery can never be determined. The report notes that Leonard "also later obtained numerous other specimens" (Roberts, 1871, 449), presumably after Roberts' excavation. The British Museum has records of the remains of thirty-four cremation urns purchased from Leonard in 1872 and the London Museum has a further two urns and the cremation from a third. An ambiguity in the report led Abercromby (1912, II, 51) to believe that Leonard recovered sixteen urns on two occasions prior to his later finds. Clearly, however, it is only the sixteen original finds referred to, of which one was saved "and that has since fallen to pieces" (Roberts, 1871, 450). As has been noted the first day of excavation produced "about" twenty-eight urns of which eight were lifted. If all the lifted urns found their way into museum collections along with the later discoveries the minimum number of urns exca-

vated lies at seventy-two. Due to a possible minimum of fifty years ploughing of the area this need only be a fraction of the total number. Recent building on what remained of the common, failed to produce any more reported finds.

POTTERY (B.M. Access, Nos. 1872, 12, 21, 1-34; L.M. Access, Nos. A. 10976-7)

Some photographs of the material have already been published (Abercromby, 1912, II, nos. 469-469d). The pottery is unevenly fired, the surface colours being various shades of reds, greys and browns. The surfaces are often marked by contraction cracks and where large cracks have occurred in the walls of some of the urns attempts would seem to have been made to bind them together, holes having been drilled on either side of the cracks. The fabric contains a filler of crushed calcined flint in all cases and this grit can sometimes be as large as 0·7 cm in diameter.

FIG. 1

1. Traces of a slip on both surfaces, with vertical smoothing on the interior. Ornamentation is formed by applied strips of clay and these carry irregular finger-tip impressions.
2. Traces of slip remain on the exterior surface.
3. Slip on exterior surface. The impressions on the raised cordon and the rim are more likely to be formed by a blunt stick than with the finger tip.
4. The raised cordon is formed by the addition of an extra coil of clay in the body of the pot.
5. The fabric contains some sand as well as crushed flint and the exterior surface carries a slip.
6. Four post-firing repair holes, one of which is not completely drilled out, have been formed, two on either side of a contraction crack.
7. Urn carrying two applied bosses and two post-firing repair holes on either side of a contraction crack.
8. Five slight projections on the body of the urn and four post-firing repair holes, one on each side of two large contraction cracks.
9. Rim flattened and decorated by finger nail impressions.
10. Four applied projections survive, the total may well have been more.
11. Hard fabric containing a fine filler of sand and very finely crushed flint. The exterior surface is burnished in places and the flattened rim is decorated by an irregular "stabbing" technique.
12. Sherds of upper part of urn with one probable repair hole. One slight projection on the body of the pot.
13. Fabric contains sand as well as flint grit. The cordon is built up with the body of the pot as in No. 4. The holes below the rim were formed prior to firing.
14. Four slight bosses occur below the rim.

FIG. 2

15. Sherds of a globular urn. The exterior surface bears traces of a slip. Three "ancient cracks" are recorded in the British Museum's accessions register with repair holes, but only two such cracks are now identifiable. The decoration has been executed using a blunt tool which has produced a groove of 0·2 cm width. The depth of the line varies.
16. Sherd of a globular urn of finer fabric than No. 15. There is one possible post-firing repair hole. The decoration was also executed with a blunt tool, the horizontal grooves being 0·35 cm wide and the diagonal confused strokes being, on average, 0·2 cm wide.
17. Rim sherd of an urn with one vertical "rib".
18. Small plain urn.
19. Urn carrying seven small projections probably pulled up from the body of the pot.
20. Slip on exterior surface and there is trace of smoothing on both surfaces. Two small applied projections.
21. Plain with flattened rim.
22. Holes below the rim have been formed by piercing from the outside prior to firing.
23. Base of urn.
24. Traces of vertical smoothing on both surfaces.
25. Sherds of bottom half of urn.
26. Cordon produced in a similar way to No. 4.

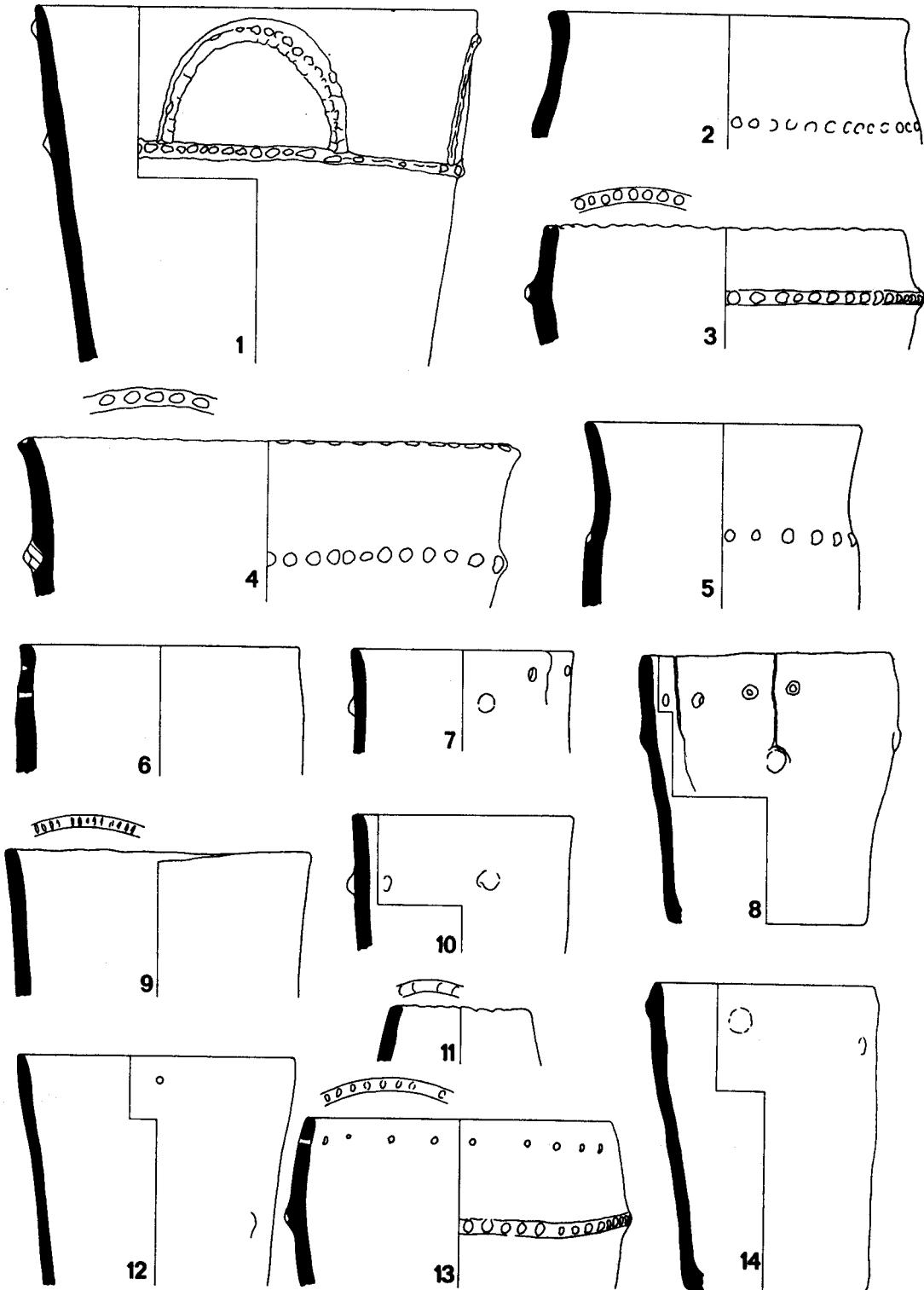


Fig. 1
Pottery from Ashford Common, Sunbury (1/6th)

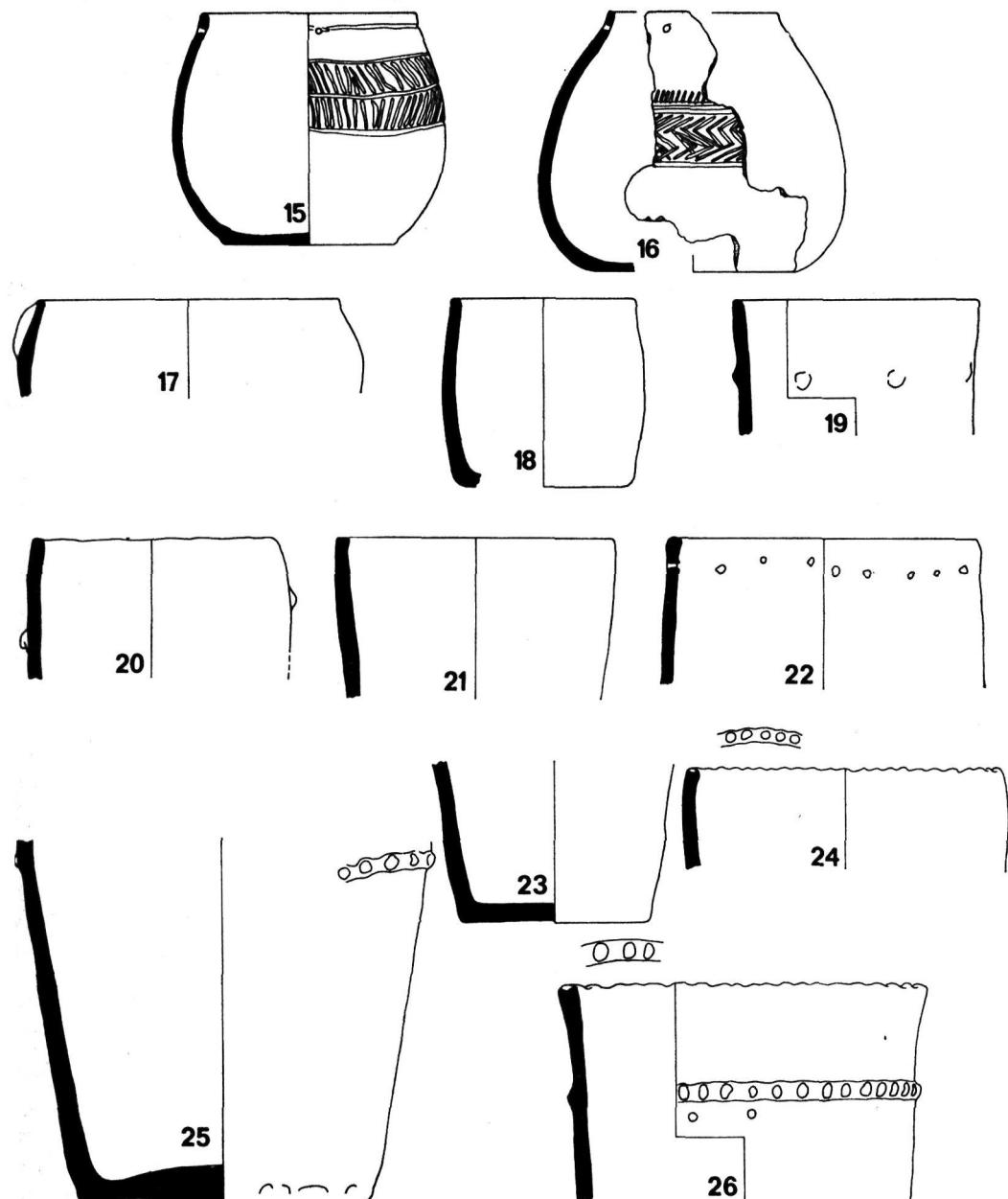


Fig. 2
Pottery from Ashford Common, Sunbury (1/6th)

Not illustrated.

27. Body sherds of a straight-sided urn, c. 1·0 cm thick.
28. Body sherds of a straight-sided urn, c. 1·0 cm thick.
29. Sherds of the body and part of the flat base of a straight-sided urn. The rim is flat and the decoration is an applied cordon carrying finger-tip impressions.
Urns now lost.
30. Recorded as having a rim diameter of 23 cm and a "raised band notched and notching on the rim".
31. Recorded as having a rim diameter of 28 cm and a "notched band and rim".

LITTLETON RESERVOIR TQ 08037040

INTRODUCTION AND DISCOVERY

The find spot lies nearly 1·6 km to the west of the Ashford Common site. The material came from near the outlet pipe of the Littleton Reservoir (Anon., 1951, 307). The finds consist of one complete urn containing a cremation and fragments of three other urns. No other information survives.

POTTERY (L.M. Access, Nos. 37.221/1-3)

The fabric is, in general, similar to that found at Ashford Common, the pottery being unevenly fired and containing a filler of crushed calcined flint.

FIG. 3

1. Slip on exterior surface, two post-firing repair holes occur on either side of a recently restored crack.
2. Slip on exterior surface. The applied cordon has broken away from the wall of the urn in places.
Not illustrated.
3. Body sherds of a straight-sided urn, width of sherds c. 1·3 - 1·5 cm. Decoration is with an applied cordon carrying finger-tip impressions and there are two probable repair holes.
4. Sherds of an urn with finger-tip impressions along the top of the rim and on a slightly raised cordon.

ACTON TQ 198797

INTRODUCTION

This site lies just above the fifty-foot contour on the gravels of the Taplow stage which are, in many places, covered by Brickearth. The ground falls away to the east, and to the south slopes down to the Thames, now 2 km away. The River Brent flows in a wide arc to the north and west of the site (Fig. 6).

DISCOVERY

The cremation cemetery was uncovered in 1883 during excavations for house foundations. In the same year one urn, fragments of "two or three" others and a "quantity of earth and particles of calcined bone" were exhibited to the Royal Archaeological Institute (Anon., 1883, 106). This pottery was later deposited in the British Museum which has five urns accessioned for that year.

In 1889 another urn (No. 3) was sent to the museum with an accompanying letter from the owner of the house, Samuel Cobb, who gives, unfortunately, little new information about the cemetery. He records that during the construction of Oakleigh House, Avenue Gardens, Acton, this urn was found "in an upright position . . . with numerous urns . . . of a similar character." These other urns fell to pieces upon removal. The contents of the urn, a cremation, were interred in the garden of Longford House, opposite Oakleigh, which Cobb was vacating to move across the road.

Oakleigh, now number 38, forms one of a group of mid-to-late Victorian houses from which Avenue Gardens and the adjoining streets developed. No further finds are recorded.

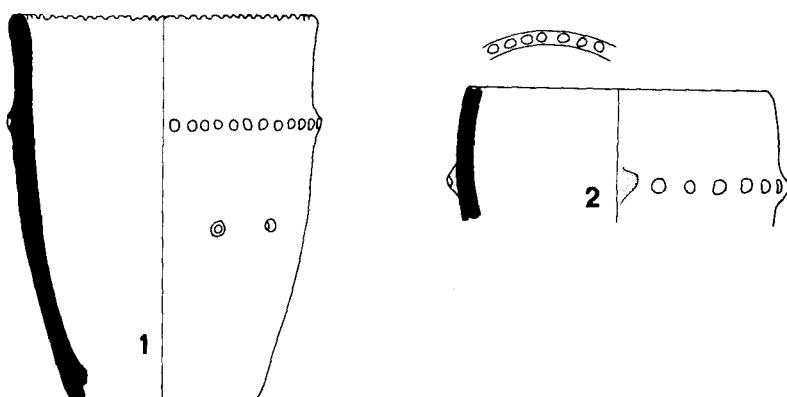


Fig. 3
Pottery from Littleton Reservoir (1/6th)

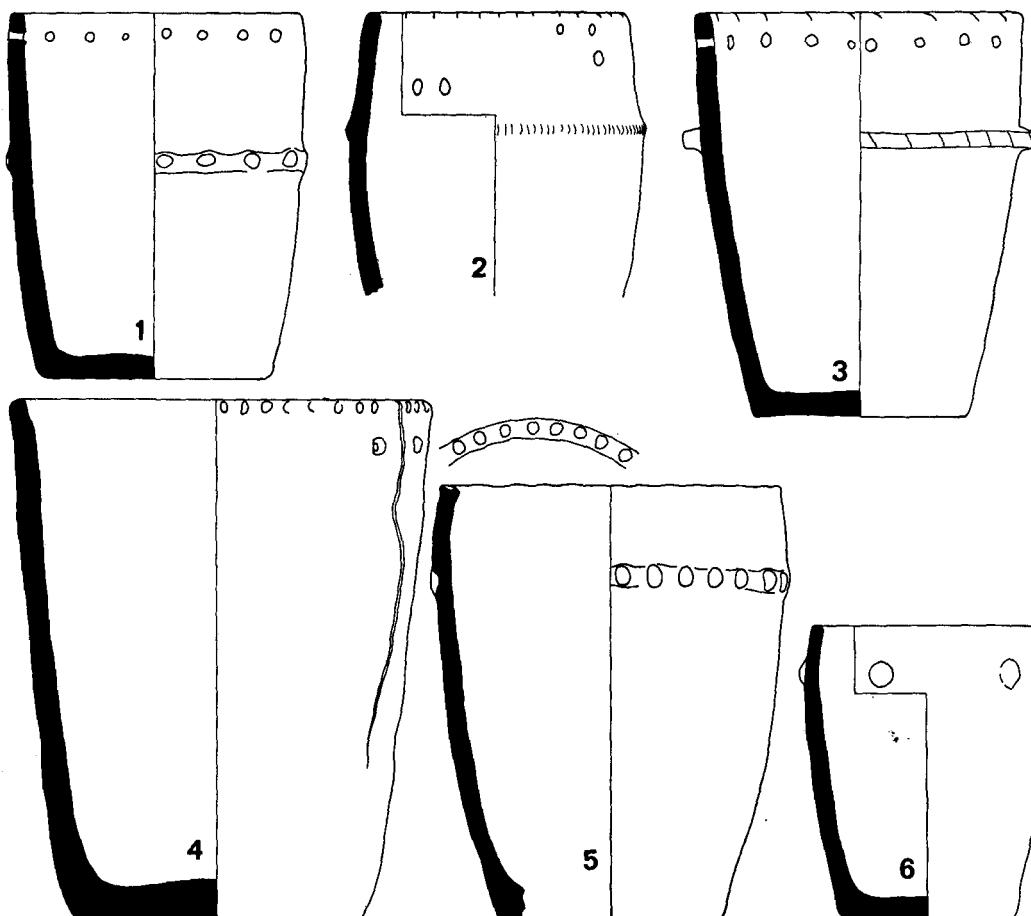


Fig. 4
Pottery from Acton (1/6th)

POTTERY (B.M. Access, Nos. 1883. 6. 12. 1-5, 1889. 2. 9. 1)

Photographs of some of this material have already been published (Abercromby, 1912, II, nos. 470-470c). The pottery is unevenly fired with varying surface colours. The fabric contains a filler of crushed calcined flint with an average diameter of 0·1-0·2 cm.

FIG. 4

1. Holes below rim were made prior to firing by "puncturing" from the exterior.
2. Five repair holes drilled through the urn's wall after firing, around cracks which have been recently restored.
3. Exterior surface shows traces of vertical smoothing, the holes below the rim were made before firing.
4. The coil construction of this urn can be seen clearly. Two post-firing repair holes occur on either side of a large contraction crack.
5. Finger-tip impressions occur along a very slight raised cordon.
6. Vertical smoothing on exterior surface, six applied bosses.

YIEWSLEY TQ 07488033 or TQ 08168104

INTRODUCTION

This is the most poorly documented of the Middlesex sites. It lies between the 100 ft and the 150 ft contours, on the gravel and the Brickearth of the Taplow stage and is situated between the River Colne, 2·8 km to the west, and the River Crane, 3·7 km to the east.

DISCOVERY

The valley gravels of this area have been, and still are being, extensively quarried and it was during such work at Boyer's Gravel Pit in 1913 and 1914 that this material was recovered. No further information exists about the site. Other material obtained from the area includes possible Iron Age pottery (V.C.H., 1969, 45), but investigation in 1953 failed to yield any further information (*ibid*). The material arrived at the British Museum in the Garroway-Rice collection.

POTTERY (B.M. Access, Nos. 1933. 4. 6. 136-7, 143, 152-61, 163)

The pottery is unevenly fired and all the urns contain a filler of crushed calcined grit varying between 0·1-0·8 cm in diameter. More sherds of urns are recorded than are reported here but these are no longer traceable.

FIG. 5

1. Exterior surface carries a slip and traces of vertical smoothing. The band carries a number of small pinched-up bosses.
2. Vertical smoothing on the external surface, one surviving horizontally pierced lug with traces of two others. Two pairs of repair holes occur on either side of cracks recently restored.
3. Two post-firing repair holes on either side of a recently restored contraction crack.
4. Two small bosses are pinched up from the body of the pot and there are two post-firing repair holes on either side of a recently-restored contraction crack.
5. Two post-firing repair holes on either side of a recently restored contraction crack.
6. Six applied bosses and two repair holes on either side of a recently restored crack.
7. Smooth exterior surface with slight traces of slip.
8. Three applied projections on the interior of the urn.
9. Rounded uneven base.
Not illustrated.
10. Body sherds of an urn decorated by a raised band carrying finger-nail impressions.
11. Body sherds of average thickness 1·0 cm.
- 12-17. Sherds similar to No. 11, three decorated with cordon and finger-tip impressions.
Lost.
18. Recorded as "smooth dark-red globular with comb decoration". The sketch shows decoration formed by horizontal grooves with a swag pattern above.

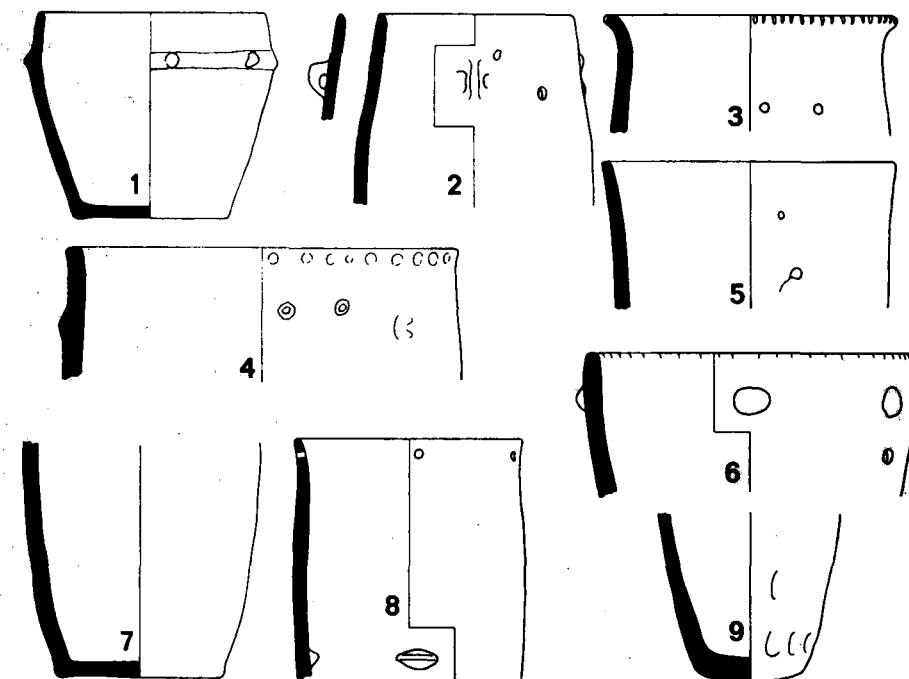


Fig. 5
Pottery from Yiewsley (1/6th)

THE LOWER THAMES REGION AND THE RELATED MATERIAL

The Lower Thames Region is taken as the area bounding the Thames as it flows east from the Goring Gap. To the north west lie the Chilterns, composed of the Cretaceous sands, clays and chalk, and on the north by the northern heights of Harrow and Highgate. To the south lie the North Downs, again the Cretaceous deposits and the London Basin, lying between the two chalk scarps, has a geological base of the Blackheath, Reading and Thanet Beds, London Clay and the sands of the Bagshot, Bracklesham and Barton Beds. Over this base geology lie the Quaternary deposits. These are the glacial Plateau Gravels and the Clay with Flints and the river deposits of the Thames and its tributaries; the river terrace gravels and, in the Reading region, alluvium. Uncleared the region would have been heavily forested, but in the Chilterns at least, there is evidence of clearance during the Bronze Age (Evans, 1967). A large area of south west Middlesex and the scarp slopes of the chalk are covered by soils which have been defined as of an "intermediate series" (Wooldridge and Linton, 1933), which upon clearance would have provided optimum conditions for agriculture, whereas the purely siliceous sands found in the Bagshot series and the Lower Greensand would only have supported heathland, as would some of the gravels (*ibid.*).

THE POTTERY

The pottery from the four Middlesex sites belongs to the Deverel Rimbury family of ceramics well known from southern England. The material from the Middlesex cemeteries will be discussed together, the wide distribution of similar pottery would make the laborious paralleling of each urn tedious and unrewarding.

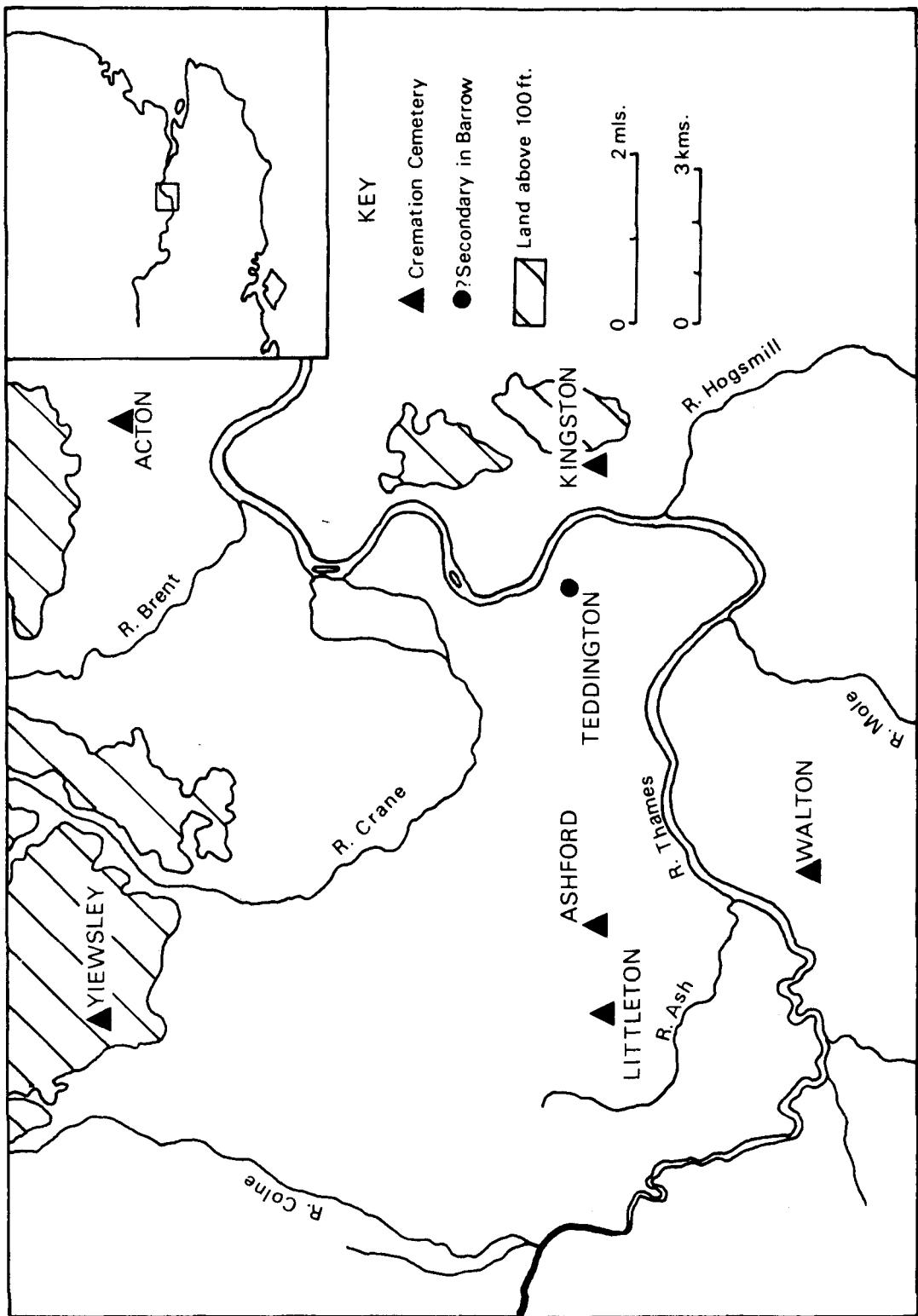


Fig. 6
Plan of the Middlesex area

I. BICONICAL URNS

The biconically shaped urn from Yiewsley (fig. 5. 1) is paralleled by an urn from Taplow, now in Reading Museum. This urn, recorded as "sepulchral", has a slightly developed rim and the carination carries two opposed bosses. Another example of a biconical urn comes from Wonersh in Surrey (Gardner, 1924, 15, pl. IVb). This urn was found, containing a cremation, in an ironstone cist and nearby, under a "barely perceptible mound", a similar cist was found containing a bucket urn and cremation (Cooper, 1900). These urns may all be related to the Wessex Biconical Urns defined by Isobel Smith (1961) and indeed she included the Wonersh example in this series (Smith, 1961, n. 12). The Wonersh biconical lacks any ornament between the carination and rim (cf. Abercromby, 1912, II, nos. 438, 439) but this lack of ornament carries no chronological implications (Smith, 1961, 99). Another plain biconical urn from Radley 14, Oxfordshire was associated with a Class IB razor (Leeds, 1936, pl. IIa). This association points to an early Bronze Age date (Butler and Smith, 1956, 31-33). Other biconically shaped Bronze Age urns come from the west of the Goring Gap in the Oxfordshire region (Case, 1953, 84 and 1966, figs. 27, 29 and 31) (V.C.H., 1939, pl. VIIId). Three examples of these (Case, 1953, 84 and 1966, fig. 27) (V.C.H., 1939) carry "horse-shoe handles". These biconical urns will be discussed later.

II GLOBULAR URNS

Globular urns in the Lower Thames region are fairly rare, for only ten or eleven can be traced. Two come from Ashford Common and two from Yiewsley (figs. 2. 15, 16; 5. 2). Those from Ashford have a similar decorative technique which involves the use of strongly incised lines with an average width of 0·2 cm. Both contain a filler of crushed flint. From Yiewsley is the sherd (no. 18) decorated with horizontal grooves above which runs a "swag" pattern. The other Yiewsley globular (fig. 5. 2) probably carried three horizontally pierced lugs and is undecorated. It is a vessel difficult to parallel although similar profiles may be seen in Calkin's "late" globulars from Hillbrow (Calkin, 1962, fig. 11. 3). Another plain globular, also with only one surviving horizontally pierced lug, comes, closer to hand, from the Walton-on-Thames cremation cemetery. A second globular urn also occurs from the same cemetery (both in Weybridge Museum), and this urn is decorated by a single shallow line which runs round the vessel. Both these urns are quite finely made, the wall thickness of both varying from between 0·3-0·5 cm, and they contain no added flint grit filler. The Sunningdale barrow on the Surrey-Berkshire border (Shrubsole, 1927, 303) produced a single globular urn (Abercromby, 1912, II, no. 416b). This is a plain vessel except for four applied bosses; the fabric contains a filler of crushed calcined flint. Calkin (1962, 58) refers to a globular urn from the cremation cemetery at Yateley, on the Hampshire-Berkshire border, and Reading Museum contains a sherd of a globular. It is not, however, clear if they are one and the same vessel. The sherd, containing a filler of crushed flint, is decorated by two groups of five lines, each 0·2 cm wide. The exterior surface is black and burnished. At Thorpe, in Surrey, an occupation site currently under excavation has produced two sherds of globulars with strongly incised decoration.

This number of globulars is hardly enough to support any generalisations. Calkin does not place any of the material known to him in either of his two groups (Calkin, 1962, 58). It is sufficient to note that although Type 1 globulars occur in west Berkshire, for example on Lambourn Down (Thurnam, 1870, pl. XXX, fig. 1), Blewbury and Sutton Courtenay (Calkin, 1962, 56) and from Standlake in Oxfordshire (Bradford, 1942, fig. 3. 1), none are as yet recorded from the Lower Thames region.

There is no need to doubt the unified tradition of the Cranbourne Chase ceramic group. The distributions of the Type I globular and barrel urns closely overlap (Calkin, 1962, fig. 9) and they occur together on many sites, for example, the enclosures of North Wiltshire (Piggott, C.M., 1942) and in a closed association from Pit A at Winnal, Hampshire (Hawkes, S.C., 1969, 8). That the bucket urn was also in production at the same time as these other types would also seem clear (*ibid.*) and at Knighton Hill, Broad Chalke, Wiltshire the primary deposit in a round barrow consisted of fragments of a bucket urn and a cremation contained in a barrel urn (Rahtz, 1970).

A similar occurrence of Dorset material in the Early Bronze Age may be postulated, supported by the apparent relationship between this pottery and Cornish ceramics (ApSimon in Rahtz and ApSimon, 1962) (Hawkes, S.C., 1969, 16), this being of particular relevance to the Type II globular. It is therefore suggested that Wainwright's rejection of the radio carbon date of 1740 b.c. \pm 90 (N.P.L. - 199) for the Arne barrow (Wainwright, 1970) may be premature.

An Early Bronze Age occurrence for elements of the Deverel Rimbury ceramics in Southern England would make it easier to understand the relationship of the Wessex Biconical to the bucket urn. In 1961 it was to the Wessex Biconical Urns that Isobel Smith turned in reconsidering the origins of the bucket urn and this concept was developed by Calkin (1962). It is clear from the examples of biconicals quoted from the Thames Valley (above) and from other studies of the material (Smith, 1961; Calkin, 1962) that the biconical urn incorporates many elements of Early Bronze Age pottery. ApSimon's (1972) recent paper dealing with biconical urns outside Wessex has shown that disparate sources may well produce superficially similar biconical urns (ApSimon, 1972, 152). This would be true also of the southern series; ApSimon sees a Trevisker influence, among others, in the Dorset biconicals. The similarity noted between the bucket and biconical urns (Calkin, 1962) could well indicate contemporary development and influence rather than stages in a typological "evolution", and would make comparison such as that between the bucket urns from Long Whittenham and the biconical urn from Radley 14 (Case, 1966, 20) more easily acceptable. Such development would also allow for the occurrence of bucket urn sherds and a sherd of biconical material in deposit J at Radley 16 (Case, 1966, fig. 27. 3, 4,) and for the possible link between the bucket urn and biconical urn at Wonersh in Surrey.

The argument put forward here is essentially the same as that of Butler and Smith in 1956. The Early Bronze Age saw the development of the main Bronze Age ceramics from different Late Neolithic backgrounds. The only material which can at the moment be dated as continuing into the Middle Bronze Age is that of the Deverel Rimbury culture (Burgess, 1969). Settlement sites such as Shearplace Hill and Itford Hill (radio carbon date of 1000 b.c. \pm 35 GrN 6167) illustrate the culture in a mature phase.

This model does no violence to the contacts with Holland witnessed by the Dutch Hilversum and Drakenstein urn series (Glasbergen, 1954b) nor the radio carbon dates obtained for those urns, but it does question the typological development put forward by Glasbergen and adapted by Smith (1961) and Calkin (1962).

In dating the main body of the Lower Thames material we are not much nearer a solution. If this pottery is related to the Cranbourne Chase group then it is clearly devoid of the barrel urn and Type I globular, elements whose lives in the ceramic repertoire may have ended by the time the Lower Thames Group emerged. This would, however, imply a population shift into the Lower Thames region from Wessex sometime late in the series and such arguments

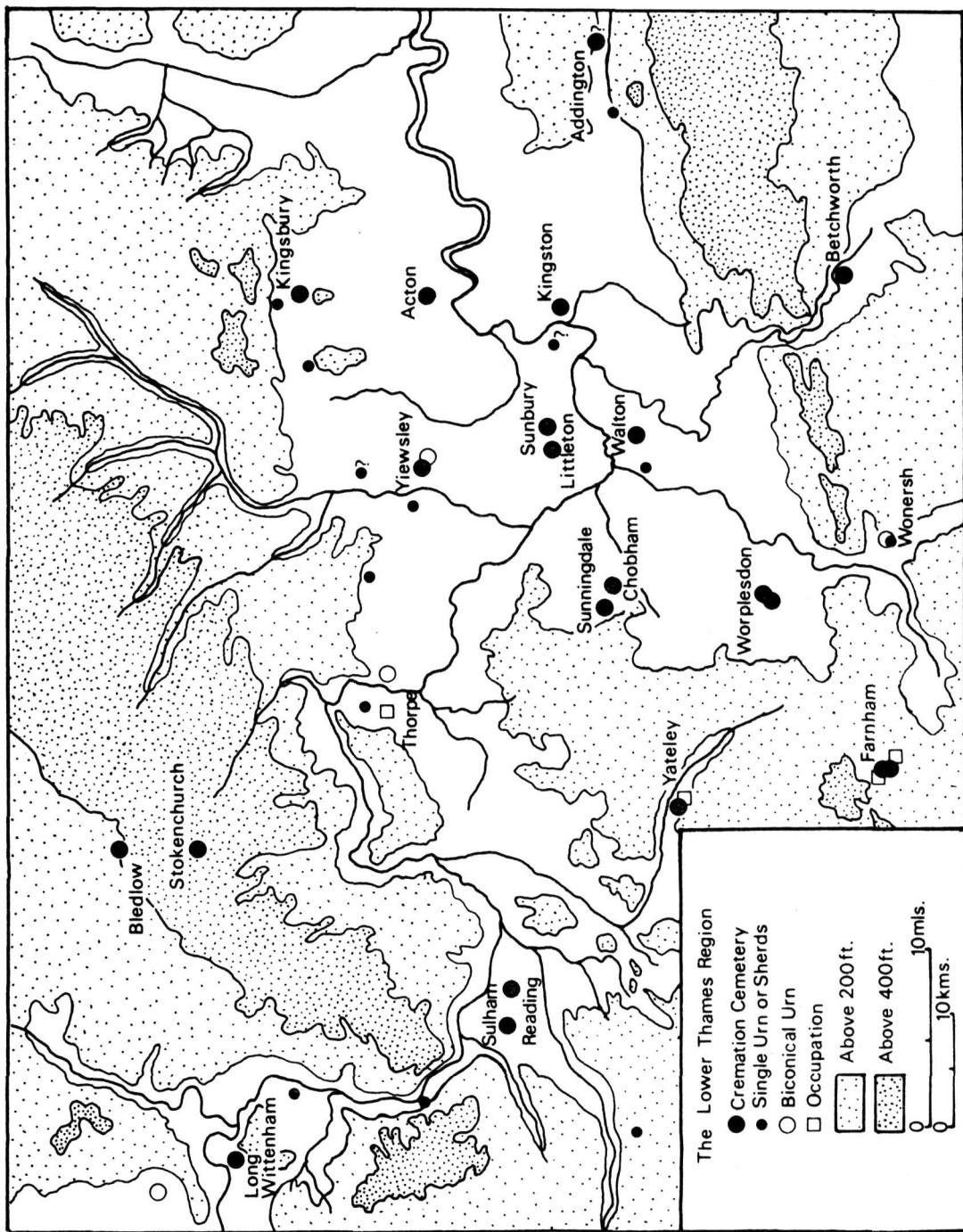


Fig. 7
Plan of the Lower Thames Region

III BUCKET URNS

The rest of the material is comprised of bucket urns, which in this region are all flint gritted. The main decorative techniques found on the Middlesex sites may be listed as follows:

- (a) Finger-tip (or in some cases, blunt stick) impressions;
- (b) Finger-nail, small slashes, tooled depressions;
- (c) Drilled holes;
- (d) Bosses.

The areas of application of these techniques are:

- (i) On the top of the rim;
- (ii) On the exterior of the rim;
- (iii) On a raised cordon round the pot;
- (iv) On the body of the pot;
- (v) Just below the rim.

Techniques (c) and (d) are probably functional rather than decorative, being a means by which some form of cover may be attached to the urn.

Certain combinations may tend to occur with higher frequency in one cemetery than another but not enough material survives from the related cemeteries to make close comparison on these lines very meaningful. However the Ashford material is generally coarser than that of Acton and Yiewsley.

Decoration using finger-tip impressions and the addition of bosses are the most common techniques found in the Lower Thames region. At Ashford finger-tip impressions occur along the top of the rim, on raised cordons and also, in two cases, on slight carinations on the body of the urn (figs. 1. 2, 3, 4, 5, 13; 2. 24, 25, 26). The technique also occurs at Acton (figs. 4. 1, 4, 5), Littleton (fig. 3) and at Yiewsley (fig. 5. 4), the Yiewsley example and one from Acton (fig. 4. 4) showing finger-tip decoration on the outside edge of the rim. Finger-tip decoration upon a raised cordon and upon the rim occurs widely in southern England on bucket urns, but in general it is the top of the rim, rather than the outside edge, which is decorated in the Lower Thames area. Finger-tip impression around the rim, and on a raised cordon, occur on some of the surviving material from the Kingston-upon-Thames cemetery (Gardner, 1924, 117), and on the sole surviving urn from the Walton-on-Thames cemetery (Gardner, 1924, pl. IX). The technique is also seen at the Stoneyfield site, Farnham (Oakley, *et. al.*, 1939, Dr. 2), on urns from the two barrows at Worplesdon, Surrey (Gardner, 1924, pl. VIII) and the Sulham cemetery, where an applied band also has a row of finger-tip impressions above and below it, on the body of the pot (Shrubsole, 1907, 311).

The finger-nail or small slash technique, confined to the raised cordon around the pot, although represented at Ashford (fig. 1. 9, 11), Acton (fig. 4. 2, 3) and Yiewsley (fig. 5. 3, 6) and Littleton (fig. 3. 1) is less common in the Lower Thames, occurring again only at Yateley (Piggott, 1938).

The use of holes drilled round the rim is seen at Ashford (figs. 1. 13; 2. 22), Acton (figs. 4. 1, 3), Yiewsley (fig. 5. 8) and once at Sunningdale (Gardner, 1924, pl. VII) and is noted as occurring in Dorset (Calkin, 1962, 33).

The use of applied bosses, or bosses merely "pulled up" from the body of the pot, is very common, occurring at the three main Middlesex sites (figs. 1. 7, 8, 10, 12, 14; 2. 19, 20; 4. 6; 5. 4, 6). This is also seen at the cremation cemetery at Stoneyfield (Oakley, *et. al.*, 1939, Dr. 1), Sulham (Shrubsole, 1907, 311), Chobham Park (Gardner, 1924, pl. V) and Yateley (material

in Reading Museum). The technique, however, predominates at Ashford, Stoneyfield and Sulham. The Snailslynch cemetery, Farnham, has produced a small embossed vessel which was associated with a bronze disc of 6·5 cm diameter, with a loop cast in one on the back (Oakley, *et. al.*, 1939, pl. XVIII). The disc was decorated by an openwork strip around the edge and is almost exactly paralleled by the, now lost, example from Saint Catherines Hill, Guildford (Lowther, 1950, 143). A similar urn, but with a "notched" rim came to light from the Farnham area recently and can probably be assigned to the same cemetery (Frere, 1961, 121). Similar small urns come from Long Wittenham, Berkshire (Case, 1966, fig. 28) and one from the Thames at London (V.C.H., 1969, 46). The small applied vertical rib from Ashford (fig. 2, 17) is unparalleled, as is the occurrence of applied bosses inside an urn from Yiewsley (fig. 5, 8).

Applied plastic ornament occurs only at Ashford (fig. 1, 1) in the form of four applied "horse-shoe handles". Such decoration upon bucket urns occurs in Dorset and Wiltshire (Abercromby, 1912, II, nos. 316b and 373) as well as being represented in East Anglia (Erith and Longworth, 1960, fig. 2). This ornament, commonly found on Wessex Biconical Urns (Smith, 1961, 99), does not occur again in the Thames Valley on a bucket urn but is seen on the biconical urns from Radley 16 (Case, 1966, fig. 27), Stanton Harcourt (Case, 1953, fig. 20) and Iffley (V.C.H., 1939, pl. VIIId). It is also found on the somewhat anomalous urn from Junction Pit Farnham (Oakley, *et. al.*, 1939, 165 and fig. 68). This urn was found inverted over a cremation, in a cist probably forming the primary deposit in what would seem to be a ring ditch. The urn, containing a filler of crushed calcined flint, does not fit into any classification although it is probably related to the Biconical Urns. Calkin discusses this decoration on Wessex Biconical Urns and sees it as a feature inherited by the makers of bucket urns (Calkin, 1962, 33).

ApSimon (Rahtz and ApSimon, 1962, 320) derives the device from "Enlarged Food Vessel Urns" and cites Calkin's "hybrid" urn from South Afflington (Calkin, 1959, pl. III). The possibility, however, of this horse-shoe decoration representing a skeuomorph of rope work on wooden vessels must not be forgotten and, if this is the case, there would be no need to construct a long ceramic heritage for such ornamentation.

It is only left to note a form of decoration limited to the urns from the cremation cemeteries of Sulham and Sunningdale (Shrubsole, 1907), namely, the use of a plain cordon and plain expanded rim (Gardner, 1924, pl. VII).

CREMATION CEMETERIES

Detail of these sites, other than the pottery, rarely survives. Even where some excavation has taken place the arrangement of the urns and cremations is often dismissed in a few lines and at Sulham and Sunningdale it was not considered necessary to publish the plans made (Shrubsole, 1907). The general distribution of the Lower Thames sites is given in fig. 7. Geologically they tend to lie on the gravels, either those of the River Terrace series, as in the case of the Middlesex sites, or on the Plateau Gravels, as in the case of the Sulham and Tilehurst Road, Reading cemeteries. The Kingston-on-Thames site occurred on glacial gravels. Stokenchurch and Bledlow lie on the Clay with Flints.

It has been suggested that at Ashford Common the urns were arranged in a specific order, indicating some form of surface marking for each deposit. Whimster records a flat cremation cemetery from Coombe Wood, Kingston-on-Thames (1931, 85) and some fragments of bucket urns existed in the 1920's (Gardner, 1924, 17). Material was being recovered from the quarry for some time at the end of the last century, and this included at least two collared urns

(Gardner, 1924, 9 and pls. IIb and IIIa). In 1845 "several urns had been found, and destroyed, ranged in rows under the gravel" (*ibid.*). However, the validity of the original nineteenth century account may be doubted and also, therefore, the apparent ordered arrangement of the cemetery. In all probability this was a cremation cemetery of some size as "pot holes" were "well known" to the workers at the quarry (Anon., 1863, 372). The relationship between the collared urns and the bucket urns is unknown. At Oaklands Park, Walton-on-Thames, another large cremation cemetery came to light over a period of years (Gardner, 1924, 23). Estimates at the time would put the number of urns at least as high as fifty. At the south-eastern extreme of the site two collared urns were recovered (Gardner, 1924, pl. IIIb and fig. 2) and in the centre of the area two beaker sherds were found (Clarke, 1970, fig. 111). The spread of the finds, for just under 1 km, may indicate a group of barrows rather than a single cemetery. The two globulars occurred in the northeast corner of the area.

A bucket urn from Weybridge (Whimster, 1931, 239) may be from the Silvermere barrow, Weybridge which, when opened in 1830 produced three urns, one of which is a collared urn (Gardner, 1924, pl. IVa). Some of these collared urns may represent earlier deposits, as at Latch Farm (Piggott C.M., 1938), around which a later cremation cemetery developed. It is worth noting at this stage that the fabrics of the Lower Thames collared urns and bucket urns indicate a totally different ceramic technique, the collared urns being gritless and well fired.

It is possible that the "rudely formed, half baked urn" found during the opening of the Teddington barrow in 1854 (V.C.H., 1969, 44) was a secondary bucket urn and pieces of calcined bone are also recorded.

At Ashford most of the urns were inverted over the cremations and no unaccompanied cremations are recorded. In Berkshire, at Sulham, gravel quarrying revealed a somewhat similar urnfield. Here again, where ascertained, all the urns were inverted. A plan was made and is reproduced here (Fig. 8). Urns number 14 and 15 were inverted on stone platforms and the two unaccompanied cremations were contained in cists. As at Ashford there were traces of funeral pyres nearby (Shrubsole, 1907, 308). Traces of a funeral pyre were also found beneath the second of the barrows dug by Pitt Rivers on Whitmore Common, Worplesdon, Surrey (Pitt Rivers, 1877, 116). Another flat cemetery was discovered in the valley of the Blackwater at Yateley. Between 1926 and 1927 two groups of urns were uncovered during quarrying; several were said to have occurred in a "domed chamber" (Piggott, S., 1928, 69). It would seem that this cremation cemetery had long been known as the area was called "Ash Hole Field" in 1875 (*ibid.*). Similar pottery has continued to find its way into Reading Museum from the same general area ever since 1927 and the site has produced evidence of occupation in the area which will be dealt with in the next section.

The development of the cremation cemetery as clusters of deposits, rather than a lateral spread, would seem to be indicated here and such an arrangement is well attested in East Anglia (Erith and Longworth, 1960). It is possible that these groups lay under now denuded mounds as has already been suggested for the Oaklands cemetery. The plan of the Sulham cemetery (Fig. 8) would seem to indicate the same grouping effect, and this may also explain the distribution of the finds from the gravel pits at Stoneyfield and Snailslynch, Farnham (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939). The sites were discovered in the two quarries 0·8 km apart.

Cremation cemeteries also occur in round barrows as primary deposits. The Sunningdale barrow, Surrey, which before excavation stood 1·8 m high (Shrubsole, 1907, 303), yielded twenty-five cremations, two of which were without urns in cists made with sandstone and capped with conglomerate slabs. Eleven upright and twelve inverted urns were found,

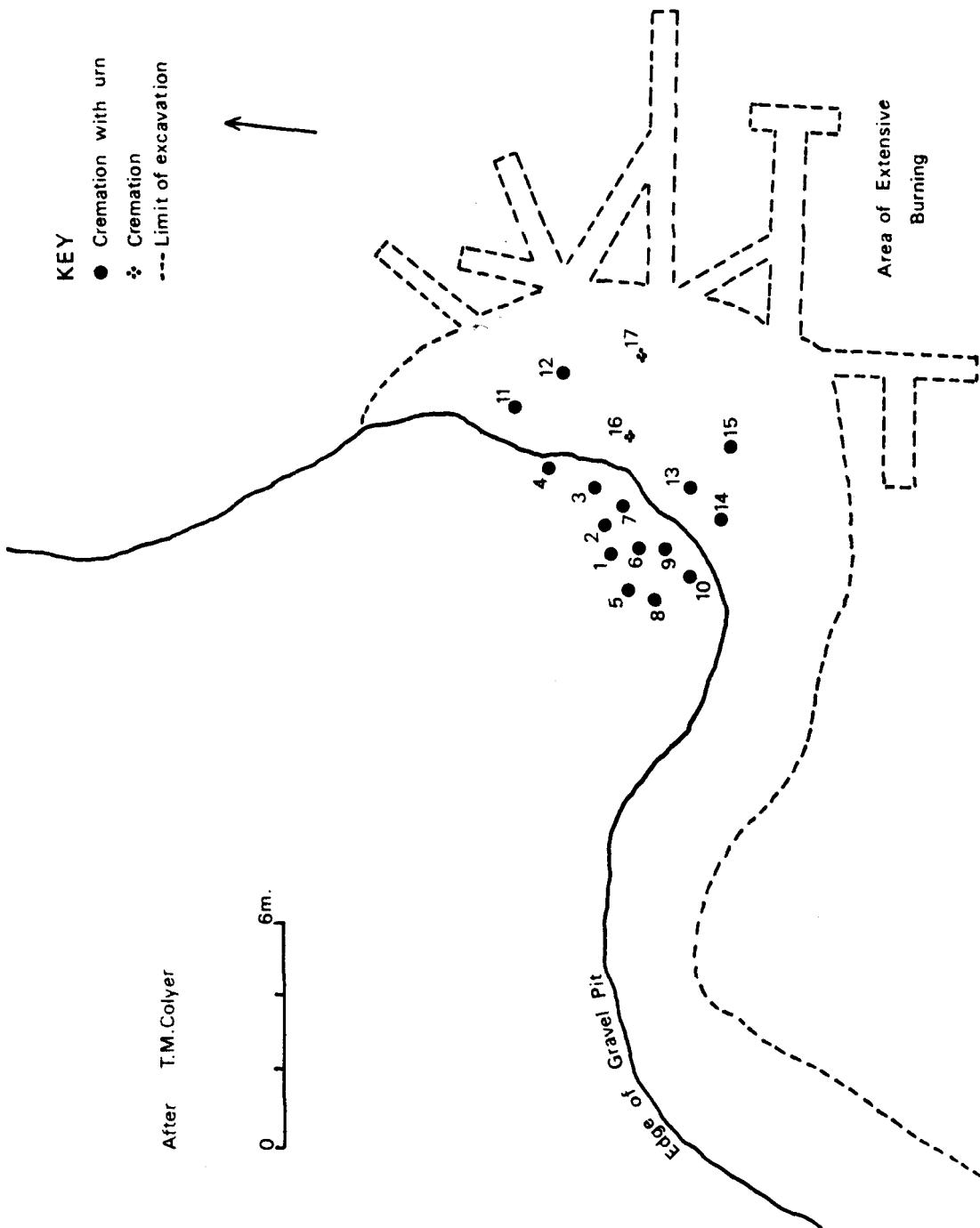


Fig. 8
Plan of Sulham, Berks.

urns numbers 12 and 17 stood upon slabs of sandstone and one of the inverted urns, number 14, was placed on a similar slab with pieces of sandstone packed round it (Fig. 9).

The deposits at Sunningdale tend to cluster in the south-west quadrant of the barrow and were recorded as occurring at varying depths within the mound. This clustering within barrows has often been noticed, for example with the secondary cemetery at Latch Farm, Hampshire (Piggott, C.M., 1938) and the primary cemetery at Hadden's Hill Plantation, Bournemouth (Clay, 1928). The Sunningdale barrow was presumably constructed over the first cremation and the cemetery continued to develop with later deposits being inserted into the mound.

A similar barrow cemetery may also have occurred at Addington, Surrey (Grinsell, 1934, 39) where a group of barrows were excavated in the early eighteenth century and some "broken pieces of urns" were recorded as being recovered from one. On Whitmore Common, Worplesdon, Surrey, two smaller bowl barrows produced cremations in bucket urns (Pitt Rivers, 1877). The first barrow contained three urns (Gardner, 1924, pl. X) and two fragments as primary deposits and the second, with a causewayed ditch, covered two urns (Gardner, 1924, pl. XI) and an unaccompanied cremation as well as a small pit containing burnt material. A similar arrangement has been found at Arne, in east Dorset where a barrow contained two cremations in bucket urns and a pit containing burnt material. Burial number II gave a radiocarbon date of 1740 b.c. ± 90 (N.P.L. - 199) (Wainwright, 1966). The Worplesdon primary bucket urn has already been referred to in this paper.

We are left with a group of cremation cemeteries of uncertain character. They include the material from Tilchurst Road, Reading (Shrubsole, 1907, 312) and Betchworth, Surrey (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 180). To the north there would seem to have been a cremation cemetery of this date at Kingsbury, the urns being described as "of the Ashford type". (Vulliamy, 1930, 91). In the early eighteenth century, at Stokenchurch in the Chilterns, "fourteen or fifteen urns . . . of coarse, gritty ware" were found (Head, 1955, 61).

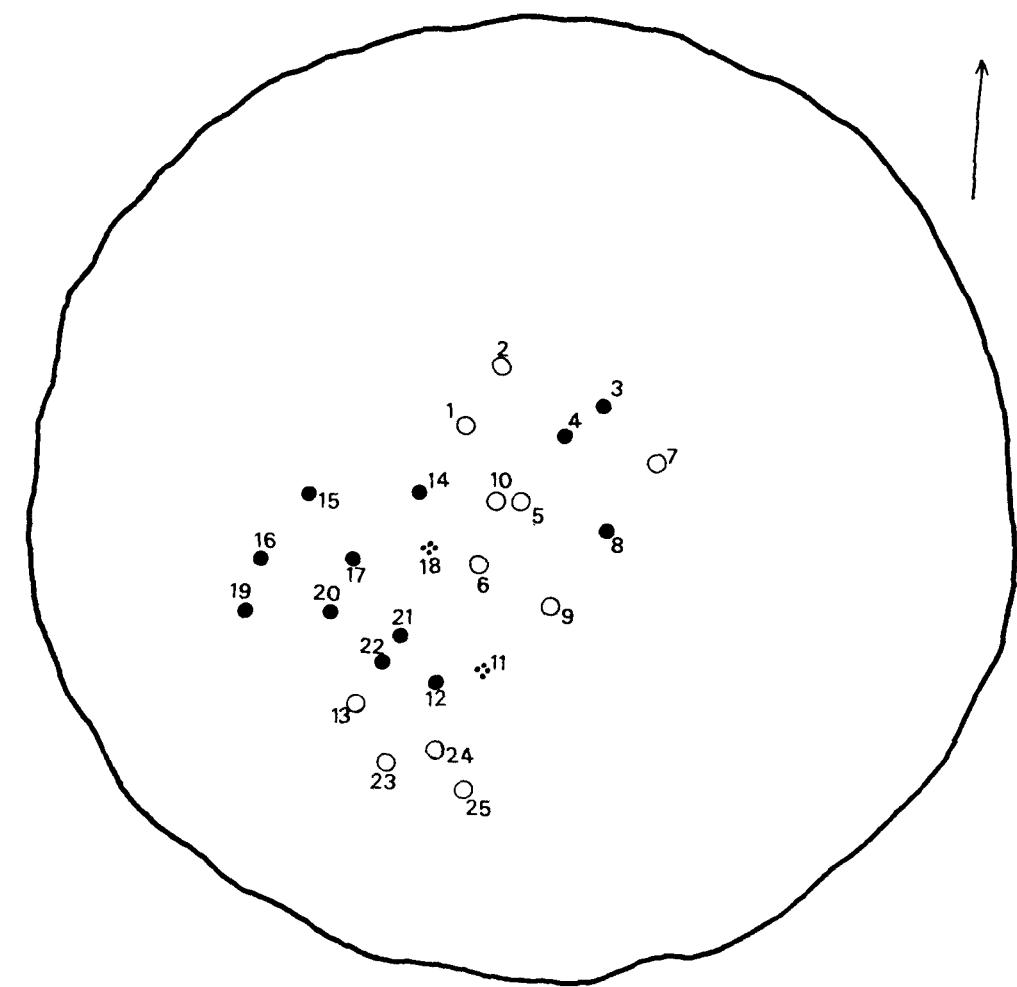
Associations occurring with these cremations and urns are almost non-existent. The bronze disc from Snailslynch has already been mentioned. At most any other finds amount to a few doubtfully worked flints.

Most of these cemeteries exhibit a history of steady development, either forming as clusters of cremations or as a lateral spread. In some cases the cemetery may occur around an area of earlier burials and only Ashford definitely displays an ordered arrangement. Some barrows, however, contain only a few primary deposits and were not used again.

OCCUPATION

Evidence indicating settlement in the Lower Thames region, other than the cemeteries themselves, is scarce and direct association of domestic material in the cemeteries is, as would be expected, rare. At Yateley the area of the cemetery has produced a number of cylindrical clay weights similar to ones found on such occupation sites as Shearplace Hill, Dorset (Rahtz and ApSimon, 1962, 321) and Itford Hill, Sussex (Burstow and Holleyman, 1957, 200). A hearth and fragments of a sandstone saddle quern and a clay spindle whorl have also been recovered from Yateley (material in Reading Museum). The Snailslynch cemetery produced a possible domestic pit, containing saddle quern fragments and sherds of pottery (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 175), and storage in urns may be indicated here and at Wreclesham (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 182). The occupation site at Thorpe (unpublished) has produced fragments of saddle querns. The plan of any of these settlement sites is unknown although at Thorpe an extent of curvilinear ditch was exposed by gravel working and this may be part of an enclosure ditch.

After T.M.Colyer



0 1 2 3 4 5 6 m.

KEY

- Upright urn
- Inverted urn
- ◊ Cremation in cist

Fig. 9
Plan of Sunningdale, Surrey

DISCUSSION

The evidence that has been presented here is almost entirely dependent upon pottery recovered from cremation cemeteries in the region. Piggott has stressed that burial deposits are not random assemblages but socially selected and, therefore, we may not be dealing with a cross section of the ceramics in use at this particular time but a group of ceramics which have been selected for use in the cemetery (Piggott, 1969, 558). This may account for the scarcity of globular urns in the cemeteries both here and in Wessex (Hawkes, S.C., 1969, 17), rather than such scarcity indicating a relatively shorter life for the globular (*ibid.*). Within the cemeteries themselves it is clear that a variety of form exists; primary burials under round barrows, sometimes with a cist; secondaries in barrows; flat cremation cemeteries, some containing cists; inverted urns (some on slabs of stone) and unaccompanied cremations. It is clearly unwise to draw any cultural distinctions between cemetery types (Hawkes, S.C., 1969, 14) and it is also important to realise that all these forms can be contemporary (Glasbergen, 1954a, 141) (Ucko, 1969, 274).

Calkin (1962) in his work on the Bronze Age pottery of the Bournemouth area identified two ceramic traditions within the local Deverel Rimbury material. To the west of the River Stour occurs his South Dorset Group, including Type II globulars and bucket urns both in a well fired, gritless fabric. East of this, in Wessex, lies the Cranbourne Chase Group containing coarse-gritted bucket urns and Type I globulars in a flint-gritted vesicular fabric, decorated by very light tooling. The barrel urn also occurs in this group identified by Calkin on the basis of its fabric which contains large quantities of finely crushed flint grit but is also vesicular in appearance. Both the Type I globular and the barrel urn, although occurring to the west of the Lower Thames region have yet to be identified within the region itself, and for this reason the Lower Thames Group of pottery must stand apart from the Wessex material for the moment.

Discussion of the chronology of the Deverel Rimbury culture must start with Butler and Smith's published paper of 1956 where the first serious doubt was cast on the then current Late Bronze Age chronology for the material, and a Middle Bronze Age date suggested. In 1959, M. A. Smith noted that all possible metalwork associations with Deverel Rimbury pottery belonged to her "Ornament Horizon" dated on northern chronology to Montelius III, c. 1200–1000 B.C. and in Dorset a radio carbon date from Shearplace Hill of 1180 b.c. \pm 180 (N.P.L. – 19) was obtained (Rahtz and ApSimon, 1962). In their original paper, Isobel Smith suggested that the Deverel Rimbury ceramic, with the exception of the globular urn, could be derived from the "southern facies of the Rinyo Clacton Culture" (Butler and Smith, 1956, 43), a view tentatively supported by Wainwright and Longworth (1971, 248) after their discussion of the "Grooved Ware" tradition of the British Neolithic. If, like other bipartite cordoned urns (Wainwright, 1972, 202), the Deverel Rimbury ceramics do derive from a pottery tradition current at Durrington Walls and Marden at c. 2000 b.c., then early elements of this tradition should be current throughout our Early Bronze Age.

Calkin (1962) recognised that his "South Lodge Type" of barrel urn was "early" and this may be confirmed from the South Lodge site itself, where a barrel urn occurred in the primary ditch silts which also contained a Class I razor (Pitt Rivers, 1898, pl. 237). The Class II razor and "Ornament Horizon" bracelet from this site occurred high in the secondary ditch silts. An earlier Bronze Age date for the barrel urn and globular is confirmed by the radio carbon date from Wilsford Shaft (Ashbee, 1966) of 1380 b.c. \pm 90 (N.P.L. – 74) which contained fragments of a barrel urn and globulars.

are fraught with danger, especially in an area where so little excavation has taken place. Until radio carbon dates which suggest otherwise are obtained from the region, this material must remain in the Middle Bronze Age.

The length of life of the Deverel Rimbury Culture poses another problem but one upon which some light may be thrown in the Lower Thames region by the recognition of a possible seventh century Late Bronze Age pottery which owes little or nothing to Deverel Rimbury traditions. Such pottery is best represented at Farnham Green Lane (Oakley *et al.*, 1939, 183–192) and the first phase at Puddlehill, Berkshire (Saunders, 1972, fig. 2. 15–20). It is also found associated with Initial Iron Age ceramic groups at, for example, Weston Wood, Surrey (Bishop, 1972, 14) and perhaps at Wisley (Lowther, 1945). If this material does belong to a Late Bronze Age phase in the seventh century and continues with the development of Initial Iron Age pottery then, in our area at least the survival of Deverel Rimbury pottery into the Late Bronze Age remains questionable and a Late Bronze Age continuum unproven.

APPENDIX

This is intended to be a list of Deverel Rimbury material from the Lower Thames Region in the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex and Surrey known to the author.

BERKSHIRE

BLEWBURY: Sherds including Type I globular. (Ashmolean Museum).

BRIMPTON: "Pottery cup" in a "pocket" in the gravel. (Anon., 1937a, 34).

LAMBOURN: Secondaries in long barrow, 122 cremations, 58 with urns. (Abercromby, 1912, II, 41 and No. 392; Case, 1966, 17; Clay, 1926, 323; Hawkes, 1933, 442; Peake, 1931, 58–9; Thurman, 1870, pl. XXX Fig. 9; Smith, 1921, 47–54; Wymer, 1966, 1–16).

LONG WITTENHAM: Pits containing charcoal. Three urns, sherds of a fourth. (Case, 1966, 73, Figs. 28 and 29; Hawkes, 1933, 42; Leeds, 1929, 153).

MAIDENHEAD: Sherds of bucket urns. (Reading Museum).

NEWBURY: Barrel urn of "South Lodge Type". (Calkin, 1962, 54; Hardy, 1936, 180).

RADLEY: Sherds from ring ditch. (Case, 1966, 19, Fig. 27).

STREATLEY: Bucket urn, possibly one of two dredged from the Thames. (Case, 1966, 75; Peake, 1931, 55).

SULHAM: Cremation Cemetery. (Abercromby, 1912, II, Nos. 445–455f; Clay, 1926, 323; Hawkes, 1933, 442; Shrubsole, 1907, 308).

SUTTON COURtenay: Sherds of Type I globular (Ashmolean Museum).

TILEHURST R.D., READING: Fragments of several urns. (Shrubsole, 1907, 312).

WALBURY CAMP, INKPEN: Globular urn. (Clay, 1926, 323; Hawkes, 1933, 442; Peake, 1931, 56 and 205).

WALLINGFORD: A number of "barrel urns", now lost. (Case, 1966, 75; Calkin, 1962, 54; Clay, 1926, 323; Hawkes, 1933, 442; Peake, 1931, 238; Shrubsole, 1907, 313).

WASING: Bucket urn and charcoal found at Blake's Gravel Pit. (Anon., 1966, 72).

WYTHAM: Bucket urn. (Manning, 1898, 45–6).

Unprovenanced: Globular urn. (Abercromby, 1912, II, No. 408).

Bucket urn. (Abercromby, 1912, II, No. 388).

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

BERTON: Sherds of bucket urn with finger-tip impressions. (Aylesbury Museum).

BLEDLOW: Secondary cremation and sherd of bucket urn in round barrow. (Head, 1946, 313).

HITCHAM: Small bucket urn. (Abercromby, 1912, II, No. 474; Head, 1955, 61).

IVER: Sherds of bucket urns. (Aylesbury Museum).

PRINCES RISBOROUGH: Secondary urn in Whiteleaf barrow. (Scott, 1954).

STOKENCHURCH: Urns found in 1783. (Head, 1955, 61).

STOKE POGES: Cremation in bucket urn. (Anon., 1937b, 105; Head, 1955, 61).

MIDDLESEX

- ACTON: Cremation cemetery. (Anon., 1883, 106; Abercromby, 1912, II, Nos. 470-470c; Clay, 1926, 323; Hawkes, 1933, 450; V.C.H., 1969, 45; Vulliamy, 1930, 90).
- ASHFORD COMMON, SUNBURY: Cremation cemetery. (Abercromby, 1912, II, Nos. 469-469d; Clay, 1926, 323; Hawkes, 1933, 450; Roberts, 1871; V.C.H., 1969, 45; Vulliamy, 1930, 90). Urns found in the area in the eighteenth century. (Anon., 1860; V.C.H., 1969, 45).
- BROCKLEY HILL: Bucket urn sherd. (V.C.H., 1969, 45).
- KINGSBURY: Cinerary urns of the "Ashford type". (Hawkes, 1933, 450; V.C.H., 1969, 45; Vulliamy, 1930, 91).
- LITTLETON RESERVOIR: Bucket urn sherds. (Anon., 1951; V.C.H., 1969, 45).
- TEDDINGTON: Possible secondary urn in barrow. (V.C.H., 1969, 44; Vulliamy, 1930, 204).
- YIEWSLEY: Cremation cemetery. (Hawkes 1933, 450; V.C.H., 1969, 45; Vulliamy, 1930, 204).
- THAMES, HAMMERSMITH: Possible bucket urn sherd. (V.C.H., 1969, 46).
- THAMES, LONDON: Small urn. (V.C.H., 1969, 46).

SURREY

- BETCHWORTH: Fragments of several urns. (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 180).
- CARSHALTON: Possible indication of occupation. (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 180).
- CHOBHAM: Cremation cemetery. (Clay, 1926, 323; Gardner, 1924, 16-17; Hawkes, 1933, 452; Whimster, 1931, 82).
- FARNHAM: Cremation cemeteries and occupation in the region. (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 172-179; Frere, 1961, 112).
- HASLEMERE: Fragments of "a large urn". (Hawkes, 1933, 452; Swanton, 1925, 124).
- KINGSTON-ON-THAMES: Fragments of bucket urns. (Anon., 1863, 372; Clay, 1926, 323; Gardner, 1924, 17; Hawkes, 1933, 452; Whimster, 1931, 82-8).
- SUNNINGDALE: Cremation cemetery. (Abercromby, 1912, II, Nos. 416-416b; Clay, 1926, 323; Gardner, 1924, 17; Hawkes, 1933, 452; Whimster, 1931, 236; Shrubsole, 1907, 303-308).
- WADDON: Large amount of pottery and some flint, bronze awl and saddle quern fragments. (Clinch, 1902, 181; Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 180).
- WALLINGTON: Urn found in Wallington Camp. (Whimster, 1931, 83).
- WALTON-ON-THAMES: Cremation cemetery. (Calkin, 1962, 58; Clay, 1926, 323; Gardner, 1924, 23-26; Hawkes, 1933, 452; Whimster, 1931, 237).
- WEST HUMBLE: Part of a bucket urn. (Oakley, *et al.*, 1939, 180).
- WEYBRIDGE: One bucket urn. (Whimster, 1931, 239).
- WONERSH: Bucket urn in barrow. (Clay, 1926, 323; Cooper, 1900, 156; Gardner, 1924, 26-27; Hawkes, 1933, 452; Smith, 1900, 251-3; Whimster, 1931, 240).
- WORPLESDON: Five bucket urns from two barrows. (Clay, 1926, 323; Gardner, 1924, 27; Hawkes, 1933, 452; Pitt-Rivers, 1877, 116; Whimster, 1931, 240).

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ROMAN BURIALS FROM OLD FORD, E.3. FEBRUARY AND MAY 1972

BY WILLIAM J. OWEN, IRENE SCHWAB AND HARVEY SHELDON

INTRODUCTION

On February 3rd 1972, during the excavation of a Metropolitan Water Board trench along the east side of Armagh Road, a stone coffin was found containing a skeleton.¹ Fig. 1. No. 10.

Some three months later (18th May 1972) a similar coffin was uncovered 25 metres southwest of the first, at McInerney's Beale Road Development site. This contained the remains of two bodies. A third burial, probably originally in a wooden coffin, was found alongside this sarcophagus.² Fig. 1. No. 11.

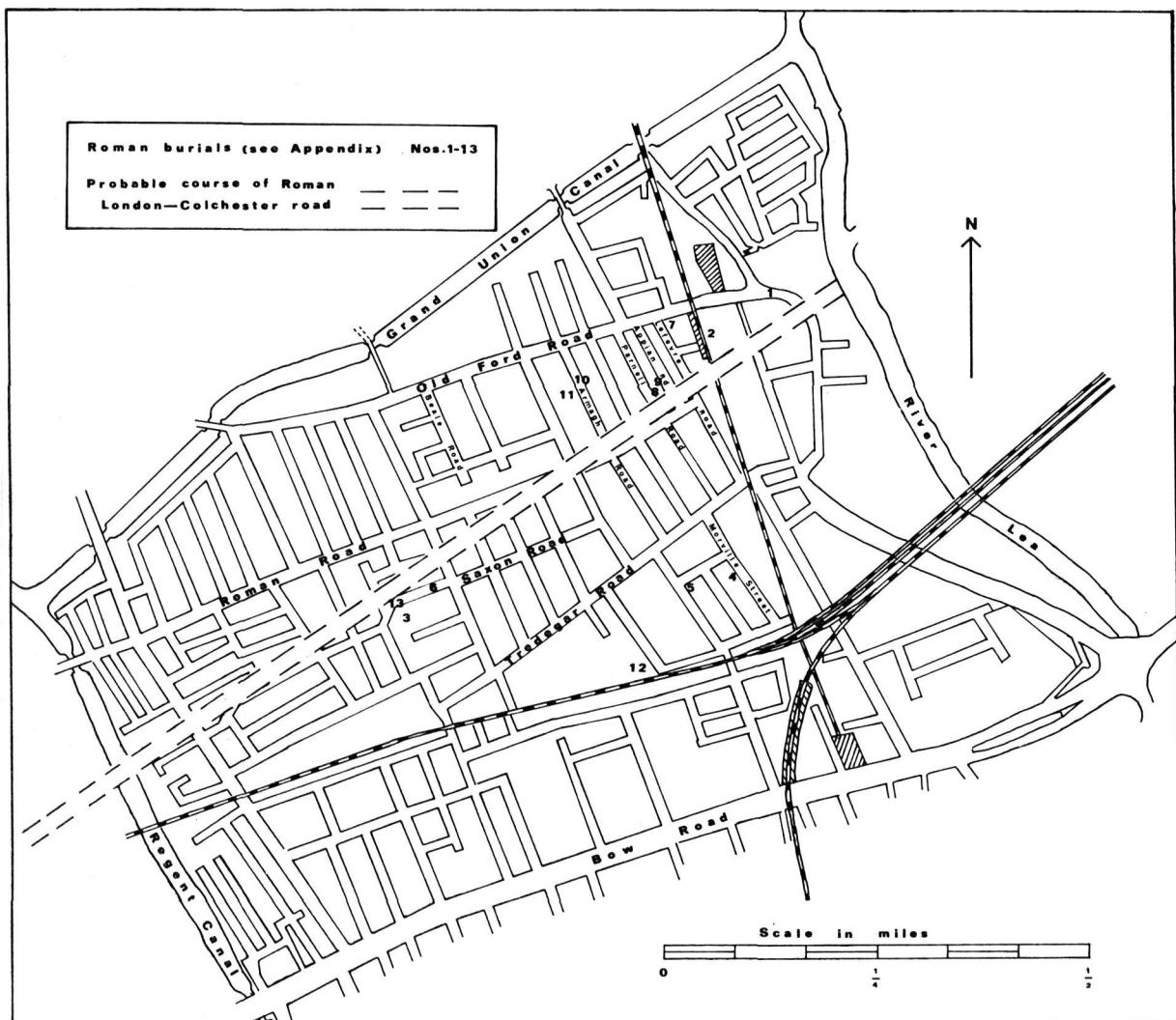


Fig. 1. Area plan

These interments lay approximately 125 metres north of the Roman road from London to Colchester,³ but in neither case was there any trace of associated Roman features.

Mechanical excavation had damaged the lids of both sarcophagi but the contents were undisturbed. The second coffin was removed and is now being stored by the Borough of Tower Hamlets until it can be exhibited locally.⁴

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The sarcophagus, discovered outside No. 114 Armagh Road (TQ 36790, 83600), was carved from a single block of oolitic limestone. It was orientated at 95° east of north (Fig. 2). The top of the lid measuring 2.20 m x 0.75 m lay about 0.80 m below the modern road surface. It was ridged along the centre where the depth was 0.15 m compared with 0.10 m at the sides. Apart from the modern break, there was one crack which was apparently of ancient origin. The coffin walls were 0.10 m thick and 0.50 m externally. They enclosed a chamber 1.90 m by 0.50 m which was 0.40 m deep.

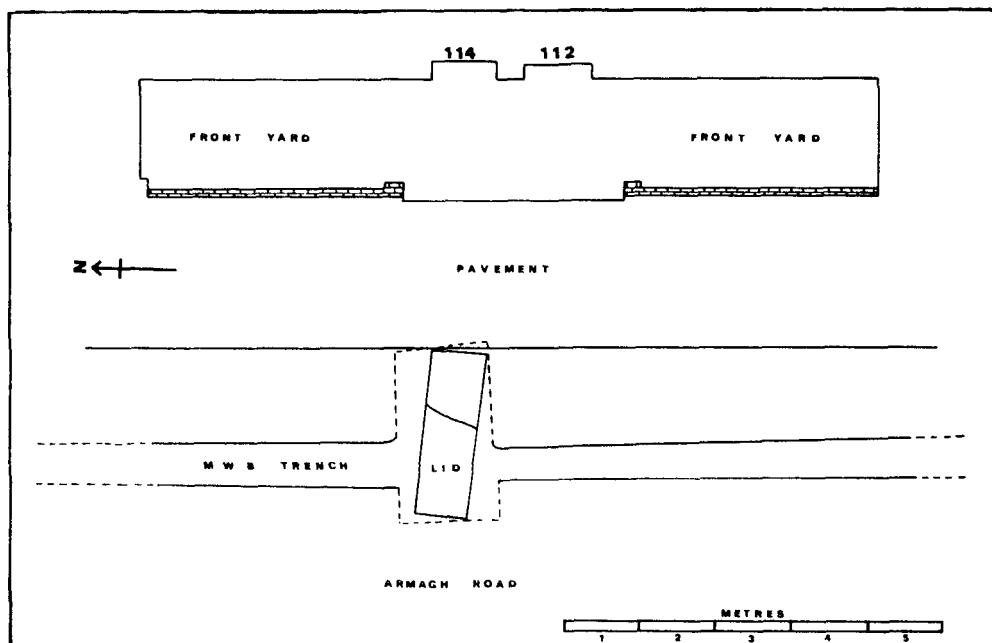


Fig. 2. Site plan: Armagh Road

Removal of the lid showed that the body had been laid on its back in an extended position, with the head to the west, the feet to the east, and the hands meeting over the pelvis (Fig. 3). White-coloured calcium carbonate in a semi-liquid state underlay the body.⁵ By the right hip lay an iron key (Fig. 4) and in the calcium carbonate near to the head were two pins, one of bone and the other of jet,⁶ the latter having been finely carved and turned on a lathe (Fig. 5). They had possibly been used to dress the hair. The only other object found in the coffin was a pottery sherd of red oxidised fabric⁷ which lay under the right foot.

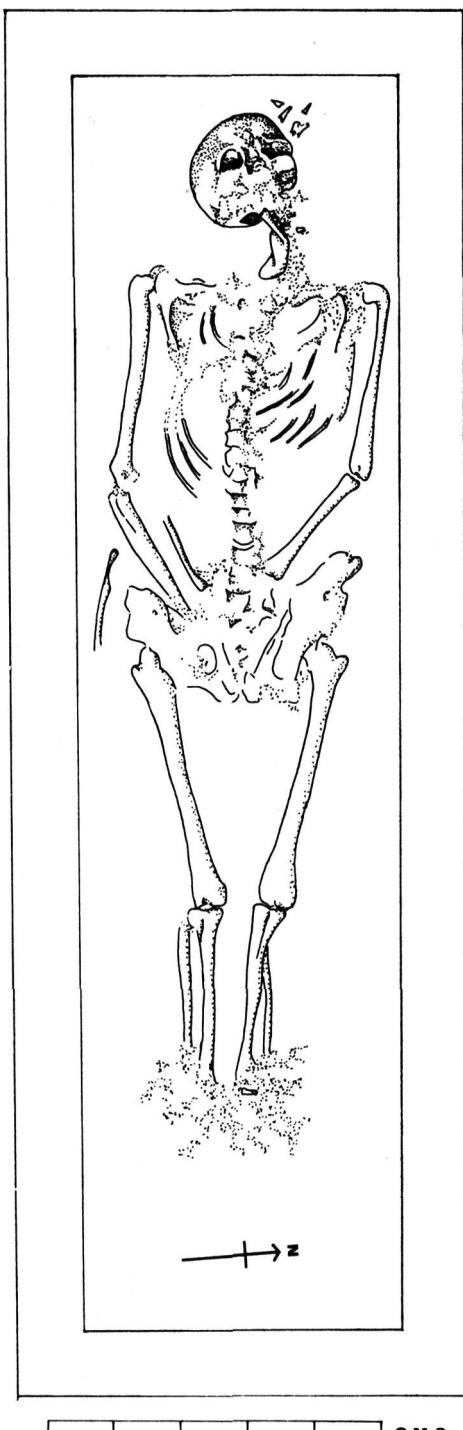


Fig. 3
Plan of Skeleton I in coffin: Armagh Road

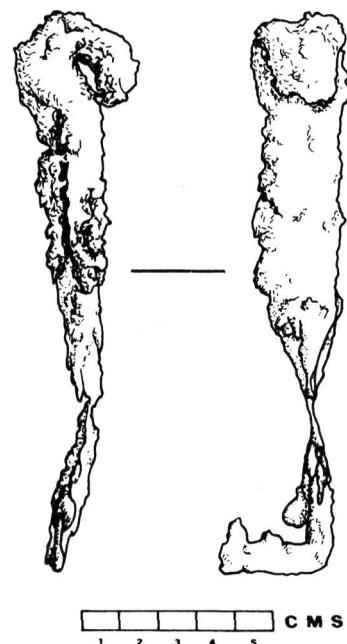


Fig. 4
The iron key ($\frac{1}{2}$ actual size):
Armagh Road

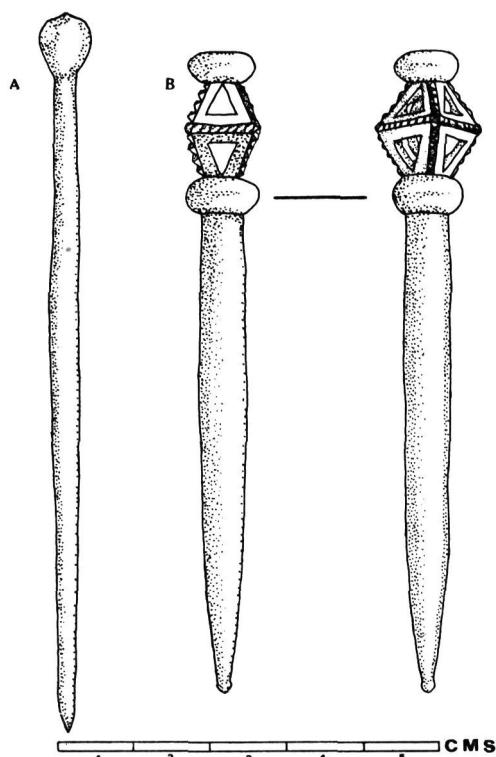


Fig. 5

The pins found close to the head—the left-hand one is made of bone and the right-hand one of jet (actual size):
Armagh Road

The coffin had been placed in a pit cut down into the natural sand and in the fill of this, above the coffin, was found a coin dating from the late third or fourth century A.D.⁸

The second coffin (TQ 36772 83581), orientated at 5° east of north, was 2.07 m long by 0.71 m wide (Fig. 6). Its external depth varied between 0.32 and 0.34 m. The base was therefore roughly the same thickness as the sides which were 0.10 m thick at the short ends and 0.11 m thick on the long sides. This sarcophagus was also carved from a single block of oolitic limestone and the mason's chisel marks could be clearly discerned, especially on the internal surfaces.

Six small rectangular niches (average 6 x 4 cms, 2 cms deep) two on each of the long sides and one at each end were presumably connected with the use of hooks and ropes to lower the coffin into its grave pit. As the grave pit was only 3 or 4 cms wider than the coffin itself this lowering mechanism would have had to be specially efficient.

The lid of the coffin measured 1.95 m by 0.72 m and was 0.12 m thick at the sides, rising to 0.15 m in the middle because of a ridge running lengthwise along the centre. It had been broken in two places, once apparently in antiquity. A square niche at the centre of each short end corresponded with those on the coffin itself (Fig. 7).

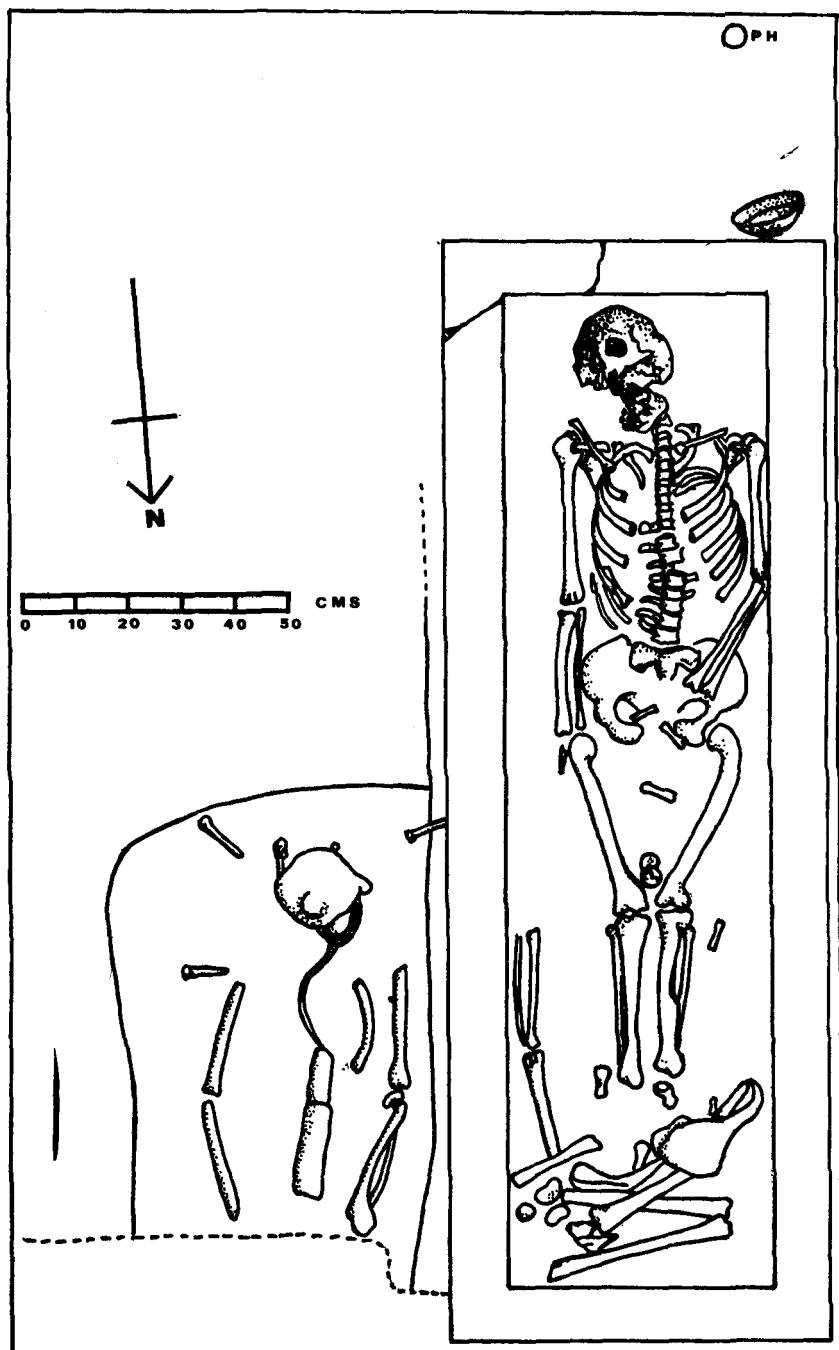


Fig. 6. The Beale Road burials; note position of iron nails around the head of the third burial

Also noted on the lid of the coffin were three shallow scorings, 8 cms wide which converged slightly on one side. It is thought that these were for the attachment of ropes, either to lower the coffin into the ground or to hold it onto a cart for its journey from the place of death to the burial ground.

A fragment of lead attached to the lid may indicate that it originally had a lead covering or decoration.

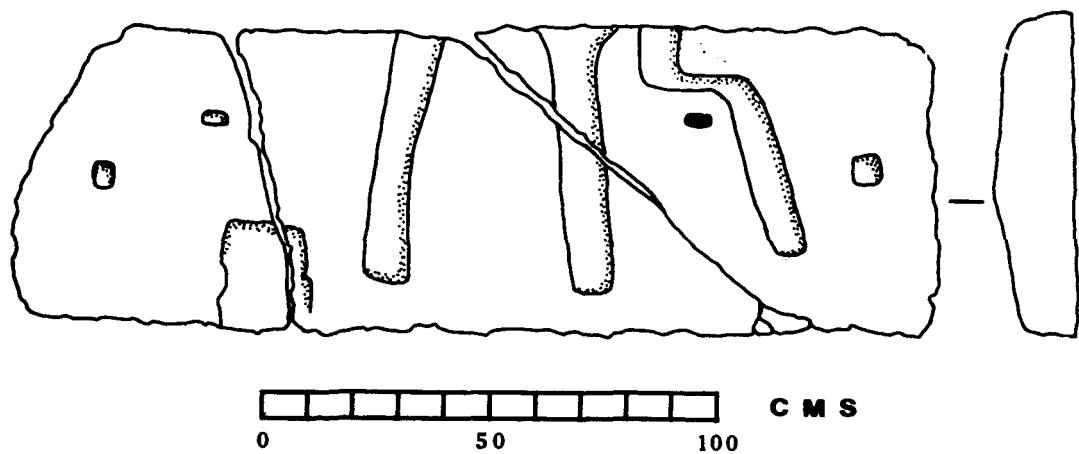


Fig. 7
Plan of the coffin lid—lead fragment in black: Beale Road

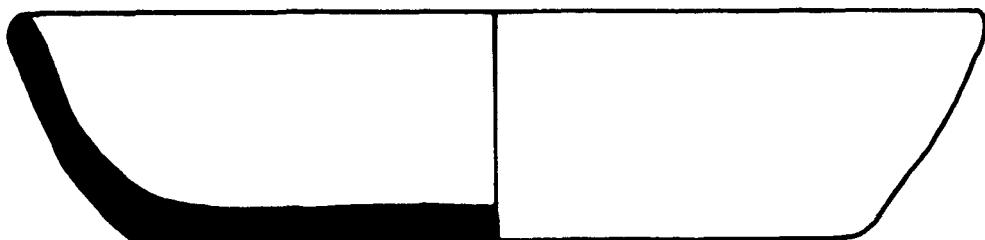


Fig. 8
Shallow dish (actual size): Beale Road

On removal of the lid, a skeleton was found lying in an extended position on its back with the head to the south (Skeleton III). The skeleton was partly covered by a deposit of calcium carbonate in a semi-liquid state.⁹ According to the wave-like stains on the inside wall of the coffin, the calcium carbonate had been in this state for some if not all the time in which the body had been interred, and therefore no trace of clothing or hair could be seen moulded within it. At some stage the liquid level inside the coffin had been even higher according to the coffin stains. Removal of the banked up calcium carbonate towards the north revealed a second skeleton, partly disarticulated (Skeleton II).

There were no grave goods within the coffin but at the south end of the grave pit was found a shallow dish of wheel-thrown, dark-faced, grey ware (Fig. 8).

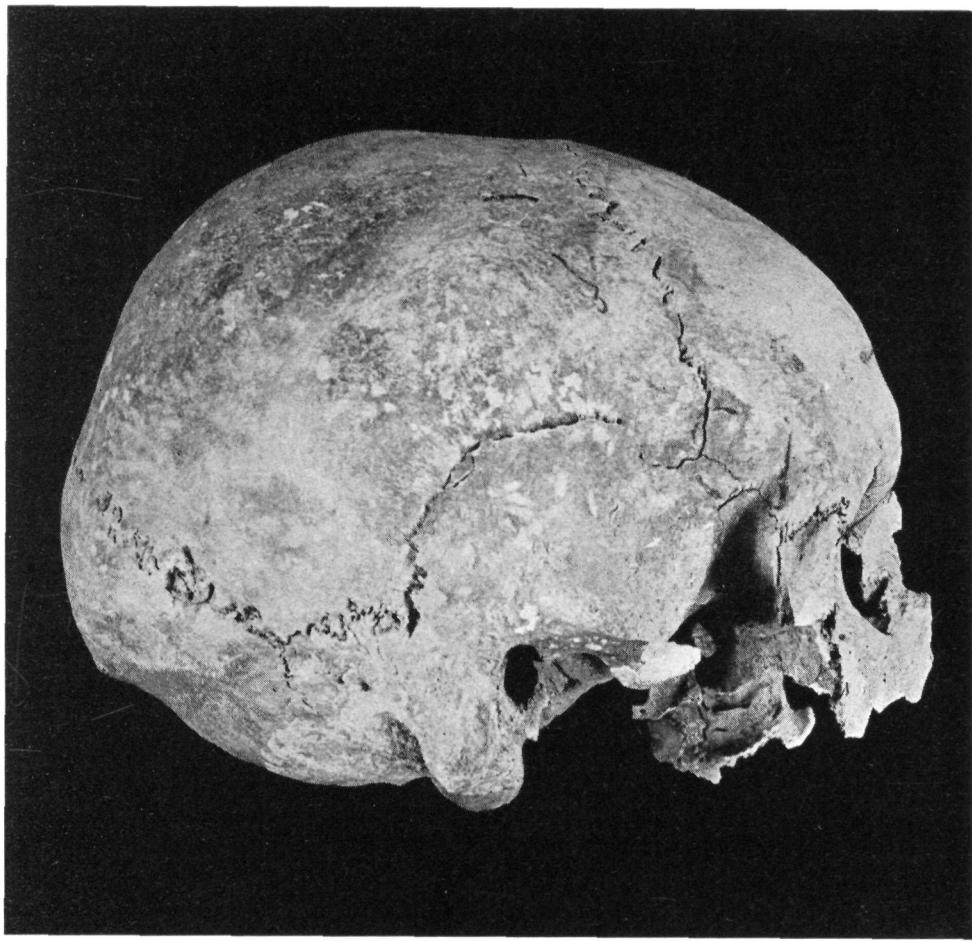


Plate 1. The skull of Skeleton I, showing the occipital bun

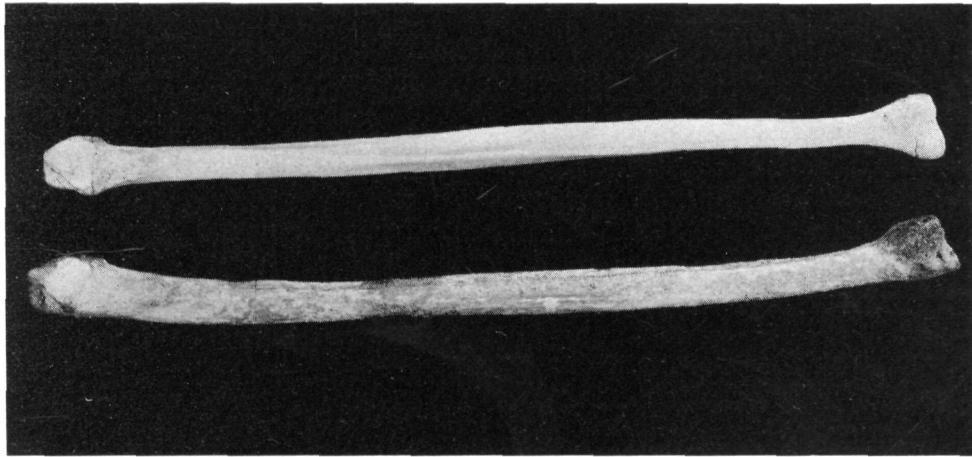


Plate 2. Note the bowing of the fibula from Skeleton I (bottom), indicating a degree of malnutrition

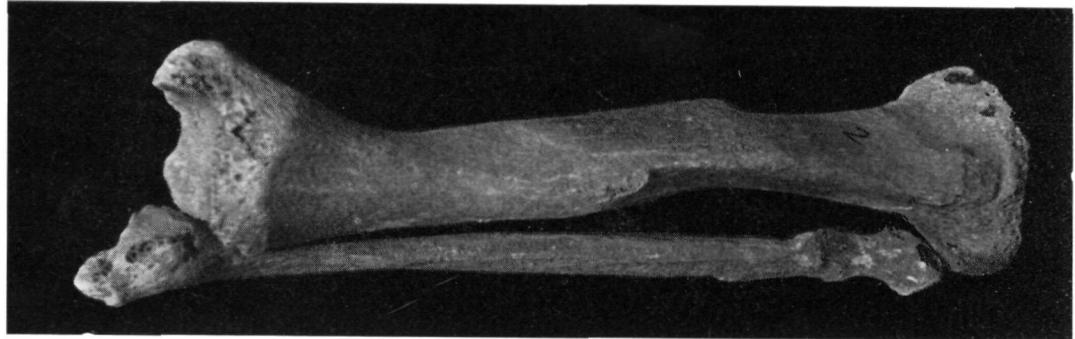


Plate 4. Left tibia and fibula of Skeleton III, showing the healed oblique fractures of both bones

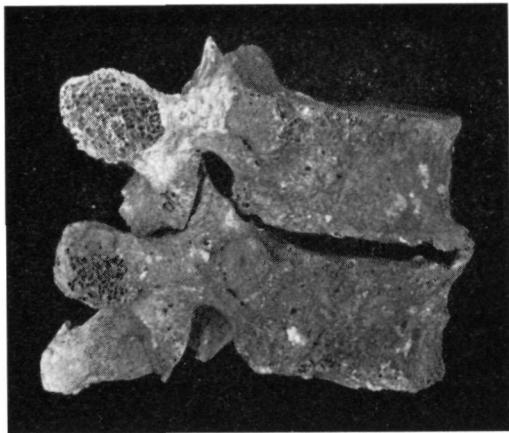


Plate 3. Two vertebrae of Skeleton III joined together abnormally

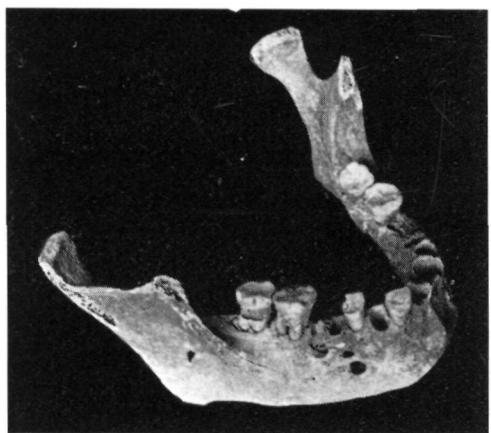


Plate 5. Lower jaw of Skeleton III, showing evidence of a dental abscess



Plate 6. The skull of Skeleton III, showing the low flat forehead and occipital bun

A black burnished sherd probably from the shoulder of a cooking jar, with an obtuse latticework decoration, was discovered underneath the coffin. According to R. A. H. Farrar these wares (Black Burnished, Category 1) were produced in Dorset between 250 and 400 A.D.

South of the coffin was a small round stakehole, 5 cms in diameter, which may have originally contained a marker for the grave.

On the east side of the sarcophagus a third skeleton was found lying on the same alignment but slightly further north (Skeleton IV). As a result of its positioning the lower half of the body had been destroyed in mechanical excavation leaving intact only that portion actually alongside the stone coffin. It also appeared to be lying in an extended position on its back and the position of large iron nails around the body suggested that it had been buried in a wooden coffin. In contrast with those from the stone coffin, this skeleton was in a very fragile condition, probably because of the acidity of the surrounding sandy soil.

THE SKELETAL REMAINS

The four skeletons found at Bow in February and May 1972 yielded valuable and interesting information about the mode of life of these Romano-British inhabitants; also about some of the diseases from which they suffered. With the exception of the fourth skeleton (Skeleton IV) the bones were in good condition and therefore a confident assessment of stature, sex, build and age of death has been put forward.

I. ARMAGH ROAD, OLD FORD

The skeleton was complete with the exception of (i) deficiency of the left orbital bones and nasal bone of the skull, (ii) the thoracic vertebrae which were fragmentary.

The age at death is estimated to be between 25 and 30 years. The wisdom teeth had erupted and bony growth had ceased as judged by the disappearance of all cartilaginous growth plates both in the long bones and also in the base of the skull; both these processes are usually completed by 22 years of age. Todd's method of estimating the age at death is based on examination of the junction of the two pelvic bones (*symphysis pubis*) and in this case gave an age of between 25 and 30 years.¹⁰ This method depends on the systematic assessment of the ridges at the pubis as these bones wear down to an almost smooth surface by the age of 60 years.

The sex of this skeleton was clearly female. The most reliable method for sexing a skeleton is on the basis of the pelvic bones and this is conclusive in 90 per cent of cases: (i) the typical female adaptation for childbirth, such as, the large circumference of the pelvic ring with the small hip socket diameter; (ii) the small bony ridges on the skull (supraciliary ridges and mastoid processes) further testify to the sex.

The stature was calculated using the formulae of Trotter and Glessner¹¹ based on the lengths of the long bones. Three separate estimations using fibula, radius and femur gave a mean height of 165 cms. By Romano-British standards a female of 5 ft 5 ins would have been unusually tall as the average height of the Trentholme Romano-British females in York (Warwick)¹² was 5 ft 1 inch.

The only asymmetry of long bone length was that between the humeri, the right humerus being 15 mm longer than the left. This difference probably represents a congenital shortening of the left humerus and it is a fairly common type of abnormality to come across in otherwise normal skeletons.

The lateral profile of the skull presented a low flat cranium with a prominent posterior bulge (Plate 1); Warwick noted this occipital bun as being characteristic of the York Romano-British and this adds weight to the other evidence that this skeleton was that of a Romano-Briton. The muscular markings on the upper limb bones (deltoid and biceps markings) were very prominent and indicate a way of life involving repeated heavy lifting.

The teeth were remarkable in that they showed extensive wear in the part exposure of the dentine with complete flattening of the dental cusps. A large dental cavity was found on the biting surface (non occlusal) of the first lower molar tooth. These findings as shown later are typical of Romano-British dentition as described by Cooke and Rowbotham¹³ in the York finds.

Apart from the dental decay mentioned above, the only other pathological finding in this skeleton was the marked bowing of the bones of the lower limbs—showing striking evidence of osteomalacia (Plate 2). This was principally seen in the tibia and fibula. Osteomalacia is a malnutritional disease of bone associated with lack of calcium, Vitamin D and sunshine and is now seen amongst poor immigrants in Northern England. The skeleton showed no signs of any wear and tear type of osteoarthritis or of any injury and there was no clue to the cause of death. In summary, therefore, the Armagh Road skeleton was that of a tall 25 to 30 year-old Romano-British female who appeared to have led a very active life involving much manual work and who died from an unknown cause.

SKELETON II was that of a woman aged between 30 and 35 years and whose height is estimated to have been 5 ft 1½ ins. Sexing of the skeleton was once again ascertained from the pubis which was typically female with its large internal diameter, but small acetabular (hip socket). Sometimes difficulty is encountered in ageing a skeleton when different bones give differing ages. In this case Todd's method using the pubic bones gave an age at death of 30 years but in view of the marked osteoarthritis present in the bones of the spine and the excessive dental wear, an estimate of 35 years could possibly be more accurate. The wear and tear changes found in the lumbar vertebrae (lower end of the spine) are the type of changes which are often associated with a slipped disc—although this was certainly not the primary cause of death—and might well have caused a considerable amount of pain and weakness of the legs.

The stature, according to the methods of Trotter and Glessner using the lengths of the fibula, radius and humerus, gave results averaging at 5 ft 1½ ins. The humerus was remarkable again in the muscle marking of the deltoid; this was more marked on the right side than the left and would suggest that this woman was right-handed and also a woman who used her arms a great deal for heavy lifting. The skull was typically female but showed no other notable characteristics.

The bones of the upper half of the body (the skull, upper spine, shoulder girdle bones and arm bones) were in the correct anatomical alignment but were lying apart from those of the lower half. This suggests that the strong ligaments linking the limb bones were intact at the time of interment but that the soft tissue joining upper and lower halves of the body had disintegrated. The appropriate interval of time for this degenerative process is difficult to assess but would be within 10 years.

SKELETON III

The second burial in the sarcophagus was that of a man aged between 55 and 65 years and whose height is estimated to have been about 5 ft 5 ins.

The age is based on:

- (a) the calcification of the thyroid cartilage of the larynx. Calcification of the thyroid cartilage is seen radiologically in people over the age of 55 years and represents an ageing process in the cartilaginous matrix.
- (b) the presence of well-marked wear and tear changes in the thoracic spine. Two vertebrae were joined together abnormally by degenerative bony outgrowths (Plate 3).

A well-healed spiral fracture of the left tibia and fibula was found which probably resulted from an indirect twisting force applied to the left foot (Plate 4). The healed position of the bone ends was very satisfactory and such alignment would have been achieved by using some form of orthopaedic splint.

Dental decay was considerable and at least five dental cavities were seen on the non-biting surface of the teeth. A periapical abscess had also formed in relation to one carious tooth and had ruptured outwards through the jaw persisting as a discharging sinus (Plate 5). This old man therefore apparently suffered from marked osteoarthritis, had a discharging sinus on the face and possibly walked with a limp because of his shortened left leg.

Lateral profile of the skull did present the characteristic appearance of a Romano-Briton as described by Warwick in the York series. The characteristics were (a) a low flat forehead and (b) a prominent suboccipital bulge (Plate 6). As in Skeleton II the very prominent muscular markings on the right humerus suggested right-handedness and also an arduous manual occupation.

SKELETON IV was fragmentary and it was not possible to assess sex or stature. The only bone that yielded much information was the jaw. The main characteristic was the absence of dental wear. The age at death is likely to have been between 18 years and 25 years, as judged by the lack of wear and absence of any dental decay. An impacted third molar was found on the left side.

CONCLUSIONS

A number of burials, dating to the Roman period, have been found in the vicinity of Old Ford on both sides of the London-Colchester road. At least six were recovered in the mid-nineteenth century during the first modern development of the area. They came to light in the cutting made for the North London Railway and in the excavations for the houses which spread across land previously used for agriculture. It is probable that these relate to the Roman settlement which seems to have stretched west back from the Ford along the highway. It has been identified by excavations at Lefevre Road,¹⁴ Appian Road and Parnell Road.¹⁵

The six stone coffins which have been recorded are all of the same type; they are undecorated and carved out of a single block of oolitic limestone or freestone. Lids are ridged along the centre or flat and hollowed out and the sarcophagi usually contain a substance described as lime, but which may represent the calcium carbonate found in the wooden coffin from Parnell Road¹⁶ and in the latest two sarcophagi. The latter are slightly wider than those previously found but other attributes are typical.

Several points of interest arise from examination of the skeletons:—

- (i) the extreme degree of dental wear present on three of the skeletons with relatively low incidence of dental caries and cavities as compared with the present population. The

cavities that were seen were all on the non-biting surface of the teeth. Cooke and Rowbotham in the York series also remarked on this low incidence (4%) of caries as compared to the present day population and equate this find to:

- (a) the absence of refined carbohydrates
 - (b) the tough, gritty, fibrous diet which results in this excessive wear of the biting surface of the teeth thus excluding any pits or irregularities where bacterial growth and food accumulation could give rise to dental caries.
- (2) Stature. There has been a trend since the Roman period for both men and women to become taller. Thus Romano-British females in the York series averaged 5 feet 1 inch whereas the present day mean female height is 5 feet 4 inches. The mean Romano-British male height was 5 feet 7 inches as compared with the present day mean male height of 5 feet 8 inches.
- This data is in keeping with the height of Skeletons II and III. Skeleton II and III are therefore typical, although Skeleton I was surprisingly tall.
- (3) Disease. Most fatal illnesses leave no indication on the bones and so it is not surprising that the cause of death is unascertainable in all four cases.
- The high incidence of wear and tear, osteoarthritis and the prominent muscular markings on the bones contrast with the present day skeletons of people of comparable ages and probably represent a very arduous way of life.
- The presence of rickets in the Armagh Road skeleton may represent a dietary deficiency.
- (4) Age at death — The discovery of four skeletons representing people aged 20, 30, 35, and 55 in the present day population would surely imply premature deaths. In the Roman period, on current evidence, it would seem that 50% of the population died between 20 and 40 years and the above ages are therefore compatible with these findings.¹²

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations were conducted by members of a full-time unit, now based in Southwark. The unit was assisted in excavation and removal of the bones by Dr. A. Missen, B. Barrell, P. Daniels and E. Jeffreys. Stephen Curtis of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets and John Earp were responsible for the site photography. K. Fitzpatrick of Guys Hospital Department of Anatomy photographed the bones of Skeleton I. The bones of Skeletons II and III were photographed by John Earp.

We would like to thank Professor R. Warwick, Department of Anatomy, Guys Hospital Medical School, and Dr. A. Missen, Department of Pathology, for their preliminary examination of the bones and for their advice, help and criticism.

R. A. H. Farrar commented on the pottery. S. A. Mackenna identified the coffin material and analysed the calcium carbonate.

H. Hodges and Miss E. Pye, of the Conservation Department, Institute of Archaeology, treated and X-rayed the key.

We would also like to thank Fred Goddard and the construction gang working in Armagh Road, and Mr. Farrow and the staff of McInerney's Beale Road Development site for all their help.

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The report was typed by Win Exley.

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APPENDIX

List of Roman burials found in Old Ford (area plan (Fig. 1) numbers 1-13):

1. Urns containing burnt bones found a few years before 1844. C. Roach-Smith, *Archaeologia* 31 (ii), p. 310. Discovered in the centre of Old Ford Road, on the east corner of Wick Lane.
2. A stone coffin containing a skeleton found in 1870. R. Smith, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (xxiii), 1910, p. 235. Discovered near the end of the platform at Old Ford Road Station.
3. A stone coffin containing a skeleton of an adult male, said to have been found near Saxon Road and Coborna Road (*Trans. L.A.M.A.S.* (iii), 1870, p. 206), sixty yards south of Roman Road. The site is given as 200 yards north of the Morville Street burials (4), but R. Smith (*P.S.A.* (xxiii), 1910, p. 232) suggests that this coffin was probably found in Parnell Road. The latter location was given in *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.* (xxiii), 1971, Fig. 10, but Smith produces no evidence to support the assertion, and the original site is given here.
4. Two stone coffins, one containing the remains of two adult females and a male, the other encasing the skeleton of a female. At the foot of the latter was found a broken amphora containing bones belonging to two individuals. J. E. Price, *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.* (iii), 1870, p. 208. Discovered in Morville Street in 1868.
5. R. Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 234) says that railwaymen remember a stone coffin being found on the site of Carlisle Tavern at the south-west corner of Lacey Street. The Morville Street burials (see 4) were stored in the same place after excavation; it may have been one of those coffins referred to here.
6. Railwaymen also remember a coffin being found in the middle of Saxon Road on the Collingwood Estate probably after 1868 (R. Smith, *op. cit.*). No details are given, and this may represent the rediscovery of a burial found earlier in the vicinity (possibly 3 or 13).
7. In 1969 the staff of John Laing Construction recorded a cremation probably of the first century on the Lefevre Road development project (TQ 3697 8372).
8. A stone coffin containing a skeleton, found opposite number 85 Parnell Road in 1969 (TQ 3693 8360). *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.* (xxiii), 1972, p. 147.
9. A burial in a wooden coffin, uncovered during excavations at Parnell Road in 1970 (TQ 3694 8361). *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.* (xxiii), 1972, p. 101.
10. A stone coffin containing the skeleton of an adult female, found opposite number 114 Armagh Road in 1972 (TQ 3679 8360).
11. A stone coffin containing the remains of an adult male and female and a burial in a wooden coffin east of this sarcophagus found in 1972 at Beale Road development site (TQ 3677 8358).
12. A stone coffin containing a skeleton, found in 1856, at Mr. Hemming's Iron Church and House Works, which lay between Tredegar Road and Mostyn Grove. *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.* (i), p. 192.
13. A stone coffin containing the skeleton of an adult male found in 1865 at the site of the first house in Saxon Road, west of the corner with New Coborne Road. *P.S.A.* (iii), 1865, pp. 123-4.

NOTES

- ¹ *London Archaeologist* I, 15, pp. 348-53.
- ² *London Archaeologist* II, 2, pp. 27-31.
- ³ The Water Board trench later cut across the road.
- ⁴ The remains of the Armagh Road coffin were left *in situ*.
- ⁵ According to S. A. Mackenna, the material consisted almost entirely of extremely fine-grained calcium carbonate (Ca CO_3) with occasional iron-stained quartz grains, sized 0.25 - 0.5 mm and rare grains of glauconite which showed as dark flecks. The material was almost certainly derived from a very pure marine limestone (perhaps chalk).
- ⁶ Two jet pins were found with a burial in what is now Corfield Street, Bethnal Green (*Trans. L.A.M.A.S.*, 1862, p. 76).
- ⁷ The edges of the sherd were not at all eroded and it was apparently recently broken at the time of deposit.
- ⁸ The coin, which was very corroded, was identified by M. J. Hammerson.
- ⁹ S. A. Mackenna identified this as an example of extremely fine-grained calcium carbonate, almost certainly derived from a marine limestone.
- ¹⁰ T. W. Todd, "Age Changes in the Pubic Bone" *American Journal of Physical Anatomy* (1920), 3(3), pp. 285-334.
- ¹¹ Trotter & Glessner, *American Journal of Physical Anatomy* (1952), 10(4), pp. 463-514.
- ¹² R. Warwick, "Report of Skeletal Remains", *The Romano-British Cemetery, Trentholme Drive (York)*, 1968.
- ¹³ C. Cooke & T. C. Rowbotham, "Dental Report", *The Romano-British Cemetery, Trentholme Drive (York)*, 1968.
- ¹⁴ *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.*, vol. 23 (I), pp. 42-77.
- ¹⁵ *Trans. L.A.M.A.S.*, vol. 23 (II), pp. 101-147.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

ROMAN MATERIAL FOUND AT GROVE HOUSE, HENDON, IN 1889

BY BRIAN ROBERTSON, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.

SUMMARY

This paper is a reappraisal of some Roman material found in Hendon in 1889. An attempt has been made to eliminate some of the considerable confusion that has surrounded this site. The few remaining finds described here give no real indication as to the nature of the site, which is now unfortunately lost to further investigation.

INTRODUCTION

The *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* of December 1889 contains a short reference to some Roman material found in the grounds of Grove House, The Burroughs, Hendon, London N.W.4.¹ This paragraph refers to a quantity of fragments of Roman pottery found by Dr. Henry Hicks, F.R.S., during the digging of a gravel pit. The report gives no further details except that the pieces, including some fragments of bone, were scattered about a foot below the surface.

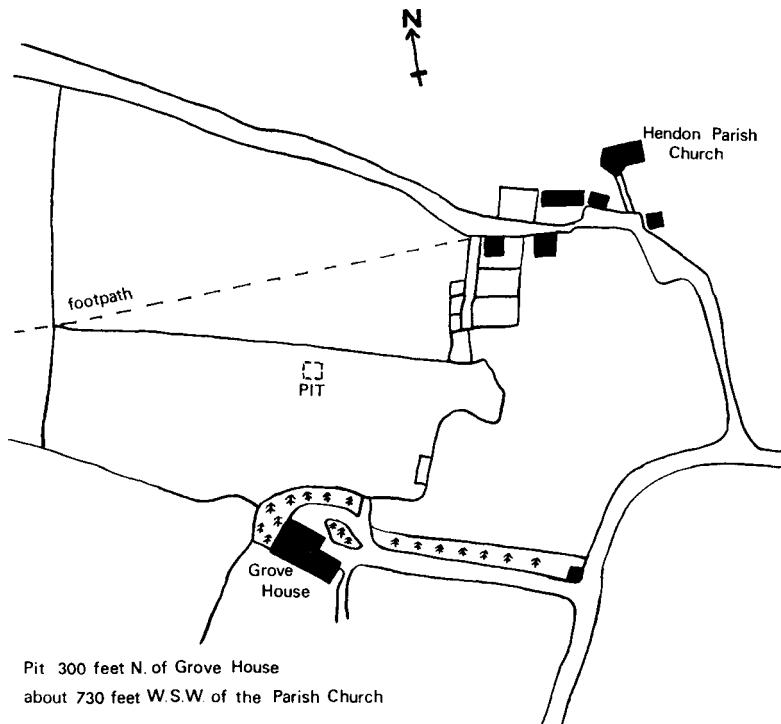


Fig. 1

Drawing made from sketch-map showing the location of the find made in the grounds of Grove House, Hendon. (Reproduced by permission of the Libraries and Arts Committee, London Borough of Barnet.)

A report in a local paper shortly afterwards specifically mentions "broken cinerary urns, mortaria, and water bottles (one being complete with the exception of the handle)" as being found at the Grove.² The report goes on to say that "there were also various kinds of Roman tiles, bricks and millstones, etc., indicating clearly that there must have been a Roman villa at or near the spot." Since these two reports this material has been left uninvestigated, yet the rumours of a villa site have flourished and it was felt that it would be worth tracing those pieces that still survive, and studying them in detail.

Grove House was built in the early eighteenth century and after a succession of owners the house was demolished in 1934 and the ground it occupied opened as a public park. The exact site of the find of Roman material was recorded by Dr. Hicks on a sketch map and he placed the site of the pit as 300 ft north of Grove House and about 730 ft west-south-west of St. Mary's Parish Church. Figure 1 is a drawing of the sketch map made from a photocopy of the original.³ As accurately as can be established, this site is at grid reference TQ 227894. This puts it under the playing field of the Hendon College of Technology, which was extensively landscaped during the construction of the college, so that any further evidence or possibility of new investigation has now been lost.

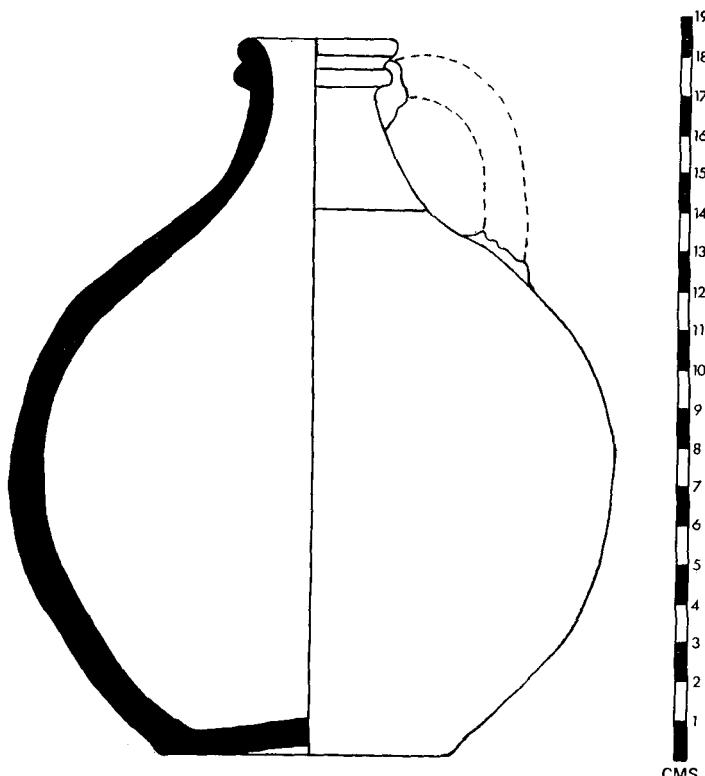


Fig. 2
Section of the ring-necked single-handled flagon

The Local History Collection of the London Borough of Barnet has four items catalogued as having been found at Hendon Grove. These are a single handled flagon (A.64), part of a circular brick (A.65), part of a tile (A.65), and a portion of tessellated pavement (A.61). By reference to the Library Donations Book and various items of correspondence filed in the Local History Collection, it is clear that the flagon, the brick and the tile were donated in March 1949 by Dr. F. H. K. Green, C.B.E., a relative of Dr. Hicks, as items found at Hendon Grove in 1889.⁴ This was confirmed recently by the donor.⁵ The portion of tessallated pavement, measuring 16 cm x 12 cm and consisting of 133 buff coloured tesserae is entered in the donations book later than the flagon, the brick and the tile, even though it was donated earlier, in December 1948, by Miss N. F. Waters. Although it is alleged that this portion of pavement was found in Hendon prior to 1890, there is no evidence to link it with the Grove House finds.⁷ Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that it was actually excavated in Hendon as opposed to having been brought from elsewhere as a collector's item. The position is further clarified by the fact that there is no mention of tesserae in either the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* or the *Hendon Times*. As other items are specifically listed and tesserae would be the sort of items most readily recognised, even in 1889, it is reasonable to assume that this portion of tessellated pavement is not related to the Grove House finds.

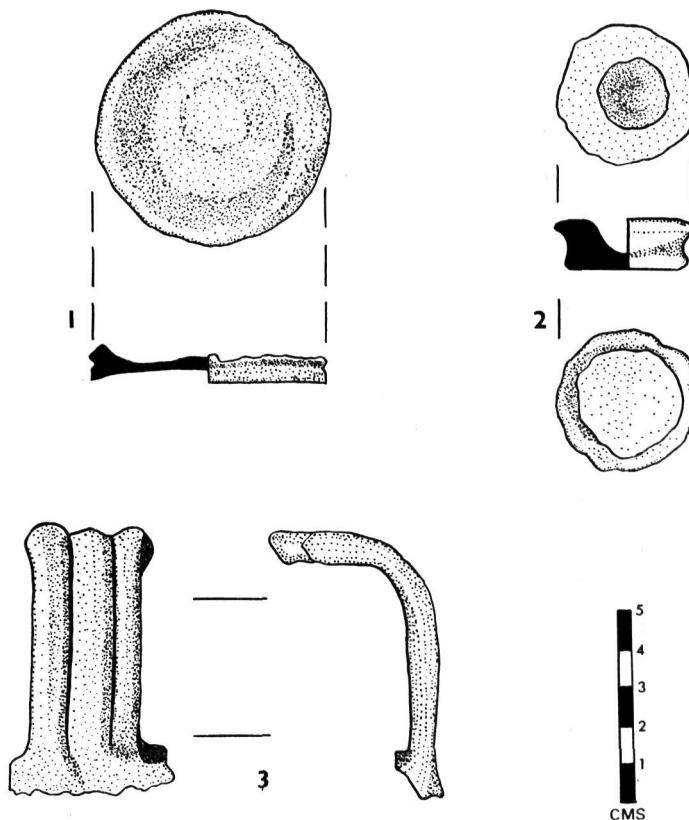


Fig. 3
Pottery fragments

It has long been considered that the few items mentioned above were all that remained of the Grove House discovery. There are, however, two further entries listed as Roman material in the Local History Collection list of antiquities. These are listed as "16 fragments of Roman pottery" (A.181) and "Lug from a Roman water jug" (A.185). Unfortunately there is neither date of donation nor the name of the donor, nor any indication as to the origin of these pieces. It has been possible to ascertain that these items were also part of Dr. Hicks' material from the grounds of Grove House.⁸ It has regrettably been impossible to study all these 17 pieces as only 3 items labelled A.181 and the single A.185 could be traced. Of these 4 pieces only 3 are Roman and the other is a handle of seventeenth-century date. This, therefore, calls into question the real identity and dating of the 13 missing pieces.

THE ROMAN FINDS

The descriptions which follow are of the remaining Roman finds known to have constituted part of Dr. Hicks' discovery of 1889. The items have been numbered for convenience and the London Borough of Barnet Local History Collection catalogue number appears in brackets:

1. (A.64) A ring-necked single-handled flagon. It is of grey fabric and is almost complete with the exception of the handle (Section Fig. 2). The flagon is 18·3 cms high and 15·3 cms wide at its widest part. The internal diameter of the neck is 3·4 cms. It is considered to date from the second century A.D. It has not been possible to find any local parallels and neither the form nor the fabric can be paralleled with any material from the Romano-British Pottery Factory under excavation in Highgate Wood.⁹ There is, however, a similarity of form with Gillam types 8 and 16 both found at Corbridge.¹⁰ Type 8 is dated in the north to between 140 and 180 A.D., and type 16 to between 175 and 250 A.D.
2. (A.65) Almost a quadrant of a circular brick of gritty red fabric, 4 cms thick. It is considered to be a Roman brick of the type used to build columns which would then have been faced with plaster. There are several complete examples in the Guildhall Museum in London, and the portion from Grove House can be closely paralleled to one 20 cms in diameter and 4 cms thick.¹¹
3. (A.65) This item is part of a Roman flanged roofing tile. The portion remaining measures 21 cms x 15 cms. It is flat, 2 cms thick and has a 4 cm flange.
4. (A.181) A double-grooved handle from a buffware flagon (No. 3 on Fig. 3.)
5. (A.181) A 6 cm diameter base of a grey coarseware vessel (No. 1 on Fig. 3.)
6. (A.185) A 3·5 cm diameter orange-buff coloured piece which has been considered to be either a pedestal base or the knob of a lid. Because of its small size and the convexity of its lip it has been judged most likely to be a lid knob¹² (No. 2 on Fig. 3.)

With the exception of the flagon the other pieces listed above are all difficult to date, but the general impression gained is one of late first or second century A.D.

DISCUSSION

Early in the research into the Grove House finds it was clear that many theories had been put forward about the site. This confusion is well illustrated in the *Victoria County History of Middlesex*, which has two entries under Hendon, both of which refer to the single find made by Dr. Hicks.¹³ Perhaps because of this confusion, authors have tended to ignore Grove House completely, or they have perpetuated the villa theory without justification.

There can be little doubt that in 1889 some material was excavated in the grounds of Grove House. This find consisted of material from a number of periods of which all that remains are six Roman items and one post-Medieval piece.

The tesserae incorrectly attributed to Grove House added weight to those arguments in favour of a villa. It is clear that the tesserae did not originate from the Grove and the remaining Roman items do not constitute sufficient evidence for a villa. It must be admitted, however, that while one cannot make a categorical statement, the finds might indicate an occupation site with some form of building.

One must also consider the possibility that the site was a burial. Dr. Hicks' original report states that there were fragments of bone and the pottery was in a "well defined longitudinal excavation under the soil and extending downwards for about 18 ins into the undisturbed sand below."¹⁴ This theory might explain the broken cinerary urns, water jugs and mortaria referred to in the local paper, but not, however, the brick or the tile.

A decision as to which of these theories is the more likely is difficult to take, since both are also possible in combination. Regrettably some of the items from the site, which might have added more information, have not been traced. The evidence from the remaining few items undoubtedly justifies their inclusion on any distribution map of Roman finds, yet the nature of the site must remain far from clear. It is hoped that this paper, in bringing the remaining material to light has removed some of the misconceptions surrounding the Grove House finds.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the assistance received from the following in the preparation of this paper:
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NOTES

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 2nd series, xiii (1889-91), 16.

² *Hendon Times*, 13 December 1889, 5.

³ Published by permission of the Libraries and Arts Committee of the London Borough of Barnet.

⁴ *Hendon Public Libraries Donations Book*, 1938-52, Entry No. 3106, 14 March 1949.

⁵ Personal communication from Dr. F. H. K. Green, C.B.E.

⁶ *Op cit* in note 4, entry No. 3124, 28 February 1949. Letter of acknowledgement dated 10 December 1948.

⁷ Personal communication from Miss N. F. Waters.

⁸ Personal communication from Dr. F. H. K. Green, C.B.E.

⁹ A. E. Brown and H. L. Sheldon "Early Roman Pottery Factory in North London", *London Archaeologist* i, (1969), 39.

¹⁰ J. P. Gillam, *Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels in Northern Britain*, Oriel Academic Publication (1968), 5-7 and Figs. 2-3.

¹¹ Guildhall Museum accession number 1930.215. Found in the City of London but exact provenance unknown.

¹² Personal communication. Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities, British Museum, London.

¹³ *The Victoria County History of Middlesex*, Oxford University Press, i, (1969), 72.

¹⁴ *Op cit* in note 1, 16.

FURTHER EXCAVATIONS AT NO. 31 CLAPHAM COMMON, SOUTH SIDE

BY HARVEY SHELDON

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE 1966 EXCAVATIONS

Following an archaeological investigation in the garden of No. 31 Clapham Common South Side in 1966, it was reported¹ that "three or more phases of Roman occupation have been identified, the earliest two of which are represented by timber building and the last by field or yard boundary ditches". The author stated, however, that it was "difficult to be certain of the precise nature of the Roman occupation in the small area excavated".

II. THE 1970 EXCAVATIONS

Just after the 1966 excavations, No. 31 and the adjoining house No. 30 were demolished, since then the estate has remained derelict awaiting redevelopment. This afforded an opportunity to investigate more of the site in an attempt to obtain additional information as to the nature of the reported Roman occupation. Consequently a further excavation was carried out, for the Clapham Antiquarian Society, between August 15th and August 30th, 1970.

An examination of the report on the 1966 excavation shows that two separate areas were dug. Area A was excavated by the two schoolboys who had initiated the work on the site, while the much larger Area B was done later in the year. The report noted that the boys found in Area A a "Roman ditch" (Ditch 2) and that *their* ditch contained "the only substantial group of finds from the site". These finds include the *only* pottery (five sherds) which are definitely identifiable as Roman.

From Area B two successive structures (Buildings I and II) were reported but little material was listed which would indicate that they were Roman. This evidence was: one sherd of "handmade pottery", "fragments of burnt daub and roofing tiles", and a "fragment of Purbeck marble column" (see Appendix). The strength of the argument for their dating would appear to rest in that the later building (II) was cut by Area B, Ditch 2, *which was hypothetically connected with the boys' "Roman ditch" in Area A.*

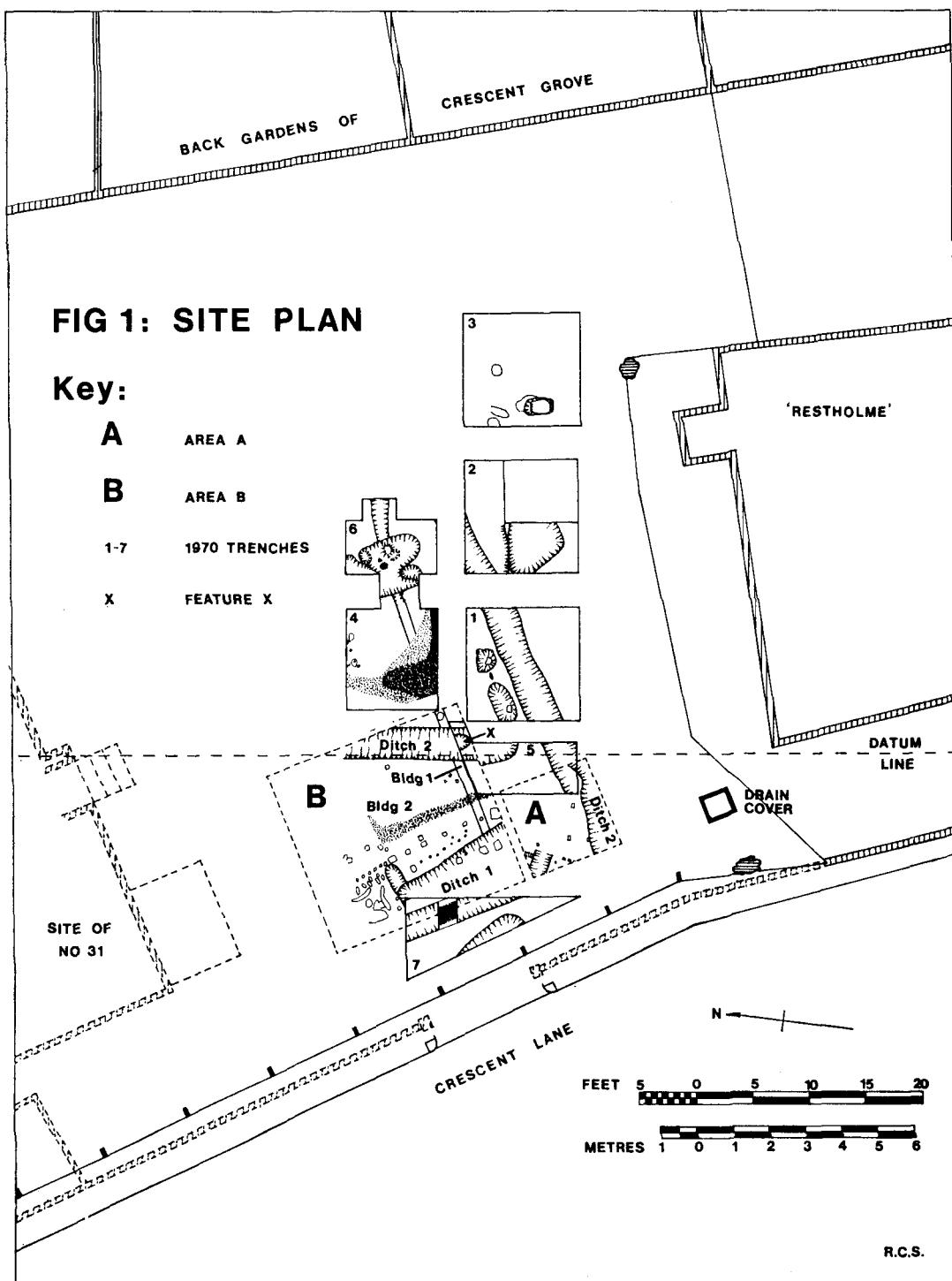
The 1970 trenches were primarily laid to examine the area in greater detail and especially to see:

1. Whether Ditch 2 in Area A actually connected with Ditch 2 in Area B.
2. Whether any traces of Buildings I or II survived to the east of the 1966 trenches, and whether any more material evidence to assist in their dating could be obtained.

III. MAJOR FINDINGS

The 1970 excavation produced no additional information either in the way of pottery, other objects or features which support the 1966 evidence for Roman occupation on the site. It did, however, show that:

1. Ditch 2 in Area A which contained "the only substantial group of finds from the site" was unrelated to Ditch 2 in Area B and therefore was not archaeologically connected to Buildings I and II.



Clapham Common: Site Plan

2. Ditch 2 in Area A should be assigned to the eighteenth century A.D. rather than to the Roman period.
3. The "foundation slot" of Building I (first Roman phase) was unlikely to be part of a building and should, in all probability, be assigned to the eighteenth century.

DITCH 2 IN AREA A.

This ditch was located in the 1970 Trenches 1, 2 and 5. It was seen to be running on a north-east, south-west line, and *not* turning sharply north to meet Ditch 2 of Area B. It was approximately 3 ft wide, 1 ft deep and generally round-bottomed. The fill was largely fine green to brown sandy earth and contained pieces of pottery, tile and tobacco pipe as well as coal fragments and small traces of what may have been brick. The pottery and pipe would suggest an eighteenth century date for its fill.

In Trench 5 the eastern side of Area A was re-excavated. This showed the ditch running clearly into Area A, and it also demonstrated that, in this part at least, it had not been completely dug out.

THE BUILDING "I". "FOUNDATION SLOT".

What is apparently the continuation of this feature was found in the 1970 Trenches 4 and 6. A cut in line with the Area B "foundation slot" was separated from it by an area of natural iron-pan concretion. This cut runs approximately parallel to the ditch described above, and then, towards the east of Trench 6 widens, dips and veers to the east. Before this change it was about 6 ins to 7 ins in depth, round-bottomed, and filled with a fine sandy earth; clean water-worn pebbles were found at its base.

Very little direct dating evidence was obtained. A small tin glazed sherd and many minute traces of coal and brick were found in the fill, but these could be accounted for by worm or root action. Only two larger sherds were found, both were glazed and post-Medieval but occurred above where the cut was definitely located as an intrusion into the natural yellow sand. They were, however, in a deposit indistinguishable from the lower fill.

This feature is probably not a "foundation slot" and no post holes were identified along its length in either Trench 4 or 6. It changed in width, depth and direction towards the east and appeared to stop on either side of the iron-pan. When an extension was made to the west of Trench 4 the sections showed that undercutting had taken place to the east of Area B. The relationship between the "foundation slot" and the iron-pan concretion in this area is therefore unknown.

OTHER FEATURES EXCAVATED IN 1970.

Apart from six pits or similar cuts—all of which contained seventeenth century or later material, two features were located which probably related to the 1966 excavation:

1. "DITCH 2 IN AREA B".

This ditch was noticed in Trench 5 as a dark fill ending in a butt short of Ditch 2 in Area A. It contained seventeenth and eighteenth century pottery and pipes, as well as coal, brick and bone. It was cut down from a higher level than Ditch 2 in area A.²

2. "DITCH 1 IN AREA B".

Only a little of this feature survived. It was found in Trench 7 at the west of the 1966 Area B and just east of a north-south drain cut. It contained a few pieces of brick, tile and coal and a fragment of seventeenth-eighteenth century salt-glazed ware. The colour of the fill was similar to Ditch 2 in Area A, and it lay on the natural sandy pebbly clay.

IV. CONCLUSION.

All of the features excavated in 1970 appeared to be of seventeenth-century or later date and none of those dug in 1966 can definitely be assigned to an earlier period.³

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the work on the site was done by Becky Warren (Assistant Director), John Earp (Photographer), Robert Symberlist and Eric Ferretti. Thanks are also due to all others who assisted in the excavation and to Win Exley who typed the report. Roy Canham of the London Museum was responsible for initiating the excavation and E. E. F. Smith, Secretary of the Clapham Antiquarian Society, handled its administration. The (then) Ministry of Public Building and Works provided the finances for the excavation and the report. Total Oil Company, the owners of the property, gave permission for the excavation.

APPENDIX

For the purpose of this report, two of the finds from the 1966 excavation were further examined.

1. THE SHRED OF HAND-MADE POTTERY

Dr. D. P. S. Peacock, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, looked both at the sherd and a thin section made by S. A. Mackenna. Dr. Peacock wrote: "It is impossible to date such a featureless piece of coarse ware with any precision at all, and the fabric could either be late Iron Age or Roman. I have examined the thin section but there is nothing diagnostic to suggest date or provenance. The temper consists of angular flint fragments set in an anisotropic matrix of baked clay with occasional quartz grains".

2. THE FRAGMENT OF PURBECK MARBLE COLUMN

Professor Donald Strong, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, stated that, in his view, it was not possible to ascribe a precise function to the piece of stone.

Mr. Martyn Owen, of the Geological Museum, also examined this specimen, and wrote:

"Your submitted specimen is a piece of pale creamy limestone composed mainly of fragmental shelly material. It is quite a compact rock and fairly well bedded, in fact I should think the two larger flat surfaces are natural bedding planes while the edges appear to have been worked."

"You mention the possibility of it being Purbeck Marble. In my opinion this cannot be so. There are no signs of the Viviparidae (*i.e.* fresh-water snails) that are diagnostic of this horizon and Purbeck Marble is usually dark grey, greenish or reddish".

NOTES

¹ *Lamas Transactions Vol., 22 Part 2, 1969, pp. 27-32.*

² In January 1971 a limited part of Area B was examined to check this further. Under the back-fill a hollow was seen in the clay. (See Site Plan, feature X.) Its archaeological significance is uncertain; however, if it relates to Ditch 2 in Area B then the base of that ditch terminated in Area B.

³ Documentary sources indicate activity in the area which might account for them. Rocque's map (1741-45) shows large houses standing in close proximity to the site with the grounds given over to fields and vegetable plots. The houses of Nos. 30 and 31 Clapham Common South Side were built in 1796, and in the 1820's the estate now known as Crescent Grove was completed.

NOTES

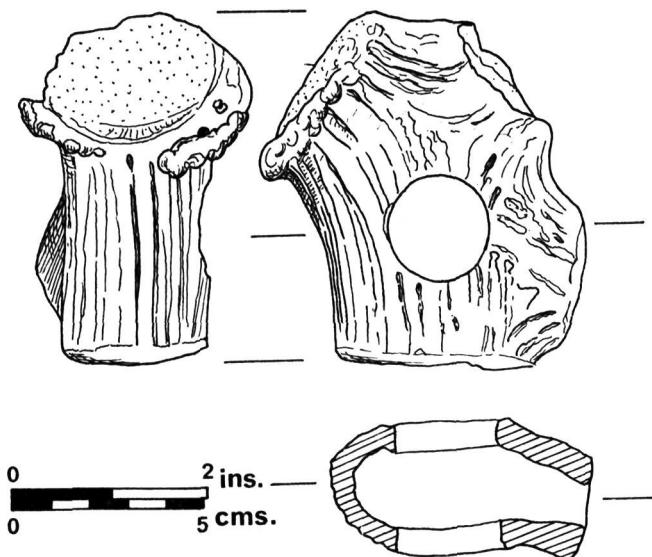
It is hoped that this series of notes continues and that it will be used to provide a place to publish important individual objects or finds that would otherwise remain unpublished.—*Editor.*

AN ANTLER MACEHEAD FROM THE THAMES

BY T. G. MANBY

In the collection of the Municipal Museum and Art Gallery, Clifton Park, Rotherham is an antler Macehead, Accession Number 158.571.21. The implement is attached to a card describing it as "Found in the Thames, Strand-on-the-Green, Middlesex, 1935 January". No further details are available relating to the history or this specimen of the means by which it arrived at the Museum. But it may have formed part of the collection of Ethert Brand, who was Honorary Curator of the Rotherham Museum immediately before the Second World War.

The Macehead presumably came from the Thames at Strand Green, Brentford and is an addition to the many similar finds already published from the Middle Thames.¹ The base of a shed antler of a red deer has been utilised, leaving the burr intact although portions of this have been broken off in recent time. The brow tine had been crudely cut off but the bez tine and the beam have been cleanly cut across and the facets smoothed down. The centre portion of the beam has been perforated in a similar clean manner. The cellular tissue forming the interior of the beam and the base of the bez tine has largely disappeared and inside are small patches of ferruginous sand and gravel concretion. Total length $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, perforation one inch diameter.



Antler Macehead from the River Thames, Rotherham Museum

The term "Crown antler Macheads" has been proposed for these implements that have been regarded as the proto-types for the pestle and ovoid stone Maceheads of the Later Neolithic Period.² The majority of antler Maceheads are unassociated finds including many recovered from the Thames during dredging operations.³ Some of the Thames Maceheads have had the burr completely ground away but this feature is retained on the Stand Green implement making it comparable with the Maceheads accompanying burials at Cowlam, Crosby Garrett and Warminster.⁴

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer is indebted to Mr. L. G. Lovell, Director, Libraries, Museum and Arts, Rotherham, for study facilities and permission to publish this macehead.

NOTES

¹ Smith, R., "Specimens from the Layton Collection, in Brentford Public Library", *Archaeologia LXIX* (1918), 1-30.

² Roe, F., "Stone maceheads and the Latest Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles", in Coles, J. M. and Simpson, D. D. A. (Ed.) *Studies in Ancient Europe* (1968), 159-162.

³ Smith, R., *op. cit.*, 7, Figs. 5-7.

Lawrence, G. F., "Antiquities from the Middle Thames". *Arch. J.*, LXXXVI (1929), 69-98.

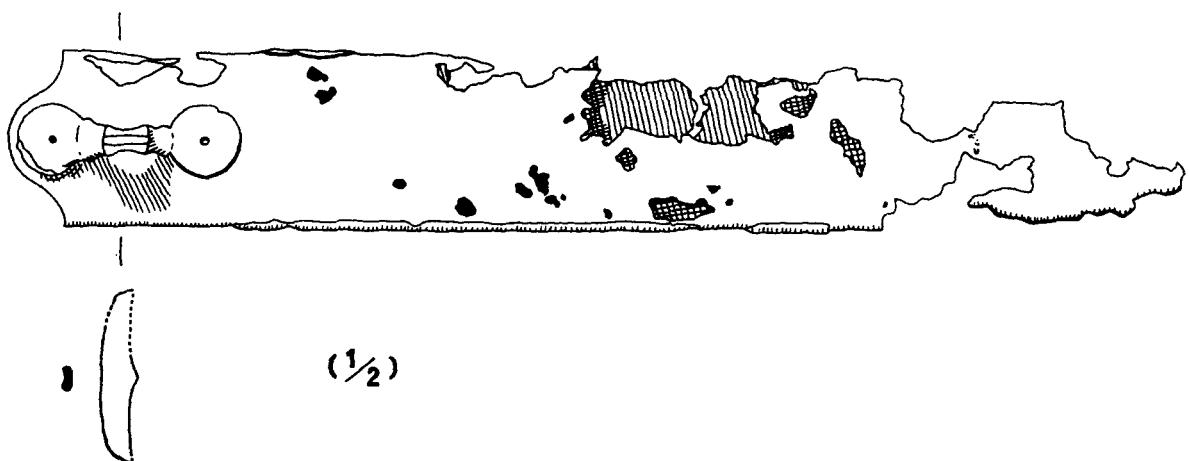
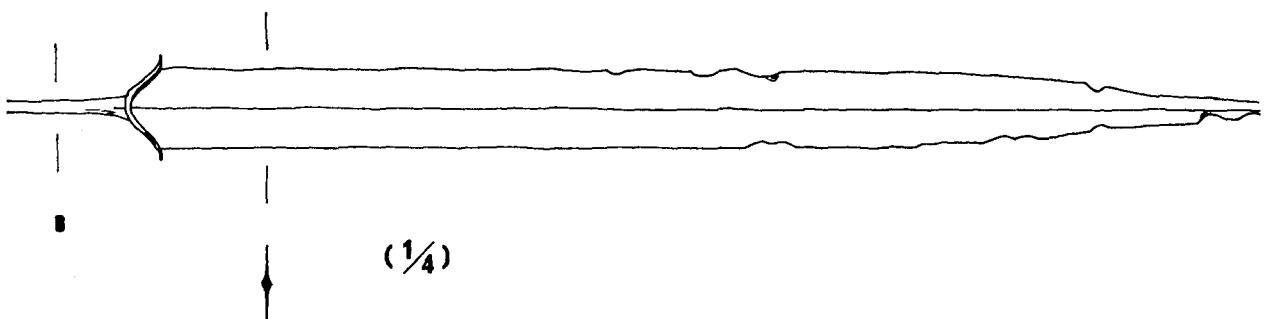
⁴ Piggot, S., *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles* (1954), 360.

TWO WEAPONS FROM THE THAMES

BY NICHOLAS FARRANT

During the past three years Wandsworth Historical Society has been conducting a number of organised "mudlarks". In addition to various features and groups of interesting finds, these have produced a number of outstanding artifacts. Two such items which were found on the Thames foreshore of the London Borough of Wandsworth, are described below; the details of their exact find spots have been deposited with the London Museum.

IRON AGE SWORD



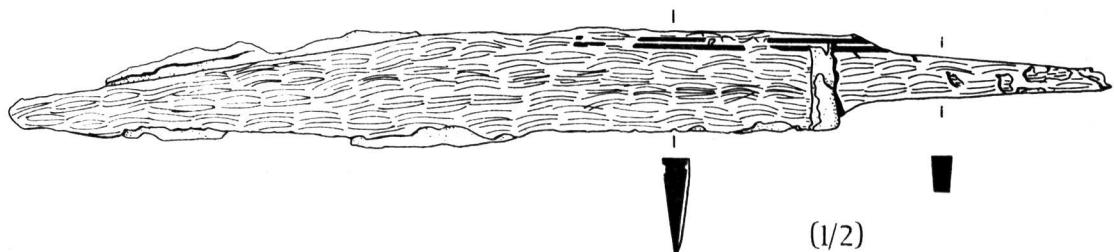
The sword which was found in its iron sheath, is remarkably well preserved; in many places the original surface of the blade is still extant. This is probably due to the protection afforded by the scabbard, the lower part of which has corroded away.

The sword is 71 cms (28 ins) long and 4 cms wide. The slender double-edged blade with its fine mid-rib has a fairly flimsy bell-shaped guard which was presumably originally held in position by the bone (or similar material) handle, now missing.

The mouth of the scabbard mirrors the shape of the guard while on the reverse the belt loop remains in an excellent condition. The shape of the guard suggests a date of the third century B.C.

The fact that the sword was in its scabbard and that it was found near the mouth of a tributary to the Thames perhaps gives further weight to the theory that many objects found in the river are votive offerings.

SEAX



When found the seax still retained the remains of its scabbard, which seems to have been made of leather. This has now been stripped off to expose one side of the badly corroded iron blade.

The seax is 29 cms ($11\frac{1}{2}$ ins) long with two blood grooves occurring on one face and one on the other. At the base of the tang what appears to have been a slight guard still remains. The seax dates to the 7th to 9th centuries A.D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of the Wandsworth Historical Society for the many hours spent on the field trips which resulted, *inter alia*, in the discovery of these finds; Mr. Stan Warren for sticking to his guns that the seax was not a modern artifact; London Museum for the conservation work on the sword; Mrs. L. E. Webster of the British Museum for dating the seax; and Mr. Paul Arthur for drawing the finds.

This note is published with the aid of a grant from the Wandsworth Historical Society.

A SWORD OF ABOUT 1500 FROM THE THAMES

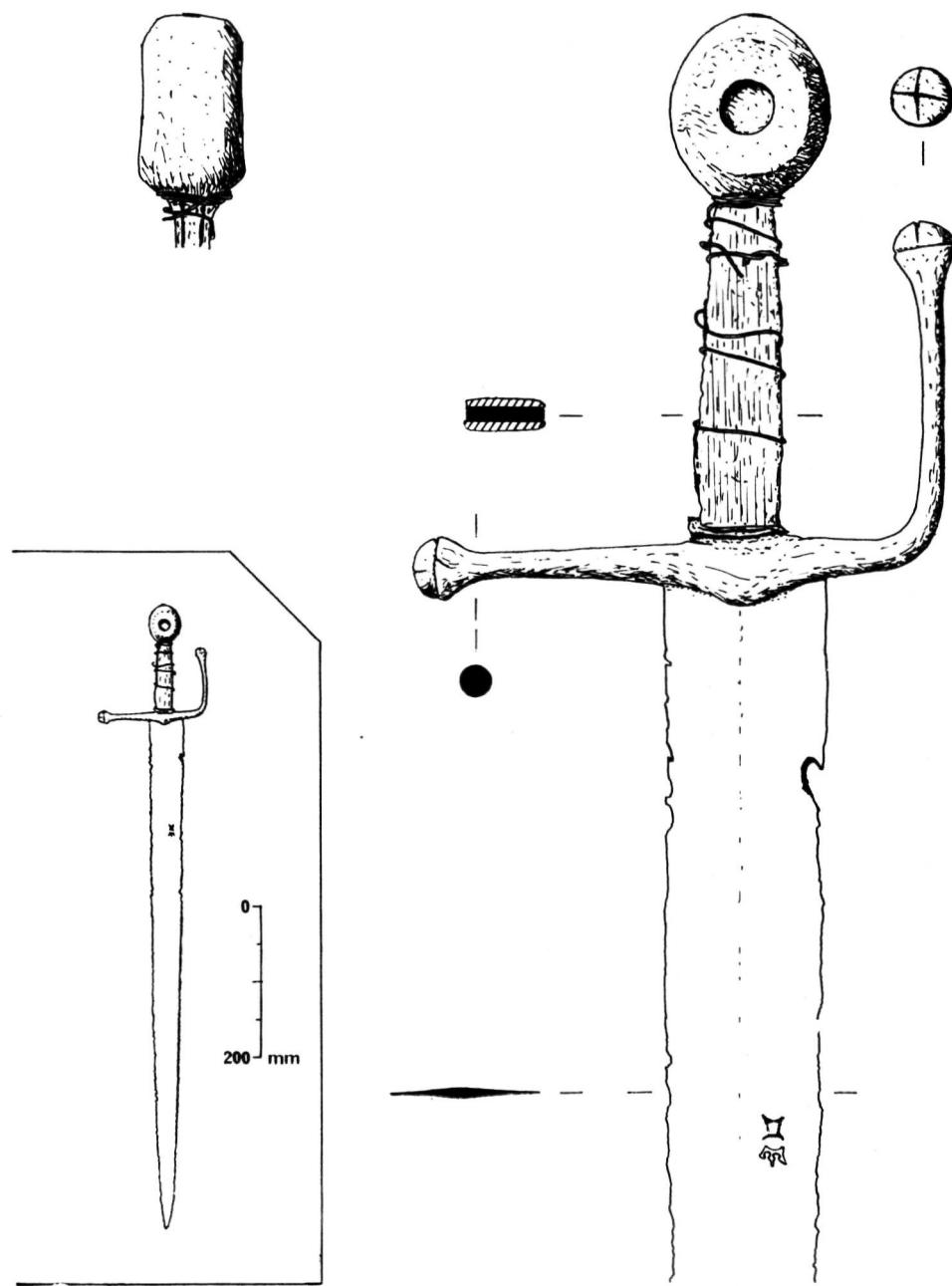
BY JOHN CLARK

During the construction of a new river embankment wall east from Blackfriars Bridge in 1969–70 the excavation of a series of cofferdams uncovered in the silt of the river-bed opposite the site of Paul's Stairs a large concentration of knives and daggers, together with a sword and a buckler.¹ Although these workmen's finds can hardly be regarded as a stratified group, they seem to have found their way into the river, presumably hurled from Paul's Stairs, over a fairly limited period. The knives include both early 16th century types and others with shoulders forged in one piece with the blade and tang, a method of manufacture that seems to come in about the middle of the century; very few need be much later in date than that. The buckler (Guildhall Museum accession No. 25526) belongs to the first half of the 16th century, while pottery found in the area by workmen was largely of the end of the 15th and first half of the 16th century.

The sword illustrated here (Guildhall Museum accession No. 24819) seems to belong to the same period. Its blade is short (only 680 mm) rather crudely made, of plain diamond section, with a mark, a crowned Lombardic A, on each side; the copper inlay of this mark survives only in the crown on one side and in one of the points of the crown on the other. The same maker's mark appears on a sword in the London Museum,² which has been dated to the second half of the 15th century, though there the crown and the letter A appear as separate marks. The sword-grip is of oval section, consisting of two wooden plates originally bound with brass wire, some of which survives, to the flat tang, which is slightly off-set from the centre-line of the blade. The pommel is of wheel-form (R. E. Oakeshott's type H),³ with a small circular hollow in each face presumably to take an inlaid plate of precious metal or enamel. Although this form of pommel first makes its appearance in the mid 13th century, it remains common until the early years of the 16th century, appearing for example on another sword found in the Blackfriars area and dated to the late 15th century, which is in the London Museum.⁴

In the form of its cross-guard the sword presents an unusual feature. The guard is drawn out to a point over the blade; its arms are of circular section, swelling to knobs, the end of each incised with a cross. Thus far the guard (a variant of Oakeshott's Style 11)⁵ is in general similar to those on a number of 15th century swords, among them another from the Thames in the London Museum.⁶ However, one arm of the guard on the Blackfriars sword is longer, and thinner, than the other, and is bent at a right-angle parallel to the grip, to form a rudimentary knuckle-guard. There seems to be no close parallel for this feature, although fairly crude knuckle-guards do appear on swords in the late 15th century and are not uncommon in the 16th century — one in the Tower Armouries, for example, may be late 15th century,⁷ while a rather similar one was found on the site of the Battle of Wakefield (1460); these two, however, both have single-edged blades, and hilts of very different appearance from the Blackfriars example.

The form of the guard seems to reflect the change by which a sword, previously the weapon of an armoured knight, whose steel-gauntleted hand required no more protection than a simple straight cross-guard would give, became a more common weapon which might be carried for his own defence by any citizen of London, like the young man with sword and



J.A.C.

Sword from the Thames at Blackfriars. Hilt and upper part of the blade, showing the maker's mark ($\frac{1}{2}$); inset: the complete sword (1/10)

buckler in the well-known group of Elizabethan citizens shown in the foreground of Braun and Hogenberg's London map of 1572. A type of hilt found on knightly war-swords in the 15th century has been adapted during manufacture — perhaps as an experiment by an individual sword-smith — to offer some protection to the bare hand of a rather humbler user, and is thus a precursor of the complex open hilt, with side-rings, *pas d'âne* and knuckle-bow, of the mid and late 16th century. Although such simple swords could go on being made for many years, the Blackfriars sword seems to fit well into this transitional period at the end of the 15th century, or the early years of the 16th century.

NOTES

¹ *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*, 23.1 (1971), p. 11.

² Accession No. 36.213; London Museum Medieval Catalogue (1940), p. 37, Fig. 5, No. 5.

³ R. E. Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (1964), p. 96.

⁴ Accession No. 36.164/1; *op. cit.* in Note 2, p. 37, Plate IV.

⁵ *Op. cit.* in Note 3, p. 118.

⁶ Accession No. 39.142; *op. cit.* in Note 2, p. 37, Fig. 6.

⁷ Accession No. IX-144. I am extremely grateful to Mr. R. E. Oakeshott, and to Dr. A. Borg of the Armouries, H.M. Tower of London for their advice on this and other parallels to the Blackfriars sword.

THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

PART 14

H. K. CAMERON, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A.

In renewing this series after a gap of several years it is appropriate that this number should deal with Harrow, partly because the church at Harrow has one of the best series of brasses in the county, but also because the Society made a special visit to Harrow for its eighteenth general meeting on 6 October, 1859. The meeting was held in the Speech Room of the School with the Vicar of Harrow in the chair. After a paper on the history of Harrow by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, Mr. William Tayler made some remarks on the value of Sepulchral Brasses, both as historical records and as relics of ancient art; and drew the attention of the company to the rubbings from those in Harrow church, which were suspended round the room; particularly that of John Byrkhe, Rector of Harrow. On this a paper was subsequently written by Mr. John Gough Nichols. Mr. Charles Baily announced the recent discovery in the church of two fragments of Flemish brasses (also more fully described by Mr. Alfred Heales). A paper was also read on the Parish Registers, which had been carefully bound in anticipation of the Society's visit.

These accounts and papers all appeared in Volume 1 of our *Transactions*, published in 1860.¹

If it be thought that the Harrow brasses have therefore been described, one must say that, apart from Nichols' account of the Byrkhe brass, and Heales' description of the palimpsests, the written account was very inadequate. Nor, apart from the two Flemish pieces, were any of the brasses illustrated. It is an essential part of the work of recording our monuments of the past that every description should be adequately illustrated.

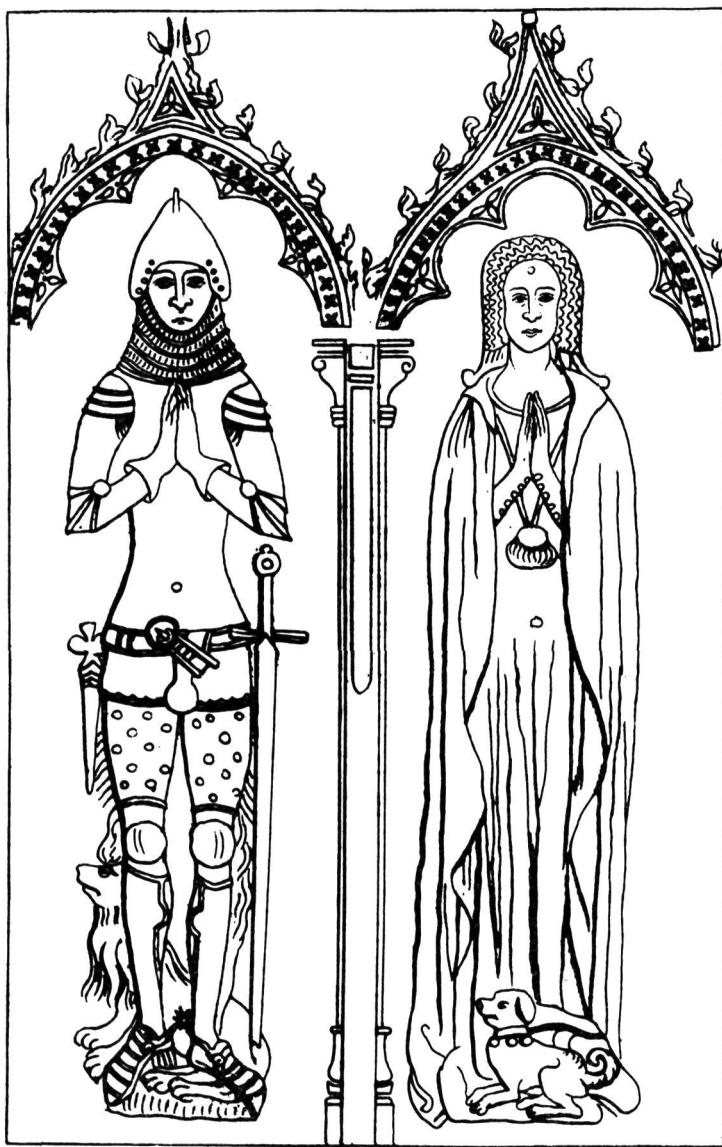
While I still retain the written permission from the Rev. Prebendary Joyce to rub the brasses in Harrow church, dated September 7th, 1922, the rubbings then taken are now inadequate for the purpose of illustrating this article. I am therefore greatly indebted to Mr. Lawrence James and to those of his pupils at Merchant Taylors School who assisted him in preparing for me a set of very good rubbings which he has allowed me to use.

Before describing in detail the brasses at Harrow, it must be stated that Harmondsworth, next in alphabetical order, now has no brasses, nor have any indents been seen in or around the church. Mill Stephenson² has recorded that the following brasses disappeared from the church at the restoration in 1864 (what a pity the Society did not visit Hardmondsworth in its first years as well as Harrow!).

1. Two civilians, one much mutilated; also 6 sons and 6 daughters, c. 1600.
2. Agnes Urmeston, widow, 1614; an inscription.
3. Leonard Davies, pastor, 1623.
4. Daniel Bankys, gent. 1665 and wives Mary, by whom 9 sons and 10 daughters, and Elizabeth, by whom 2 sons and 4 daughters; an inscription.

HARROW

- I. Edmund Flambard, in armour, and wife Elizabeth, c. 1370, on a bracket under a double canopy, all lost but male effigy and pediments of the canopy. On the Chancel floor.



MONUMENTS . PI. VI.

Fig. I
Edmund Flambarde and wife Alice (from F. Grove), No. I

The original composition, an excellent early example of a "bracket" brass, must have measured at least 7 ft in length. What remains of the brass is set in its original stone which has at some time been broken transversely, the lower part now being missing. The illustration in Plate. I shows what remains of the indent and of the brass. The figures of Edmund Flambarde and his wife are beneath a double canopy at the head of a bracket supported by a long stem. The foot of the stem is now missing. Beneath the spandrels of the bracket,

one on either side, are the indents for two shields and around the edge of the stone is the indent of a marginal inscription on a fillet $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins wide. The stone is 38 ins wide and the maximum length remaining, on the sinister side, is 75 ins.

The bracket and the shafts of the canopy have long been missing, but a small piece of the stem of the bracket was found and replaced at the end of the last century.

The figure of Edmund is but 25 ins high, and shows him in armour typical of the third quarter of the fourteenth century. His bascinet is large, with aventail held by simple attachments. Over the tight-fitting jupon his swordbelt is hung around the hips, with simple buckle and the belt end looped in a half hitch. The sword hangs at his left side and the dagger at his right. The thigh armour is covered with small circles often described as pourpointerie, or studded armour, but the circles really represent coloured velvet or material coverings to rivet heads. The lion at his feet has the facial characteristics of a dog.

The figure of his wife, long since lost, is shown in a rather crude drawing (Fig. 1) in F. Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, the Supplement, Vol. 2, published in 1787, plate VI. She is shown in mantle and gown, with a girdle from which hangs a pomander. The headdress is of the wavy or nebulé kind. At her feet is a dog with bells round its neck.

The marginal inscription was recorded by Weever³ (p. 531) as:

Edmund Flambard and Elizabeth gisont icy
Dieu de s'almes eyt mercy. Amen.
Flambard Edmundus iacet hic tellure sepultus
Coniux addetur Elisabeth et societur.

Of this Edmund it is recorded that in 1334 he was in charge of horsemen and foot soldiers raised by the City of London to assist the King in his war with Scotland. He was allowed by the City the sum of "200 marks for gowns, lances, standards and the wage of a minstrel". He was also M.P. for Middlesex. The Calendar of Patent Rolls has several references to Edmund Flambard.⁴ He is described in 1347 as "King's Sergeant at Arms" and as "yeoman" of Queen Phillipa. He was in that year appointed Constable of Bristol and confirmation of letters patent by the Queen is dated "before Calais"—where *inter alia* she interceded for the six burghers. On January 6, 1352, he paid a sum of money to the Black Prince's chamber "for play" (or gambling debts) from the Queen.⁵ He resigned as Constable in 1360 and in 1371 he, "the King's Esquire", was exempted for life from being put on assizes, juries or recognitions. In quoting the inscription Weever writes: I finde divers of the Surname of Flamberds; of Flamberds in this Parish (now the habitation of a worthy Gentleman, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight and Baronet) to be here interred.

II. John Flambard, in armour, c. 1390; inscription in two lines of Latin verse.

Also on the Chancel floor is this second brass to a Flambard, in a stone 29 ins wide and probably about 100 ins long, although the top 23 ins has been replaced by material of a different colour.

Some twenty years later (in style) this is another armed figure showing the same general items of protective covering. This splendid figure, 4 ft 10 ins high, is showing signs of wear. It appears to have been engraved in a different workshop from the older brass to Edmund. J. P. C. Kent,⁶ in his classification of military effigies on brasses distinguishes the brass of Edmund Flambard as Series A, and that of John Flambard as Series B, being contemporary with similar brass effigies at Etchingham in Sussex and Broughton, Lincs. A small piece of the aventail on the right shoulder is missing as is also the belt of the sword.

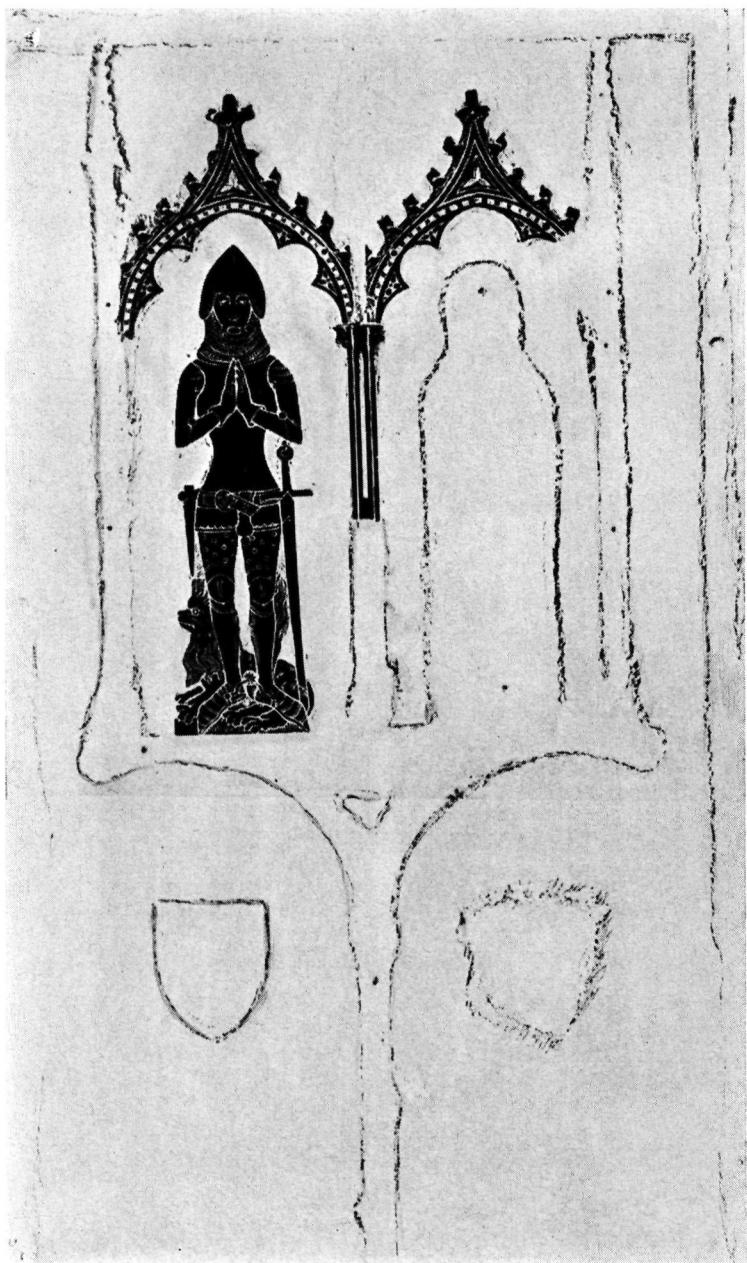


Plate I. Edmund Flambard and wife Elizabeth, c. 1370, No. I



Dn me Do mai mornummis dñm flambard
baro q; reber r stigis & hunc hic tucatu :

Plate 2. John Flambard, c. 1390, No. II

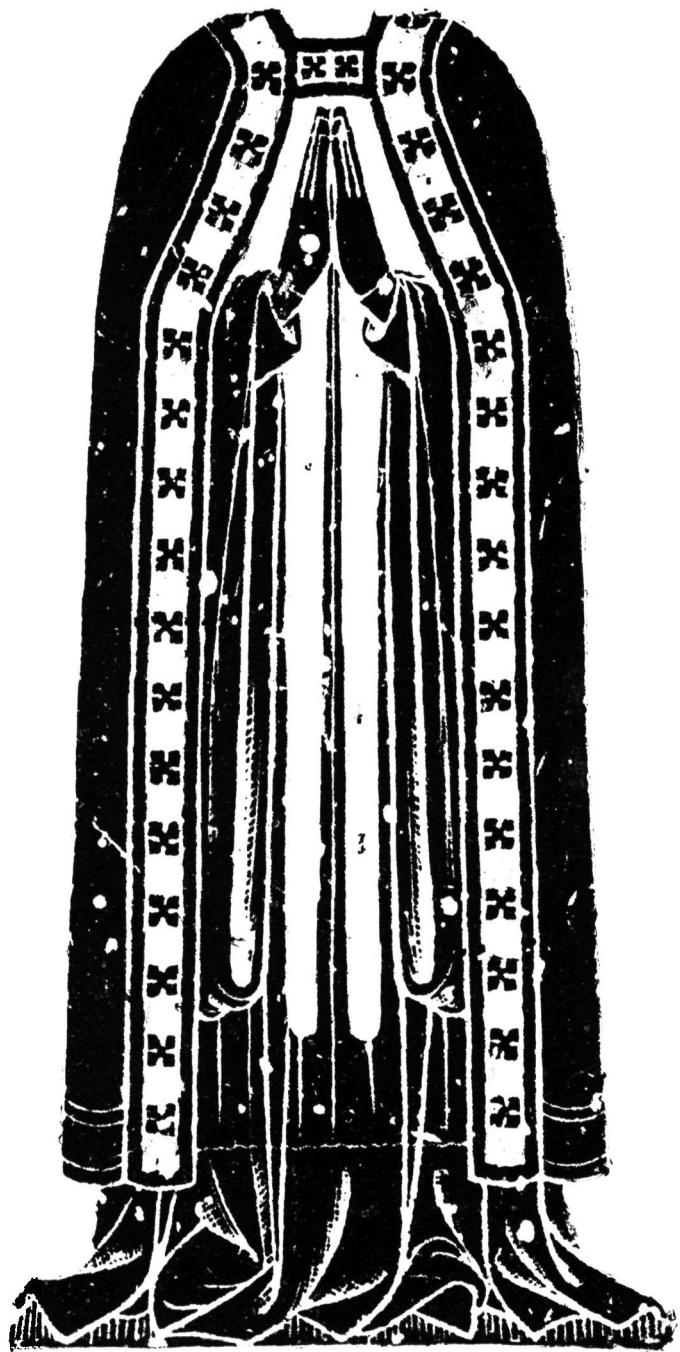


Plate 3. Simon Marcheford, Rector and Canon of Sarum and Windsor, ob. 1442, No. III

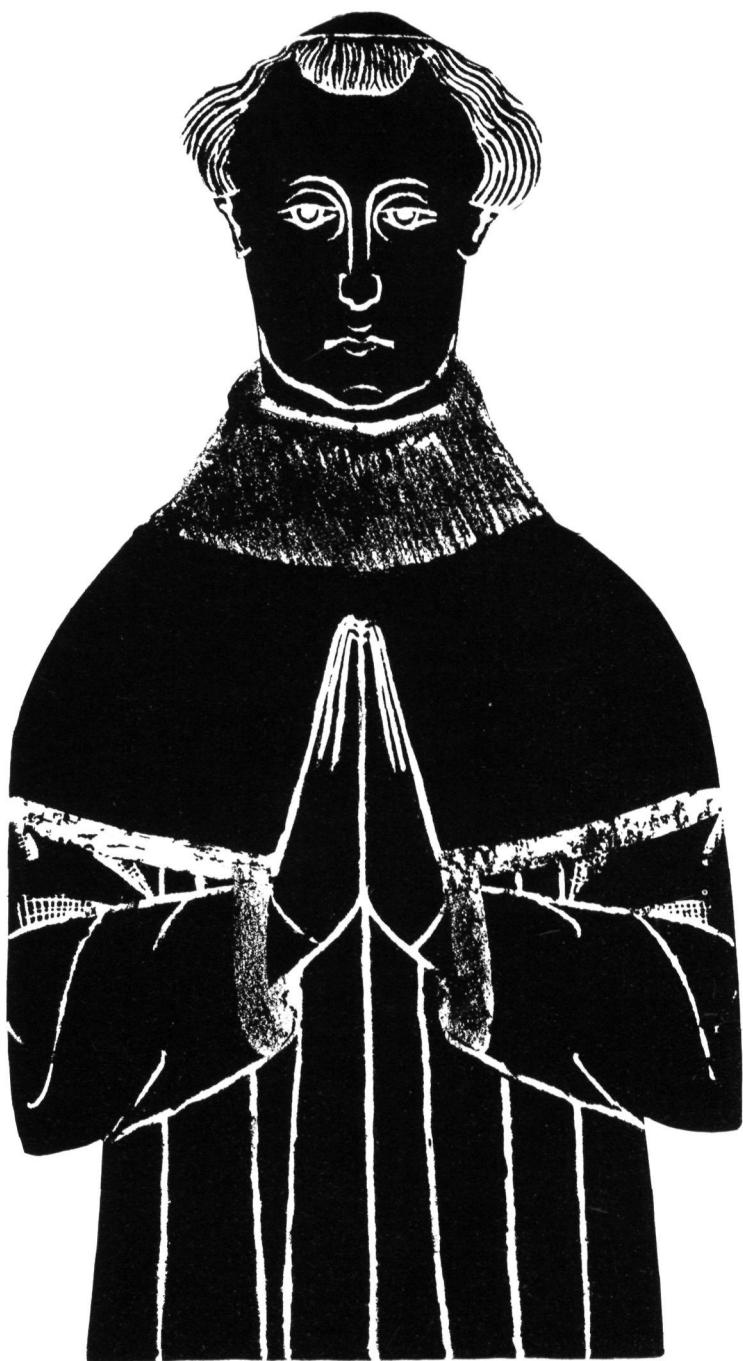


Plate 4. Half-effigy of priest in academic costume, c. 1460, No. IV

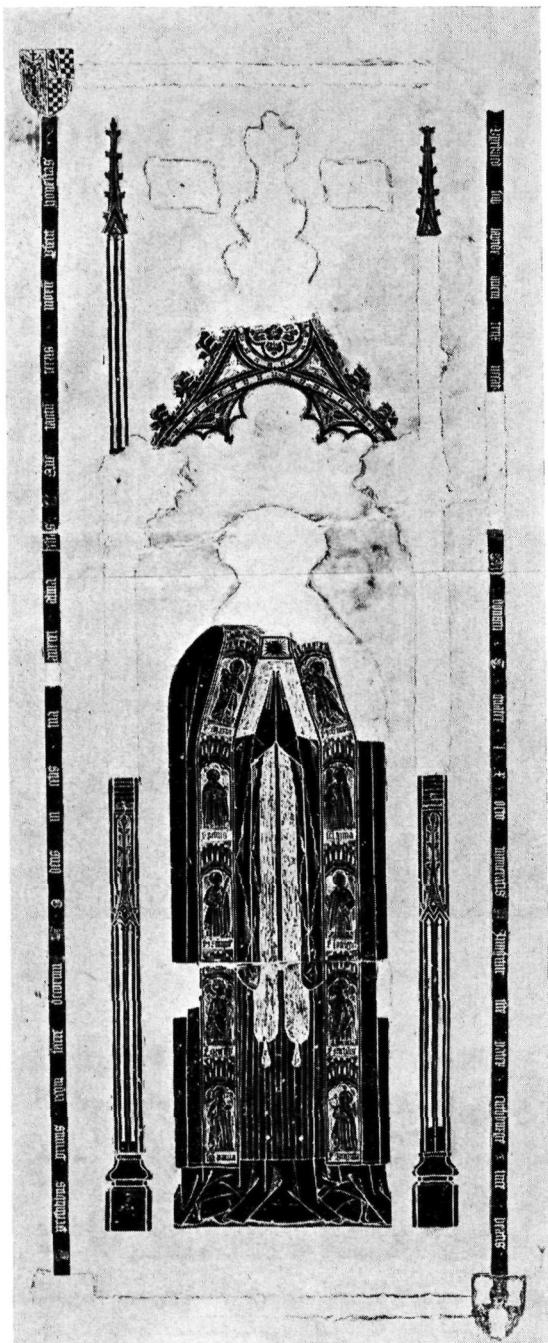


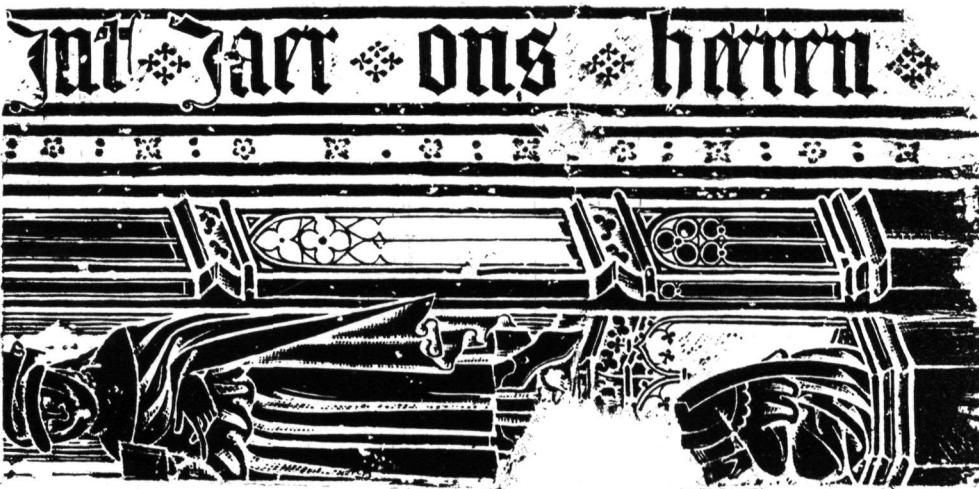
Plate 5. John Byrkede, Rector and Canon of Wells, ob. 1468, No. 5



Plate 6. George Aynesworth, ob. 1448, with wives Agnes, Isabel and Joan, No. VI

pray for the soules of thomas downer Annes and Aleis
wifes the blithe Thomas dyed the xij day of
december yere of o lord viiiij vñ o whos soule I haue viij

Plate 7. Thomas Downer, ob. 1502, and wives Annes and Aleis, No. VII



Here lyeth burayed y body of Dorothy Frankyshe late wyfe of Anthony
ffrankyshe of Waterstridford in the countrey of Glastonbury
Gent and daughter of William Bellamy of Weenden in
the parryshe of Harrow upon the hill in the tyme
of Edward Elouayre and Katheryn his wyfe which Anthony
and Dorothy had issue betwene them one sonne and
folore daughters M^r Gerrard ffrankyshe alone Mary
frances and Jane and the said Dorothy didde part
out of this world the xxth day of August A^o 74

Plate 8. Dorothy Frankyshe, ob. 1574, No. VIII



Plate 8a. Enlarged Section of palimpsest Brass—the narrow strip on the right of the inscription—see plate 8



Here dorothy frankyshe lyeth whos mortall lyues are de ad.
But to enioye immortall rest her soule to heuen ys ffe add.
Whylex lyfe vnd last she was a paterne of good lyfe
De woute to god good to the poore a chaste and perfet wyfe
My christ wyf creolle she cald agaynt the paine of death
Whiche she with mynd & vte beheld vntyl her later hirath
and so gaue vp her rest to god whiche lyfe vnd lend
Who for her good and worthy lyfe gaue her a happy end
volumb v deat h w^m vint of vart hath brounght her corpe a deape
eternall god her eternall soule eternallye doth kepe

Plate 9. Dorothy Frankyshe, ob. 1574, No. VIII



Plate 10. William Wightman, ob. 1579, and wife Etheldreda, No. IX



HEARE LYETH BVRYED THE BODYE OF JOHN LYON LATE OF PRESTON
IN THIS RISH YEOMAN DECEASED TH^E IIITH DAYE OF OCTOBER
IN THE YEARE OF OVR LOR^D. 1592 WHO HATH FOVNDED A FREE
GRAMMER SCHOOLE IN THIS RISH TO HAVE CQNTINVANCE
FOREVER AND FOR MAINTENAVNCE THEREOF AND FOR RELEYFE
OF THE POORE AND OF SOME POORE SCHOLLERS IN THE VNIVER
SITYES, REPAYRINGE OF HIGH WAYES, AND OTHE R GOOD AND
CHARITABLE USES HAH MADE CONVAYAVNCE OF LANDS OF
GOOD VALVE TO ACORPORACION GRAUNTED FOR THAT PVRPOSE
PRAYSE BE TO THE AVTHOR OF ALGOODNES WHO MAKE VS
MYNDEFULL TO FOLLOWE HIS GOOD EXAMPLER

Plate II. John Lyon, ob. 1592, and wife, No. X



Plate 12. Civilian and wife, c. 1600, No. XI



Plate 13. John Sonkey, ob. 1603, and wife Alice, No. XIII

HERE LYETH THE BODYE OF KATHERINE CLERKE WIDDOW THE DAUGHTER
OF THOMAS MARTIN OF THIS PARISH DECEASED & LATE THE WIFE OF
HENRY CLERKE OF RISLIP IN THIS COVNTIE ESQVIER DECEASED (AND
BVRIED AT HEYES WHERE HIS MONVMENT IS ERECTED) WITH WHOME SHE LIVED
VNTILL HIS DECEASE LII YEARES HER CHARITIE COMENDS VNTO VS Y FAITH SHE
HAD IN Y MERCIES OF GOD THOROW CHRIST IESVS FOR AMONGST OTHER HER
ALMES DEEDES SHEE GAVE IN HER LIFE TIME TOWARDS THE MAYNTEYN-
NANCE OF XII POORE PEOPLE OF THIS FRISHE YEARELY XII FOR EVER VI
DWELING IN HARROW HILL AND VI IN ROCKSYE HIR GODLY & PEACEABLE END
APPROVED HIR HONEST AND VERTVOVS LIFE SHEE DYED AT HIR HOVSSE IN LONDON
THE XXVITH DAY OF DECEMBER 1613 BEING LXXXIII YEARES OF AGE.

WHO WAS IN SEASON AS FVLL RIPNED CORNE
BROUGHT HETHER WHER & WHENCE SHE FIRST WAS BORNE

Plate 14. Katherine Clarke, ob. 1613, No. XIII

The two-line inscription immediately below the figure is on a plate $2\frac{3}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins and is a curious, inaccurate attempt at classical pretension, with the surname broken between two lines:

Jon me do marmore Numinis ordine flam tum' lat
Bard q'e verbere stigis E fun'e hic tueatur.

Gardner⁷ quotes the interpretation of this inscription by Mr. Edward Scott of the British Museum as:

John modo marmore Numinis ordine Flam. tumulatur
Bard quoque verbere flumine de Stygis hic tueatur'

which he translated:

"John Flambarde is now buried in marble by the ordinance of God.
By God's stripes also may he be saved from the river of Hell."

In contrast to Edmund, there seems to be no reference in the Rolls or other records to the activities of John Flambarde.

III. Simon Marcheford, Rector, Canon of Sarum and Windsor, in cope, 1442; head and inscription lost.

This very small, simple, but attractive brass has suffered much with time. The head has been missing for at least 200 years; the inscription has disappeared since Gough recorded it at the end of the eighteenth century, and an accompanying shield has gone also. It was relaid in the nineteenth century, but was recorded as loose by Mill Stephenson in 1923. It was again relaid but is now again loose and kept in the vestry (Jan. 1973).

The overall height of the figure would have been about 16 ins; the remaining headless piece is $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The priest is clad in processional vestments: cassock, surplice, almuce and cope. The cope orphrey and the morse are decorated with simple quatrefoils.

This brass is not mentioned by Weever, nor by Lysons, but curiously it was recorded by Gough (*Sepulchral Monuments*, 1786) who quotes the following inscription, now missing:

Hic iacet dns Simon Marcheford quonda'm canonic sar ac
Ecclia libe capelle regis de Windesor, et rector isti ecclie qui obiit
iiii die februarii A dni mccccxl
Cujus aie p'picietur deus. Amen.

Simon Marcheford was rector of Harrow from 1400 to 1437.

IV. Half effigy of priest in academic costume, c. 1460; inscription lost. Relaid in chancel, within altar rails.

This is a half-effigy of a priest in tippet and hood, the dress of a Master of Arts, in style of the middle of the fifteenth century. The figure, 18 ins high, has been relaid before the altar within the Communion rails. Gardner suggested that it might commemorate Robert Kyrkeham, who was rector. He succeeded Byrkede in 1469 and died in 1471, which is a rather late date to put upon this brass.

V. John Byrkede Rector, Canon of Wells, 1468, in cope with saints on the orphreys; head lost, canopy and marginal inscription mutilated; on Chancel floor.

In the first volume of the *Transactions* of this Society, published in 1860, there appeared an article on the "Sepulchral Brasses at Harrow" (pp. 269-275) by Alfred Heales, followed

by an account by J. G. Nichols (pp. 276–284) of one of these, that to John Byrkhe. Nichols' contribution on this one brass was comprehensive, too long to quote in extenso, but justified by what would have been in its original state one of the most attractive brasses in the county, as well as of great historical interest. It is unfortunately much mutilated, although the outline is still clear, as can be seen in the illustration. It is in its original stone on the Chancel floor, a stone that measures 112 x 45 ins. The figure of John Byrkhe when complete was 4 ft 5 ins high. The head and neck are missing; there is a piece on the lower dexter side gone and portions of the outer sinister side. Parts of the side shafts of the single canopy and the upper part of the pediment have gone. The whole was surrounded by a fillet of brass with marginal inscription, with a shield of arms at each of the four corners. The top and the bottom fillets are missing and a small part from each side. The top dexter and the bottom sinister shields remain. There were also two scrolls above the canopy, one of which remained at the time (1786) that Gough described this brass, with the inscription "Jhu blesyed mitt thu be".

The figure is in processional vestments, with long cassock falling over the feet, a full-sleeved surplice, an almuce whose fur is represented as is usual on brass by lead inlay. The cope is one of a small group on brasses richly ornamented on the orphreys by a series of saints in canopied niches. On the dexter side these are from top to bottom: S. Maria, with child; S. Petrus, with keys and open book; S. J. ev'ngel', with chalice and serpent, and palm branch; S. Ric'us, as a bishop; Sca Paula, with closed book. Those on the sinister side are S. Joh' Bapt'a, with Agnus Dei on a book; Sca Anna, with young Virgin; S. Laurenci', as a deacon with gridiron and closed book; S. Nic'us, as a bishop; S. Brigitta, with hands extended, and rays descending from heaven. The names have been embroidered on the cope beneath each figure. Several of these saints are rarely found illustrated in this way, for example St. Richard and St. Paula. The latter was said by Nichols to have been a Roman widow, whose life was written by St. Jerome. Reference will be made later to St. Richard.

The inscription was recorded by Weever with several omissions and errors. Gough reproduced this, correcting most of these and Nichols amended Gough's errors. The inscription read:

(Sta moriture vide doceat te massa Johannis)
 Byrkhed' sub lapide quem trux necat (Atropos annis)
 M domini C quater LX octo numeratis
 Jungitur iste pater Cuthburge luce beatis.
 (Hunc caritas, gravitas, fides, prudentia morum)
 Presulibus primis regni fecere decorum.
 O deus in celis tua(l)auriet alma(m)aiestas*
 Quē tantū terris morū pfecit honestas.



Fig. 2
Wheatsheaf from the Arms of John Byrkhe, No. V

These hexameters rhyme in couplets. The parts missing today are shown in brackets.

This inscription is interspersed with garbs or wheatsheafs (indicated by stars) and the shield at the bottom sinister corner appears to be, on a field *arg.*, 3 garbs *or*. The argent is deduced from the filling of lead in the shield tray surrounding the garbs. However, Birkenhead of Backford, co. Chester, is described by Burke as *Sa*, three garbs *or*, a bordure *ar.*, and related names such as Birkehover (Lancs.), Birkes, Birket (co. Chester), all carry variations on the same field of sable with three golden wheatsheafs. One must assume, therefore, that the lead infilling was intended only as a bordure. It is possible that during the nineteenth-century restorations in the church the garbs may have been loose and lead was used liberally and without due heraldic accuracy. One of the garbs on the shield has been missing for a long time. It is unpleasant to have to record that a second has disappeared literally within the last year or two.

The third, being somewhat loose, has now been removed for safe keeping to the vestry. The illustration hereby is to scale from a rubbing of this one remaining example (Fig. 2).

The one shield remaining at the top bears the arms of Archbishop Arundell, being the arms of the See of Canterbury impaling those of Arundell. Burke gives Canterbury as *az.*, an episcopal staff in pale *or*, ensigned with a cross patée *ar.*, surmounted by a pall of the last charged with four crosses formée—fitchée *sa.* edged and fringed *or*. This differs from that given by Woodward⁸ which gives the crozier as *arg.* and the cross patée as *or*. On the brass all that is seen of the crozier behind the pall is the head of the cross patée and the spike at the foot, both in brass, *i.e. or*. The sinister half of the shield bears, quarterly, 1 & 4, *gu* a lion rampant *or* (FitzAlan), 2 & 3 chequy *or* and *az* (Warrenne) for Arundell. The missing upper shield was described by Gough as bearing the arms of another Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chicheley; Canterbury, impaling *or*, a chevron between three cinquefoils *gu*.

The presence of these arms on Byrkhede's brass and the commendation in the inscription that his "standing, gravity, trustworthiness and prudent character made him respected among the chief prelates of the Kingdom" is some indication of the connection between Harrow and the See of Canterbury.

Considerable lands at Harrow were given in early times to the Archbishopric, and these holdings were renewed at the time of the Conquest. William's Archbishop, Lanfranc, was Lord of Harrow according to Domesday, and caused the building of Harrow church, which was consecrated by his successor Anselm.

Succeeding Archbishops made many recorded visits to Harrow; the Rector was presented by the Archbishop and in 1237 the Vicarage was endowed. This important and interesting endowment document was signed not only by Archbishop Edmund Rich, afterwards canonised as St. Edmund, but also by Richard Wic, his Chancellor, who later became Bishop of Chichester. This is the St. Richard who appears on the orphrey of Byrkhede's cope.

Archbishop Arundell was a visitor at Harrow in 1398 before he was banished by Richard II for high treason and again in 1407. It is suggested by Nichols that Byrkhede may well have been indebted to Arundell for his education. Arundell died in 1413 and was succeeded as Archbishop by Henry Chichele, whose arms were also once upon the Byrkhede brass. The relation between these two men was close. Byrkhede was Steward to the Archbishop and appears as one of the associates who purchased estates for the Archbishop's foundation of All Souls' College at Oxford. The founder laid the first stone in the year 1437 in which year Byrkhede was preferred to the Rectory of Harrow which he held for 30 years.

He rebuilt much of the church and to him is attributed the spire, a most remarkable landmark; yet he caused much devastation to the local woods, not only for this building at Harrow, but for "the building of the college of the Lord Henry Chicheley, the late Archbishop". The name of John Byrkheude appears as one of the executors of the Archbishop's will.

The Register of Chichele, of Canterbury, vol. 1 (as quoted in Emden's *Register of Oxford Graduates*) has numerous references to the appointments of John Byrkheude. He vacated the Rectory of Patching in October 1416 on admission to that of Hollingbourne, both in Kent. He vacated Hollingbourne in 1419 on appointment as Canon and Prebend of Cobham. Within two months he was Rector of Blackawton in Devon, which he exchanged in September 1422 for that of Hawkhurst in Kent, a living he retained to his death.

He was made a Canon of Wells and Prebend of Timberscombe on 11 July 1428 which also he retained until death, as his Rectory at Harrow to which he was appointed on 1 October 1437.

He became a member of the Council of the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury in 1429, and was still serving in 1447. He was Seneschal or Steward to Archbishop Chichele in 1431 and acted as his co-feoffee in his acquisition of property for All Souls' College. He was an executor of the Archbishop in 1443 and in the same year became Treasurer to Cardinal Beaufort. He was admitted on 5 April 1465 a member of the confraternity (*confrater quod suffragia*) of All Souls' College.

He died on 31 August 1468 according to the Calendar MSS of the Dean and Chapter of Wells (ii, 92) and the brass inscription gives 1468 also. Yet his will⁹ was dated 24 July 1467. It is quite clearly 1467, although the will immediately following is dated September 1468 so the discrepancy may be clerical error in the writing of the will! It is a long and interesting will, much of it included in Nichols' account in Vol. 1 of our *Transactions*. He describes himself as Rector of Harrow and asks to be buried in the chancel there. But his gifts include money to his poor parishioners at Hawkhurst and vestments to the parish church of Wigan, in Lancashire. He left his best gilt chalice and paten to Harrow; his second to Hawkhurst. His executors were his cousin Hugh Ives and his nephew Gilbert Hert. To the former he left his best standing cup of silver, covered, engraved "Al my pleser". To his nephew he left 10 marks and to Gilbert's mother, Avicia Hert, who was John Byrkheude's sister, he left 20 marks and his best gown of scarlet ingrain.

VI. George Aynsworth in civil dress, 1488, with three wives: Agnes with 1 son, Isabel with 5 sons and 6 daughters, and Joan with 2 sons; mural in south transept.

This excellent example of a late fifteenth-century civilian and his family appears to be in its original stone, but this has been taken from the floor, cut down in length so as just to accommodate the metal pieces, and set vertically on the south wall of the south transept. The remaining, or visible, stone is 35 ins high and 29 ins wide.

Heales records that it was discovered during the restoration of the church, not long before the Society visited Harrow in 1859.

There are four principal figures, that of George Aynsworth, about 18 ins high, those of his three wives a little shorter. The first wife is on his dexter side, the two others on the sinister side. They all stand in full-face position on mounds of grass. He wears a long plain gown reaching to the feet and fitting tightly round the neck. From his girdle hangs a purse and rosary. The three ladies are all dressed alike, a plain garment up to the neck and an overgown with fur on the lapels and the cuffs. They wear identical horned headdresses.

Beneath these four figures is a rectangular plate, about 2 ins deep and 26 ins wide on which is engraved a two-line inscription in blackletter that reads:

Orate pro anima Georgii Aynsworth ac p aīabs Agnetis Isabelle et Johanne uxor ei' q'
Quidem Georgi⁸ obiit xiiii die mēs⁸ Februarii aº dñi mº ccccº lxxxviiiº q'r aīabs ppiciet' de⁸ amen

This brief and much abbreviated inscription is typical of many brasses of this period; his death only is recorded.

Below the inscription are four plates with children, one beneath each main figure. Below Agnes his first wife is one son, an interesting little figure about 5 ins high of a priest in academic vestments. By the second wife Isabelle he had five sons and six daughters. The sons are on one plate below the father and the daughters below the first wife on his left hand. These children are facing sideways, the sons and daughters towards one another; they are about 4 ins high, noticeably smaller than the first son, and they are in ordinary civilian costume, the girls with small framed headdresses. Beneath the third wife is a small plate with two sons, also facing to the dexter.

VII. Thomas Downer, 1502, and wives Annes and Aleis; inscription only; Chancel.

On the floor of the Chancel is part of a slab—what remains measures 37 x 30 ins, in which is a rectangular indent formerly occupied by an inscription plate. This plate, when whole, was 3 ins deep and 17½ ins wide. It is now loose and in three pieces and is kept in the vestry (January 1973).

The inscription is in three lines of blackletter, in English, and reads:

Pray for the soulys of Thomas downer Annes and Aleis
hysWysys the whyche Thomas dyed the xvi day of
Decēber yēre of or lord m v⁹ ii 6 whos, soulys Jhū have mc̄y.

Thomas Downer was evidently a considerable farmer in the northern part of the parish. He made his will on the 9th December¹⁰ asking to be buried in his parish church of Harrow on the Hill “before owr lady aupter in the aley”.

After bequests to the high altar for tithes forgotten, to the chantry priest and to the two clerks of Harrow church, and 12d to Stanmore church, he leaves 4d and a sheep to each of his godchildren. He left sheep and cattle—variously described as calves, a bullock, a cow, oxen and keyne to more than a dozen named people. Among these were John Downer of Cornehill Hall; also Thomas, Richard and Emote Downer. More importantly he leaves to his son John Downer six oxen and a plough, six keyne and eight colts, a cow cart with six horses belonging to it with all their apparel. To his wife Alis he leaves another cart with five horses. His farm of Bentley he leaves to his wife and his son John for a period of four years, following which he wills that his neighbours have what remains of the lease in return for praying for his and all Christian souls, and paying the rent. A second farm and wood he leaves to his son John. Yet another he leaves to his wife and her assignees, on the understanding she pays a priest 9 marks a year to pray for his soul; she also receives his house “in Bessy” for her lifetime.

VIII. Dorothy Frankyshe, 1574. Two rectangular plates, one with an inscription, the other with ten lines of English verse; both plates palimpsest with Flemish work on the reverse.

The prose inscription plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins high and $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins wide. Upon it, in nine lines of blackletter engraving is the following inscription:

Here lyeth buried ye body o(f Doroth)ye, late wife of Antony
 Frankyshe of Waterstrotford in the Countye of Buck:
 Gent' and dowghter of William Bellamy of uxenden in
 the parryshe of Harrow upon the Hyll in the Countye
 of Myd' Esquier and Katheryn his wyfe, which Antony
 and Dorothye had issue betwene them one sonne and
 fowre dowghters viz Gerratt Frankyshe, Jone, Mary
 Fraunces and Jone, and the sayd Dorothye did depart
 out of this world' the xx' day of August A^o (15)74.

On the other plate, $8\frac{1}{2}$ x 19 ins, is, in ten lines of engraved blackletter, the following:

Here Dorothye Frankyshe lyeth whos mortall lymes ar dead
 But to enioye immortall rest, her soule to heven ys fleadd
 Whyles lyfe dyd last she was a paterne of good lyfe
 Devoute to god, good to the poore, a chast and perfet wyfe
 For christ hys crosse she cald' agaynst the pang^s of death
 Which she with mynd & yie beheld untill her later breath
 And so gave up her gost to god which lyfe dyd lend
 Who for her good and worthy lyfe, gave her a happye end
 (Alt)howgh y^tdeath wthdynt of dart hath browght her corp^sasleep
 (The ete)rnall god, her eternall soule, eternallye doth kepe.

If this memorial is pictorially disappointing the historical interest is considerable. The lady was born a Bellamy, a member of that family of Uxendon in the parish of Harrow who were steadfast in their allegiance to the Roman faith during Elizabeth's reign; who gave shelter and succour to Babington and to many priests, and who in consequence suffered greatly. Dorothy's mother Katherine was indicted for treason and died in the Tower. Three of her brothers perished, one by painful execution, and two in prison, officially recorded as by their own hand.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, during a period of some religious tolerance, the family had continued to attend Harrow church and there is record in the parish registers of baptisms and deaths in the family, and of the marriage on 8th December 1567 of Anthony Frankes and Dorothy Bellamy. It was after the Papal Bull of 1570 that more severe restrictive measures came gradually into force and absence from church or the hearing of Mass was punishable by heavy fine. The Bellamy family incurred such punishment as recusants.

By her early death Dorothy escaped from the tragedy that overtook her family. The Harrow burial registers record that: 1574 August the xxxjth day Dorothy Franke.

In her short married life of less than seven years the inscription tells us that she bore five children

The wording of the inscription, in these circumstances, is particularly interesting, lacking any suggestion of earlier Catholic phrases. It is perhaps transitional in phraseology to protestant but not yet puritan feeling.

The interest of this brass is greatly heightened by its being palimpsest. The two inscriptions are engraved on the reverse side of previously-used brass plate. Alfred Heales must have experienced a thrill of discovery known to those of us who are interested in brasses when palimpsest work is uncovered. His account of the Sepulchral Brasses at Harrow comprises a brief account of those existing, covering just over one page and an account of these two plates taking up the remaining four and a half pages, illustrated by the superb

woodcuts of Utting. He describes how "when the edifice was restored, a few years since, one of them, being detached, was found to be engraved on the contrary side. The other of the two remained *in situ*, though loose, until October last, when, whilst some rubbings were being taken in anticipation of the meeting of this Society, it also became detached, and was found, like its companion, to be engraved on the under side".

On the reverse are portions of two much larger brasses, engraved without doubt in Flanders in the late fourteenth century, and probably laid in some church in the Low Countries. It is likely that they were torn up in the great Calvinist iconoclasts in 1566 and, there being a good London market for the metal, they were brought over as scrap metal for English engravers to re-use. Many brasses laid down in this country in the decade 1570-1580 (and even later) are engraved on this metal imported from the Low Countries and our experience in restoring these memorials has revealed many palimpsest brasses.

These two specimens at Harrow are particularly clear and beautiful and were described and illustrated not only by Heales in the first volume of our *Transactions*, but more widely in the following year by the brothers Waller¹¹ in their wonderfully illustrated series of plates of Monumental Brasses. They are easily recognised as engravings of that most distinguished Flemish school of brass engravers of which we have eight remaining examples in this country (e.g. Thomas de la Mare at St. Albans).¹² On the reverse of the prose inscription is a small portion from the sinister side of a large composition. In a niche of the canopy, of which part of a side shaft is to be seen, is a small figure of a prophet, with a book or scroll in his right hand. Below is a much smaller hooded figure, seated and reading a book. Part of the marginal inscription is at the edge of the original brass. It reads: "Int. Jaer. ons. heeren," being the Flemish equivalent of "in the year of our Lord".

On the other side of the verse plate is a small part of the large figure of a lady, showing the lower part of the face, the chin covered by a wimple, the fingers of hands held together in prayer over a garment highly decorated with leaf patterns, dragons and lions' heads. The head is resting on a cushion, elaborately embroidered with leaves and two birds—one an owl. The cushion in turn is supported by two angels. On her left is a small canopied niche with the figure of St. Paul and, outside this, part of a marginal inscription, interrupted by a shield bearing three stags trippant. All that remains of the inscription is "xv" being probably the day of the month on which she (or her husband) died.

These plates are now kept in the vestry.

IX. William Wightman, in armour, 1579, and wife Etheldreda (Awdrey); marginal inscription mutilated; achievement plate and two shields, a third shield and plates for one son and four daughters lost.

The original stone in which this brass remains is on the Chancel floor and measures 84 x 34 ins. The outer dimensions of the marginal inscription are 78 x 29 ins. Within this frame (the top strip of the inscription is lost) are the figures of William Wightman and his wife, 27 and 26 ins high respectively, standing and turned slightly towards one another. He is dressed in armour, with ruffed cuffs and collar behind his neck despite the armour fitting high into the neck with haute-pieces around the shoulder. The laminated tassets in front of the thighs cover what appears at one side to be puffed material of a doublet. The sword hangs on his left side.

The lady is in a gown with embroidered edging, but plain petticoat. She wears a ruff and plain French hood. The bottom two inches of this effigy are missing.

Above the male figure is a rectangular plate on which is his shield of arms surmounted by helm, crest and mantling. He was granted these arms on 14th July 1562, namely: *Argent on a bend engrailed gules between three Cornish choughs proper as many leopards' faces or. The crest is a stork argent winged sable membered gules holding in the mouth a snake winding round the body vert.*

Above the lady is a shield with the arms of Wightman impaling Deering, *gules three stags heads couped or.*

Below the man's figure is a clearly cut indent of a single small male figure representing one son, and below this the indent for a shield now missing. Beneath the lady is the indent for a plate for daughters, though it is not evident how many. Below this is a shield with the Wightman arms.

In the library of the Society of Antiquaries is a drawing of this brass dated 1810 which is attached to a faint rubbing said to be from the Alexander collection, among the Phillipps MSS. The brass was then in a more complete condition, but the lower dexter shield was already missing. The figure of the son was there and the other plate showed four daughters. The top strip of the inscription existed and enables the whole to be recorded:

(*"Hic iacet Gulielmus Wightman armiger qui tam summis quam / infimiis viris gratus charusq'
semper fuit cum ob integritatem vite humanitatem morum, ac curam reip singularem, tum propter
mag(nam hosp)italitatem quam in/rectoria de harrow per . 27 annos coluit vixit cum dulcissima
/uxore sua Etheldreda annos 31 suscepitq ex ea quinque liberos quorū quatuor superstites reliquit,
cum summo omnium dolore excessit e vita 28 die Januarii A° dñi 1579".*

The Register of Burials at Harrow confirms that he was buried there 1 February 1579/80; also his wife's burial is shown: "22 June 1596 Awdrey Whightmann".

The full name of Etheldreda appears on the inscription on the brass, but is contracted to Awdrey in the Register and also in William Wightman's will¹³ made on the 20th December 1578, from which the following extracts help to amplify the circumstances and personalities of this interesting memorial. He gives to "Awdrie his deare and entierlie beloved wife" his lands known as "home close" near "the Cittie of Coventry" and all his freehold land in Harrow he bought of Richard Bayton and John Grenehall. He also bequeathed to his wife and to his daughter Frances Streynsham the remaining terms of his lease of the parsonage of Harrow which he had bought from John Ailworthe, of the grant of the Rt. Hon. Roger Lord Northe, Sir William Cardell Kt., Master of the Rolls and Sir James Dyer Kt., chief Justice of the Common Pleas and of his lease in reversion of tythes of the same parsonage of the grant of the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch College, Oxford. He leaves his personal horse or gelding with his best saddle and bridle and his little silver cane to Thomas Dearinge, his brother-in-law. To all his servants he leaves half a year's wages above any current wages unpaid at his death. To Jane Cowdell he leaves 20 marks towards "her pre-ferment in marriage" provided she follows in her choice of husband the advice of his wife and daughter whom he appoints his executors. If she fails to take their advice the dowry is to be reduced to only 10 pounds.

Finally he ordains that immediately after his death his executors sell as much of his goods, chattels, plate, jewels, corn and stock upon his ground as is necessary to pay his debts. A considerable list of these debts follows the will.

When, in 1955, a piece of the inscription fillet worked loose it was taken up for repair. There was engraving on the back. The present writer was able to share the excitement and pleasure experienced a hundred years earlier by Alfred Heales and others over the brass to Dorothy Frankyshe.

In August 1955, with the vicar's consent and with the supporting interest of the late Leslie Lampitt and other members of the parish council, all eight pieces that remained of the inscription were taken up and were found to be palimpsest, as were the two shields and the achievement plate. The metal used was dark in colour and thick, in contrast to that used for the two main figures. I judged these to be of later thin plate and unlikely to be palimpsest. This was confirmed when the small separate piece on which the feet of the male figure are engraved was lifted and had no engraving on the reverse.

All the engraving on the reverse of the eleven palimpsest pieces came from a large Flemish brass not more than fifty years earlier in date than the Wightman memorial. No doubt it had come from a church in the Low Countries at the 1566 looting and rioting. It was possible to put these reverse pieces together to get some indication of what the original was like. A piece of a brass at Rufford in Lancashire has engraving on the reverse from the same Flemish brass. This discovery was described in detail in the *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*.¹⁴ Subsequently other palimpsests have come to light in churches at Bradfield, Essex, and Thames Ditton, Surrey, which also appear to come from this same original.

X. John Lyon in civil dress, ob. 1592, and wife; mutilated; relaid in stone and mounted on first pillar from the east of the north arcade of the Nave.

This brass was lifted and reset in a red marble slab, 37 x 27 ins and mounted on the pillar at the east end of the north arcade of the Nave. Above it is a marble by Flaxman erected by subscription of Old Harrovians in 1813, with a Latin inscription by Dr. Parr.

The two figures are simply drawn and modest in size, about 19½ ins high. He is shown standing in doublet and plain trunk hose, with a short cloak. The left foot is now missing. The lady, also with ruff and undecorated costume with gown open in front wears a hat with a brim turned up at the sides. About 4 ins at the bottom of this figure is lost. Heales reported that the figure of a child was lost.

Below is a rectangular plate 10 ins high and 24 ins wide (with a chamfer missing on the sinister side at the top). On this is an inscription in English in eleven lines of Roman capitals. This reads:

HEARE LYETH BURYED THE BODYE OF IOHN LYON LATE OF PRESTON
IN THIS PISH YEOMAN DECEASED THE iiiTH DAYE OF OCTOBER
IN THE YEARE OF OVR LOR^D 1592 WHO HATH FOVNDED A FREE
GRAMMER SCHOOLE IN THIS PISH TO HAVE CONTINVANCE
FOR EVER AND FOR MAINTENAVNCE THEREOF AND FOR RELEYFE
OF THE POORE AND OF SOME POORE SCHOLLERS IN THE VNIVER
SITYES, REPAYRINGE OF HIGH WAYES, AND OTHER GOOD AND
CHARITABLE VSES HATH MADE CONVAYAVNCE OF LANDS OF
GOOD VALVE TO A CORPORACION GRAVNTED FOR THAT PVRPOSE
PRAYSE BE TO THE AVTHOR OF ALGOODNES WHO MAKE VS.
MYNDEFVLL TO FOLLOWE HIS GOOD EXAMPLE.

It is curious that the inscription records the death of John Lyon on 3 October 1592, whereas in the Register of Burials is the entry: "4 September, 1592, John Lion of Preston"; Also in the Register is: "Aug. 1608; the 30th day was buried Wydowe Lyon of Preston."

John Lyon was a yeoman or tenant farmer of some substance, of a family that had been in the parish some two hundred years. Lyon farm is, or was until recently, to be found at Preston, and neighbouring the Bellamy family at Uxendon. John Lyon also purchased in

1568 a property at Maddon, co. Beds., for over £500. He represented the tenants in the Manor and was Beadle of the Manor Court. Other members of the Lyon family were living nearby at Alperton and Ruislip.

Of a well-established local family, hard working and active in affairs of the local community, John Lyon was among those of his period who were inspired to found schools for the wider education of the young. After much planning and with help from Sir Gilbert Gerard, the Attorney-General, whose brother William lived at Flambards on the Hill, he obtained a Royal Charter, dated 19th February 1572, for the foundation of a free grammar school, and for other good works which are also recorded on the inscription on his brass. The charter starts with "Whereas our beloved subject, John Lyon, of Preston, . . . hath purposed in his mind a certain grammar school and one schoolmaster and usher, within the village of Harrowe-upon-the-Hill of new to erect, found and forever to establish for the perpetual education, teaching and instruction of children and youth of the said parish; and also two scholars within our University of Cambridge and also two scholars within our University of Oxford, liberally to endow and maintain, and other common ways as well between Edgware and London as in other places at his own very great charge intends to repair and amend, and other endowments and works of piety."

Nineteen years after this charter, and two years before his death, he drew up "Orders, Statutes and Rules" for running the School. These show great care and precision.

Those who would read further about his foundation and his charities will find a transcript of both the Charter and of the Orders, Statutes and Rules of John Lyon in the book by E. D. Laborde on Harrow School, published in 1948. These documents, he says, were originally kept in the Governors' chest, made when the School House was first built, and kept in the Governors' Room, with three locks whose keys were distributed among the Governors. They have now been transferred for safe keeping to a local bank.

XI. Civilian and wife, c. 1600 with text; inscription lost; floor of Chancel.

This brass appears to have been relaid in a paving stone and the original design is unknown. The inscription is missing and, in the position it would normally occupy beneath the two figures, is a small rectangular plate, 4 ins deep and 15 ins wide, on which is engraved a vulgate invocation in three lines of blackletter.¹⁵ This reads:

Credo qr redemptor meus vivit et in
novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum
et in carne mea videbo deū salvatōrē meū

The two large figures, 50 and 48 ins long, are excellent of the period; well drawn and executed with the usual excess of hatching, or shading to show perspective. They are standing on circular discs or plates and are turned partly facing towards one another. It is always difficult to decide whether portraiture is to be seen in brasses at this date; the details of moustache and beard give character to the face, but it was common fashion at the time and most male figures are so shown. He is dressed in doublet and hose, the doublet buttoned up the front to the neck, around which is a ruff. Three buttons are on each of his cuffs, much as in the useless manner of modern times. Over this costume is worn a long gown with false sleeves. His shoes, too, are recognisably modern, with tongues and being tied with laces.

The lady also wears a ruff and her outer garment is parted in front and supported by a farthingale to show the splendid patterning of her petticoat. Embroidery is also present

on the bodice with its peaked stomacher. She wears a bonnet with material folded over the top, no doubt elegant but giving a rather flat-headed appearance on brass.

The lack, for many years past of inscription or heraldry leaves us with no evidence of the names of the two people commemorated by this splendid brass.

XII. John Sonkey in civil dress, 1603, and wife Alice, two shields; mural; north transept.

This brass is so similar to the last in design, style and method of engraving that it would seem likely that they were both executed by the same craftsman. So alike are they that this brass can best be described by the way in which it differs from No. XI. The two figures are of equal size and appreciably smaller than the last, being $36\frac{3}{4}$ ins high. The man's beard is rather more prominent to the extent that it obscures the ruff in front. His outer cloak is not parted in front to show the doublet and hose, except for the buttons up to the neck. The three sleeve buttons appear as before. The shoes are not laced, but both figures are standing on circular discs.

The lady's bodice has vertical stripes in place of the horizontally arranged embroidery of the larger figure; the petticoat is well embroidered. Her right arm from the elbow to the shoulder is missing, as is part of her left shoulder and a piece of the sinister side of her gown.

These are the figures of John Sonkey and his wife Alice. In the Register of Burials is the entry: December, 1603: the 15th day buried Mr. John Sonkey of . (This was left blank.)

The brass has long since been moved from its original stone. It was on the floor of the north Chapel, in a new stone, but came loose some years ago. It has now been mounted on a wooden board on the north wall of the north transept.

Two shields have been associated with these figures and are now mounted immediately above them. One shield bears *Barry of 6 or and , a canton .* The other has *argent, on a bend 3 fishes impaling the first coat.*

Sonkey does not appear in Burkes General Armory, but Sankey (co. Worcester) bears *sable, three fishes in bend between two cotises argent* while Sankey (co. Bedford, Bucks., and Lancaster) has *Argent on a bend sable three salmon of the field.*

The second of these would correspond with the present brass.

XIII. Katherine Clerke, widow, 1613; inscription only.

On the floor within the Communion rails lies this brass in a restored floor. The plate is rectangular, but with two small rectangular pieces out of the two bottom corners. The overall height and width is $16\frac{3}{4} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$ ins with the bottom narrower by $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins on either side. The inscription is in Roman capitals in thirteen lines of which the last two lines are shorter being in the narrower brass. The height of the narrower piece is $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins on the sinister side but only $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins on the other side.

The inscription reads:

HERE LYETH THE BODYE OF KATHERINE CLERKE WIDDOW THE DAVGHTER
OF THOMAS MARTIN OF THIS PARISH DECEASED & LATE THE WIFE OF
HENRY CLERKE OF RISLIP IN THIS COVNTIE ESQVIER DECEASED (AND
BVRIED AT HEYES WHERE HIS MONVMENT IS ERECTED) WITH WHOME SHE LIVED
UNTILL HIS DECEASE LII YEARES HER CHARITIE COMENDS VNTO VS Y^e FAITH SHE
HAD IN Y^e MERCIES OF GOD THOROW CHRIST IESUS FOR AMONGST OTHER HER

ALMES DEEDES SHEE GAVE IN HER LIFE TIME TOWARDS THE MAYNTEYN
 NANCE OF XII POORE PEOPLE OF THIS PRISHE YEARELY XII^t FOR EVER VI
 DWELING IN HARROW HILL AND VI IN ROCKSYE HIR GODLY & PEACEABLE END
 APROVED HIR HONEST AND VERTVOVS LIFE SHEE DYED AT HIR HOUSE IN LONDON
 THE XXVIth DAY OF DECEMBER 1613 BEING LXXXiiii YEARES OF AGE
 WHO WAS IN SEASON AS FVLL RIPNED CORNE
 BROVGHT HETHER WHER & WHENCE SHE FIRST WAS BORNE

The Register of Burials records: January 1613/14 "The 13th day was buried in the Chancell neare unto the body of Mr. Sonky Mistress Katheren Clarke of London". The inscription tells us that she died at her house in London on 26th December.

It is interesting that she evidently wished for burial in the place where she was born, the daughter of Thomas Martin, and not where her husband was buried. We are told on the inscription that her husband was Henry Clerke of Ruislip and that he was buried at Hayes "where his monument is erected". There is indeed a brass to him in Hayes church although the figure is now lost. He was clerk of the peace for Middlesex for 35 years, a benefactor to the poor and died in 1609 at the age of 80, having been 52 years married to his wife Katherine. They both experienced longevity, for she was 84 at her death.

NOTES

- ¹ Alfred Heales, "Sepulchral Brasses at Harrow", *Trans. L.M.A.S.*, 1, (1860) p. 269 J. G. Nichols, "The brass of John Byrkhed", *ibid.*, p. 276. W. D. Cooper, "The parish registers of Harrow", *ibid.*, p. 285. Account of the eighteenth general meeting at Harrow, *ibid.*, p. 366.
- ² Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, 1926, p. 317.
- ³ Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, (1631), p. 531.
- ⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 462; 1345-48, p. 466, 546; 1350-54, p. 319; 1358-64, p. 570; 1364-67, p. 228.
- ⁵ Black Prince's Registry, 4, 74.
- ⁶ Kent, J. P. C., *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 3rd series, XII, 1949, pp. 70-97.
- ⁷ S. Gardner, *Architectural History of Harrow Church*, 1895.
- ⁸ Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 172.
- ⁹ P.C.C. 24 Godyn.
- ¹⁰ P.C.C. 19 Blamyr.
- ¹¹ J. G. & L. A. B. Waller, *A series of Monumental Brasses . . .* (1864), Introduction, p. x.
- ¹² See *M.B.S. Trans.* II, 50.
- ¹³ P.C.C. 9 Arundell.
- ¹⁴ *M.B.S. Trans.*, 9, 317.
- ¹⁵ Job, 19, vv. 25, 26.

THE NURSERIES ON MILNE'S LAND-USE MAP

BY JOHN H. HARVEY

SUMMARY

In 1795–99 an original survey of the London area was made by Thomas Milne, who published the engraved result in 1800. The map was the first to show detailed land-use, and distinguishes between grounds used for market gardens, orchards, hop gardens and nurseries. An attempt is made here to identify the plots of ground used as nurseries with the occupying nurserymen and to complete the picture of the nursery trade of London 1795–1800.

Since the discovery of early nurseries mostly depends on haphazard survival of records, there is rarely a complete picture at any one date. For the country as a whole the first general coverage is given by Bailey's British Directories of 1780–84. Many more towns were included in the Universal Directory of 1790–97. Thus it is only in the last years of the eighteenth century that an overall distribution can be established. Even so, serious confusion is caused by the indiscriminate use of "gardener", particularly in regard to the two distinct, and usually incompatible, trades of market and nursery gardening. The standing of each business has to be confirmed independently.¹

For Greater London there is, fortunately, another source of information, the detailed land-use plan surveyed by Thomas Milne in 1795–99 and published by him on 11 March 1800.² It seems that only one complete copy survives, but this is fully coloured and signed by the surveyor. Though well known to geographers as a remarkable pioneering study of land-utilization,³ its most outstanding feature does not appear to have been noticed. This is its discrimination between the use of land for nurseries, market gardens and orchards respectively. Engraved on a scale of two inches to the mile, the map marks field boundaries and these correspond quite well with detail on larger plans of individual districts. In principle, therefore, Milne showed every nursery ground of substantial size in an area some 14 miles from north to south by 18 from east to west. There is in fact at least one surprising omission and in other cases what seems to be inadequate indication of area. Notwithstanding these defects the map agrees well with a list of metropolitan nurseries drawn up from directories and filled in from other sources.

In round figures there were 45 nurseries of standing within the area of Milne's map in the period 1795–1800, and of these over 30 can be identified. The identifications include almost all known major firms except Lee & Kennedy of Hammersmith. Most of the firms whose grounds do not appear were small or in built-up areas. From the identified grounds a fairly clear pattern emerges. The London trade, though already pushed out of the central area in which many of the early nurserymen had their gardens, still tended to centralisation. There had always been some dispersal, and this applies particularly to nurseries in the Thames Valley above London: at Turnham Green, Isleworth and Twickenham north of the Thames, and at Putney and Kew south of the river. At such points, close to water transport, there is evidence that the plant trade goes back to the seventeenth and perhaps even to the sixteenth century.

Before listing the nurseries shown, something must be said of the map and its maker. Milne's engraving, except in closely built-up areas, shows the pattern of fields and the land

use of each parcel. His accuracy as a surveyor is acknowledged and he was one of the first to be able to use the base-line measured for the Ordnance Survey. On the complete copy, land use is indicated by colouring as well as by engraved letters, and Milne's painstaking accuracy is shown in four cases where plots marked "n" (nursery ground) are not coloured and seem in fact to have gone out of use.⁴ This may mean that Milne made a secondary re-survey of land use shortly before publication but after engraving.

The question remains just why Milne was concerned to distinguish between various kinds of gardens. One possibility is that he was closely related to his namesake and younger contemporary, the nurseryman Thomas Milne (c. 1767–1838) of Fulham. The surveyor was already at work in Scotland by April 1768 and by 1791 referred to his "twenty years experience" of surveying.⁵ Although his career from 1768 to 1800 is well documented, nothing is known of Milne after his production of the London map, when his address was No. 7, New Street, Knightsbridge. This position, close to the chief nurseries of fashionable London, may be significant. Chronologically Milne might have been the junior partner of Alexander Eddie evidenced in 1783–85 in the famous seedsman's business in the Strand, though this was more probably the Alexander Milne who in 1785 appears as a seed and hop merchant.⁶ Whatever may have been the reasons for Milne's particularity we must be grateful for the unexpected light thrown by his work on an obscure subject.

Since the map marks the ancient parish boundaries it is convenient to study the nurseries by parishes. In the gazeteer which follows, cross-references are given for hamlets such as Brompton, Dalston, Walworth, from which many nurseries took their names. Nurseries of 1795–1800 evidenced from other sources are briefly noted at the end of each parish. Each main entry gives the approximate extent of the nursery marked in relation to modern streets, with an indication of acreage scaled off the map. This does not always agree with statements of area in standard works on horticultural history, and it is likely that several of the unidentified parcels of nursery ground belonged to nurserymen at a distance, even in other parishes. This phenomenon is well attested at a later period. The probability is that very few London nurseries of c. 1800 are really unknown.

Milne's map shows an apparent grand total of 49 nurseries but this is not precise and depends upon assumptions. Of the 49 it can be regarded as certain that 38 are identifiable with nurseries known to have flourished in the period, while 33 are specifically identified with named nurserymen. On the other hand at least 11 named nurserymen were in business in grounds apparently unmarked. Five of these are accounted for as being in closely built-up areas and one other at Highgate (St. Pancras parish) was very small. In one case (New Cross Nursery at Deptford) it is likely that the firm combined a nursery with large-scale market gardening in a way that eluded Milne's notice. Two nurserymen in Brompton (Kensington parish), evidenced in 1797, may have had grounds soon afterwards taken over by one of the larger firms. The new nursery of Buchanan at Camberwell cannot have started until 1796 and was perhaps not in business at the time of the survey. Only the large and surpassingly famous Vineyard Nursery of Lee & Kennedy at Hammersmith (Fulham parish) is left as being mysteriously absent without any reasonable explanation.

In the Gazeteer main numbers, 1–49, are given to the (assumed) separate nurseries marked on Milne's map. Other nurseries evidenced for the period 1795–1800 are given a subsidiary numbering (e.g. 4.A). A few other nurseries, not certainly operating at this date, are mentioned but not numbered.

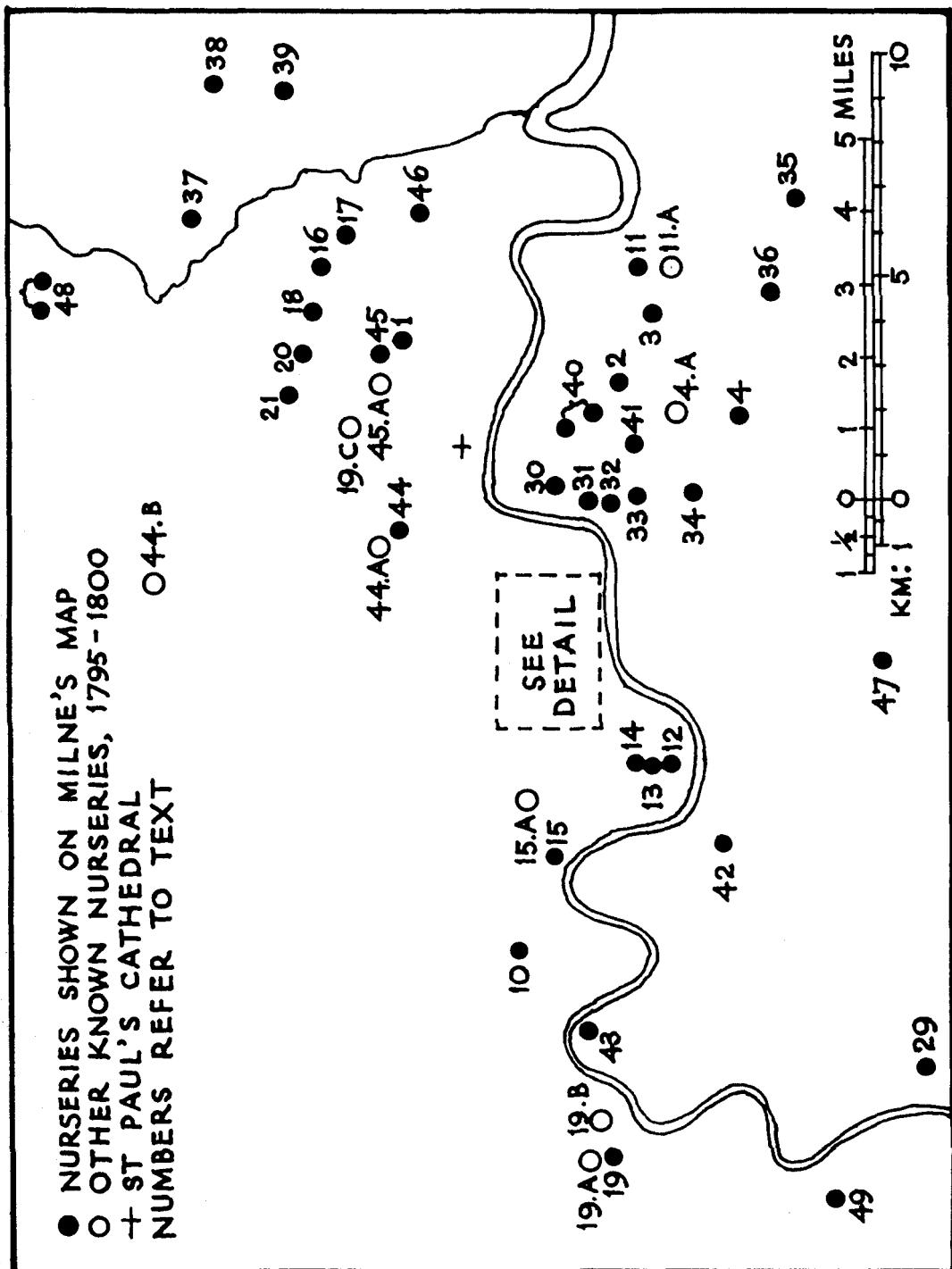
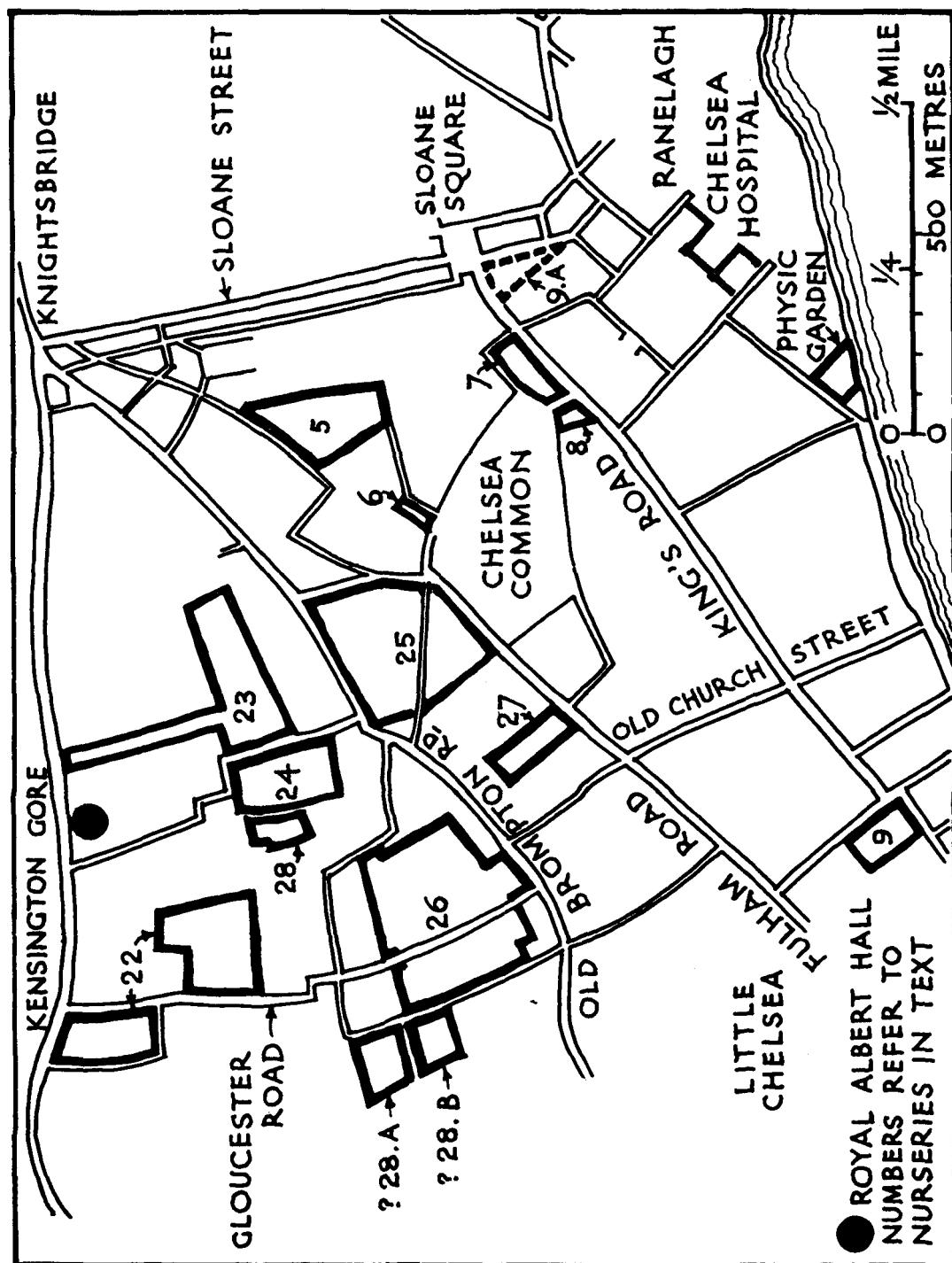


Fig. 1 Nurseries in the London area, 1795-1800



GAZETTEER

BETHNAL GREEN (Middlesex)

- (1) Hackney Road (S. side), Columbia Road, Ravenscroft Street. 8 acres.
 Possibly part of John Allport's nursery (SHOREDITCH, below 45), as he owned houses and land at Hackney Road, Bethnal Green, in 1802.⁷ In 1812 W. & A. Duthie were nurserymen in this parish as was "Duthie" in 1786.⁸

Brentford – see EALING, ISLEWORTH

Brompton – see KENSINGTON

CAMBERWELL (Surrey)

- (2) Old Kent Road (S. side), Coburg Road, Pepler Road. 12 acres.
Pinery (later Coburg Place) Nursery. This, the site of the Hen & Chickens public house, is the position of G. Neal's nursery specializing in Pineapples, 2 miles 60 rods from Cornhill in 1788.⁹ It was rated on £45 in 1802. From 1803 to 1836 or later a larger area was occupied by William Couldry, nurseryman and seedsman, rental £100, from 1810 only £66.¹⁰
- (3) Old Kent Road (N. side), Tustin Street, Ilderton Road. 4 acres.
 Not traced; in 1842 the site of Canterbury Place.
- (4) Champion Hill (S.E. side), Green Dale. 6 acres.
 Not traced.

Thomas Davey (*c.* 1758–1833), florist, had a small nursery in Camberwell from before 1791 until 1798, when he moved to King's Road, Chelsea (below, 8).¹¹

(4.A) *The Camberwell Nursery*. James Buchanan, gardener and florist, late of Kew, on 2 November 1795 took a lease of a messuage, shop and land for 21 years at £31 a year,¹² but by 1802 he seems to have moved to other land, at least in part.¹³ With the address No. 7 Bowyer Place, Camberwell Road, the firm became one of outstanding importance noted for herbaceous border plants and for uncommon trees and shrubs,¹⁴ as Buchanan & Oldroyd 1811–32; Buchanan, Oldroyd & Marsden 1832–; William J. Buchanan –1849.¹⁵ The main grounds were on each side of Wyndham Road and between Camberwell New Road and Knatchbull Road, marked as meadows and gardens by Milne.

CHELSEA (Middlesex)¹⁶

- (5) Walton Street, Lennox Gardens, Rawlings Street. 13 acres.
 Not traced, but probably part of Kensington Nursery (below, 22) as Daniel Grimwood was rated near here on £70 for nursery land in 1794–1800, and William Malcolm & Co. in 1805.

(6) Draycott Avenue, Mossop Street. $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
 Not traced, but John Harrison (below, 25) was rated in this area on £41 in 1794 and later on £31.

(7) Kings Road (N. side), Sloane Avenue, Draycott Place. $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
 Founded by James Colvill senior (*c.* 1746–1822), first shown in the rates in 1783; in 1790 Colvill & Buchanan and by 1807 Colvill & Son; carried on by James Colvill junior (1777–1832). The nursery was in 1795 distinguished for the first real display of the garden Chrysanthemum in Britain, and later for hybridization of pelargoniums, gladiolus and

hippeastrums;¹⁷ by 1811 specialized in rare exotics and forced flowers, having between 30,000 and 40,000 square feet under glass. By 1827 Colvill occupied a second nursery at Roehampton in Surrey. He had a very large collection of Cape Bulbs.¹⁸ In 1834–40 the nursery was occupied by (Henry) Adams & Durban.

(8) Kings Road (N. side), Sloane Avenue (W. side).

$\frac{1}{2}$ acre.

Thomas Davey (c. 1758–1833), florist, was here from 1798 after moving from Camberwell (above). Davey was nationally famous for Florists' Flowers, especially Carnations, Pinks and Tulips.¹⁹

(9) Limerston Street (W. side), Gertrude Street, Lamont Road.

5 acres.

Not certainly traced, but probably the Chelsea nursery of Henry Shailer (see also KEN-SINGTON, *Little Chelsea*), who flourished 1788–1815 and was rated for a nursery in this area in 1795–1805. He was famous as a grower of Roses.²⁰

(9.A) John Fraser (1750–1811) had a nursery from c. 1786 at the S.W. corner of Sloane Square (Kings Road, S. side), continued after his death by his sons. He was certainly paying rates here in 1800–05. Fraser was botanical collector to the Emperor of Russia and famous for his introductions from America; also, in 1802, for first flowering the Dahlia in Britain.²¹

Ranelagh

A nursery near Ranelagh, Chelsea, was occupied in 1789 and possibly later by Hairs, Hairs & Smith of St. James's Street (see KINGSTON, *Ham*).

CHISWICK (Middlesex)

(10) Chiswick High Road (N. side), Turnham Green, Thornton Avenue.

8 acres.

Turnham Green Nursery. Probably the nursery occupied by James Scott c. 1740–60.²² The land was rated to Robson & Hodgson (?Robertson, Robinson) in 1776–81, and from 1785 became the nursery of Richard Williams, later F.R.H.S.²³ Williams specialized in Heathers by 1794,²⁴ and introduced plants from Australia and the Cape.²⁵ He also marketed the improved Bon Chrétien pear, illustrated by William Hooker in the Horticultural Society's *Transactions* for 1817 and ever since famous as "Williams'".

Strand-on-the-Green

There was a nursery before 1722 occupied by George Master(s) who improved the Hotspur Pea.²⁶ "Masters' or Short Hotspur" appears in seedsmen's lists as late as 1828. This may have been the same nursery occupied from 1727 by Henry Woodman (c. 1698–1758) and by his widow on a declining scale to 1780.²⁷

Dalston – see HACKNEY

DEPTFORD ST. PAUL (Kent)

(11) Woodpecker Road (E. side), Rolt Street (N. side). [Marked "n" but not coloured]. Not traced, but the land was market gardens by 1844.²⁸

10 acres.

(11.A) *New Cross Nursery.* Milne marks as market gardens several large parcels of land N. of New Cross Road (area of New Cross Gate Station) in the Surrey (Hatcham) part of Deptford parish. These formed by c. 1780 the nursery of Crombie & Cormack, after 1802 John Cormack, later Cormack & Son, Cormack, Son & Sinclair, in 1843 Cormack & Oliver.²⁹ By 1811 they were among the principal London nurserymen

and occupied 40 acres,³⁰ and in 1830 took part of the new Conservatories at Covent Garden.³¹

EALING (Middlesex)

Brentford

Milne's map does not mark any nursery ground in Brentford (parish of Ealing), leaving blank grounds near Brentford Church known to have been occupied by the firm of Ronalds (see ISLEWORTH, below 19). In 1802 Hugh Ronalds (c. 1759–1833) was freeholder of his own house in New Brentford.³²

FULHAM (Middlesex)³³

(12) New Kings Road (S. side), Hurlingham Road, Broomhouse Road. 18 acres.

The Fulham Nursery. Probably founded c. 1720–30 by Christopher Gray (c. 1694–1764), who may have taken over an earlier nursery. It was continued by William Burchell (c. 1725–1800) and Matthew Burchell until 1810, when it was purchased by Whitley, Brames & Milne from Brompton (see 26 below). The junior partner, Thomas Milne (c. 1767–1838), came from Threepwood in the parish of Melrose and may have been related to the surveyor. He was a distinguished hybridizer, raising the noted passion-flower *Passiflora x caeruleo-racemosa* about 1820.³⁴ The firm was Whitley & Osborn from 1833, Osborn & Son from 1853, and closed in 1881. One of the most famous nurseries for American trees, this was in 1811 among the principal nurserymen.³⁵ Matthew Burchell in 1802 held at least part of the land as freehold.³⁶

(13) New Kings Road (N. side), Munster Road, St. Dionis Road. 4 acres.

Not traced, though it might be expected to represent the Parsons Green nursery visited by Gibson in 1691. It was founded by Thomas Rench (c. 1631–1728) and continued by his son Nathaniel Rench (1682–1783) and the latter's son-in-law Daniel Fitch and his children until 1865. The main area occupied consisted of Southfield or Broom Farm (ultimately South Park), some way to the south-east. The Rench family are said to have founded the first London Floral Feasts, annual flower shows, and to have been active in improving strawberries; auriculas, variegated hollies and tulip trees were among their specialities.³⁷

(14) Munster Road (E. side), Lettice Street, St. Dionis Road. 1 acre.

Possibly the nursery attached to the market garden of the Dancer family, flourishing c. 1650–1880.

Hammersmith

(15) King Street (S. side), Queen Caroline Street, Angel Walk, Sussex Place. 6 acres.

Not traced, unless it is the nursery in King Street later well known as Colley & Hill (c. 1815–40), celebrated for pelargoniums.³⁸ In 1805 David Allen, florist and seedsman, and Allen, Newman & Gyet, florists and seedsmen, were in Hammersmith.³⁹ There had also been a nursery in Hammersmith belonging to Henry Marsh (1675–1741), perhaps close to his mansion in Frog Lane.⁴⁰

(15.A) *The Vineyard Nursery.* The nucleus of this famous nursery comprised some 18 acres N. of Hammersmith Road on the site of Olympia. The land, or parts of it, had been occupied by Lewis Kennedy and James Lee (1715–1795) as a nursery since 1745, and after Lee's death continued in various partnerships until 1894. Milne marks part of the land on the known site of the nursery as meadow.⁴¹

HACKNEY (Middlesex)

(16) Well Street (E. side), Wick Road, Queen Anne Road. 5 acres.
 Probably the nursery founded by John Busch c. 1760 and taken over in 1771 by Conrad Loddiges (1743–1826). In 1787 and 1792 Loddiges acquired other grounds lying E. of Mare Street, marked by Milne as meadow and market garden.⁴² Loddiges were especially noted for the introduction of rare exotics, and for their publications: *The Botanical Cabinet* (1818–33) and a long series of catalogues.⁴³

(17) Victoria Park Road (S.E. side), opposite Well Street Common. 8 acres.
 Not traced as a separate nursery but perhaps part of Busch's and later Loddiges' grounds.

Dalston

(18) Dalston Lane (S. side), Graham Road. 17 acres.
 The nucleus, later enlarged to 30 acres, of the nursery founded by Warren Luker (d. 1784) about 1760, from 1780 carried on as Luker, Smith & Lewis and from 1785 to 1849 as Smiths. Edward and Samuel Smith were regarded in 1811 as among the principal nurserymen and had over 30,000 square feet of glass.⁴⁴

Ham – see KINGSTON

Hammersmith – see FULHAM

Hoxton – see SHOREDITCH

ISLEWORTH (Middlesex)

(19) London Road (S. side), Twickenham Road, Teesdale Avenue. 8 acres.
 Part of the nursery occupied by the firm of Ronals of Brentford (see EALING, above). The firm is said to have been founded c. 1750 by Hugh Ronals senior (c. 1726–1788), who was renting part of this land from the Duke of Northumberland by 1780. The nursery was carried on by his son Hugh Ronals junior (c. 1759–1833), the author of *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis* (1831), and later members of the family. The land tax assessment on the Isleworth ground increased from £5 to £10 in 1793, to £11 in 1794–96, £19 in 1797–1800 and later to £82. Though chiefly famous for fruit trees, the firm also pioneered in herbaceous and alpine plants.⁴⁵

(19.A) Nathaniel Swinden, author of *The Beauties of Flora* (1778), was established near the 8th milestone on the Bath Road, presumably on the opposite (N.) side to Ronals' nursery.⁴⁶ Swinden was described as a seedsman of Old Brentford in 1805.⁴⁷

(19.B) A Brentford nurseryman called Bell in 1793 received seeds, sent by Pallas from the Crimea, of the Pontic Azalea (*Rhododendron luteum*), then first introduced.⁴⁸ This was probably the Mr. Bell paying land tax in Isleworth at the time and possibly the John Bell who died there in 1813. In 1818 Thomas Bush Bell owned a nursery at Brentford End next to Syon Park, on the S. side of the London Road.⁴⁹

An outstanding earlier nursery in Isleworth, on an unknown site, was that of Peter Mason (1680–1730), famous for fruit trees and a pioneer of the spruce fir. At Mason's death the nursery contained over 115,000 trees in some 80 species.⁵⁰ This may have been the nursery occupied by James Aslett in 1767 and by one Chandler in 1780.⁵¹

ISLINGTON (Middlesex)

Milne leaves blank an area close to the centre of Islington known to have been the nursery of the Watson family

(19.C) Before 1769 William Watson had founded a nursery E. of Colebrooke Row (Danbury Street, Noel Road, St. Peter's Street) of some $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres,⁵² specializing in choice plants.⁵³ In 1771 he took part in the "great interchange of exotic plants" with the Chelsea Garden. The firm became William & James Watson in 1776 and in 1792 Thomas Watson succeeded to the business, which continued until 1821.⁵⁴ Watson was in 1798 the first to flower the Pontic Azalea in Britain (see above, 19.B).⁵⁵

(19.D) Andrew Hogarth was in 1797 a nurseryman here.⁵⁶

Kingsland

(20) Balls Pond Road (N. side), Boleyn Road, King Henry's Walk. 19 acres. *The Kingsland Nursery*, occupied from 1787 by Robert Mackie, later by Lewis & Mackie, from 1800 by Thomas Bassington, in 1825 Bassington & Bunney, and finally by George Hockley Bunney in 1826-44. Bunney in the 1830's was one of the hybridizers of the Fuchsia.⁵⁷ In 1797 the firm of Mackie & Lewis was described as a "Patent Nursery Manufactory".⁵⁸

Newington Green

(21) St. Pauls Road (N. side), Newington Green Road, St. Pauls Place. 2 acres. *Northampton Nursery*, founded by Thomas Barr in 1791. By 1798, as shown by an increase in assessment from £16 to £34 for land, the nursery had been enlarged, and by 1806 consisted of 11 acres extending W. over the site of Northampton Park.⁵⁹ Barr took Samuel Brookes into partnership in 1819; in 1822 the nursery was said to be "carried on with much spirit, collectors being sent out to distant countries, and many new plants imported".⁶⁰ Brookes left England for Chicago in 1832 and the land was used for building.⁶¹

Kennington - see LAMBETH

KENSINGTON (Middlesex)

(22) (a) High Street (S. side), Palace Gate, Victoria Road. 9 acres.
 (b) Gloucester Road (E. side), Queens Gate, Queens Gate Mews, Queens Gardens. 14 acres.

(see also CHELSEA, 5 above; and Brompton, 27 below)

The Kensington Nursery, founded soon after 1700 by Robert Furber (c. 1674-1756), and until 1840 one of the most fashionable nurseries. Furber acquired some of the exotics introduced by Bishop Henry Compton (1632-1713) to Fulham Palace, and the nursery was throughout distinguished for the number of rare species cultivated. It is particularly noted also as the first known English source of the Moss Rose (1724).⁶² The firm continued as John Williamson & Co. from 1756 to 1783, when it was taken over by Daniel Grimwood, who discovered the "Unique" or White Provence Rose and developed a stock of it. The business flourished through several partnerships, notably that of Grimwood & Wykes in 1796-1804. It was then leased by William Malcolm junior (1769-1835) and later passed to Richard Forrest. There was a separate seed shop, The Pine Apple, in Arlington Street, Piccadilly. In 1820 the amount of land worked had fallen to 20 acres,⁶³ but by 1822 a field of 7 acres in Brompton (below, 27) had been acquired from William Salisbury.⁶⁴ Daniel Grimwood in 1802 was freeholder of his own house and land in Kensington.⁶⁵

Brompton

(23) Thurloe Place (N. side), Imperial Institute Road, Ennismore Gardens, Brompton Square, Exhibition Road. 21 acres.

Brompton Park Nursery, founded in 1681 by Roger Looker & Co., and famous in 1694–1714 as London & Wise, the first really large nursery in Britain (then some 50 acres but gradually reduced).⁶⁶ Successive partnerships never regained the prestige lost by the incompetence of Joseph Carpenter and William Smith, who took over in 1714, but the business survived until 1851. From 1789 to 1802 the proprietors were James Gray and Thomas Wear.⁶⁷ In 1811 the nursery was again put at 50 acres; in 1820 at 56 acres.⁶⁸

- (24) Cromwell Road (N. side), Imperial Institute Road (site of Natural History Museum).
14 acres.

Cromwell's Garden Nursery, perhaps founded soon after 1700 by John Kirke, and occupied by Joseph Kirke in 1766. Until after 1824 the firm was in the hands of Joseph Kirke senior and his sons William and Joseph; in 1836 of John Kirke.⁶⁹ They were famous for grape vines and for other fruit, stocking one hundred varieties of apples.⁷⁰

- (25) Brompton Road (W. side), Thurloe Place, Onslow Square. 27 acres.
Founded by Henry Hewitt (d. 1771) and his brother Samuel (d. 1793). After 1771 the firm was carried on by their nephew Henry Hewitt junior (d. 1791) and from his death by his nephews John and Samuel Harrison. The latter, in various partnerships, continued until bankruptcy in 1833. The nursery stocked fruit trees and also specialized in herbaceous and greenhouse plants, and in vegetable and flower seeds. It is possible that this nursery may previously have been that of Joseph Allerton who in 1733 had plantations of North American trees, particularly the Red or Scarlet Oak, at Brompton Lane near the Spring Gardens, Knightsbridge.⁷¹ (See also CHELSEA, 6 above.)

- (26) (a) Old Brompton Road (N. side), Cromwell Road, Ashburn Place, Reece Mews (divided by Gloucester Road). 32 acres.

- (b) Cromwell Road (S. side), Wetherby Gardens, Ashburn Place (W. side), Courtfield Gardens. 8 acres.

Founded by Frank Thoburn in 1784 and from 1788 to 1790 run in partnership with Reginald Whitley (c. 1754–1835). Whitley took various partners and the firm was Whitley & Barrit in 1796–1801, Whitley & Brames until 1810, when the nursery extended to 40 acres.⁷² The old Fulham Nursery (above, 12) was then taken over and the business transferred over a period of several years. The catalogue of Whitley & Barrit for 1796 shows that they were pioneers of hardy herbaceous and alpine plants.⁷³ They also stocked fashionable exotics for stove and greenhouse and besides many named varieties of the usual bulbs they had 37 varieties of Ixia, 12 of the Antholyza and 20 of Gladiolus, as well as 74 Heaths for the greenhouse and 11 for the open air.⁷⁴ In 1808 Whitley obtained seed of the important Chinese White Paeony, known by his name as *Paeonia lactiflora Whitleyi*.⁷⁵

- (27) Fulham Road (N.W. side), Old Brompton Road, Summer Place, Onslow Gardens (site of Brompton Hospital). 7 acres.

Part of the grounds acquired by William Curtis (1746–1799) in 1789 on his removal from Lambeth Marsh. His garden was continued by his partner William Salisbury who, before 1822, had disposed of this plot to Malcolm of the Kensington Nursery (above, 22). A new garden in Sloane Street was already in process of establishment by 1809.⁷⁶

- (28) Cromwell Road (N. side), Imperial Institute Road, Queens Gate. 4 acres.
Not traced in the period of Milne's map, but occupied as a nursery in 1825 by J. Ellingham.⁷⁷ This adjoined Hale House, where Poupart's are said to have had a nursery producing the Muscadine Grape.⁷⁸

Fulham Road (N.W. side), Old Brompton Road, Onslow Square, Sumner Place. Between the nurseries of the Harrisons (above, 25) and that of Curtis & Salisbury (above, 27) an area of 6 acres was occupied by Thomas Gibbs & Co., nurserymen and seedsmen of Ampthill, Beds., and 90 Piccadilly. They were in occupation by 1807 and until after 1836.⁷⁹ The firm existed by 1787 and Thomas Gibbs had the shop at the corner of Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, by 1797.⁸⁰ It is uncertain whether occupation of the Brompton land goes back to 1800. The site is marked "g" by Milne, but as Gibbs at first used the land as an experimental ground for grasses and agricultural seeds, this is not necessarily incompatible. Later, in 1818 Gibbs was here producing hybrid cowslips of various colours and including hose-in-hose forms,⁸¹ but in 1828 all were destroyed by frost. Most varieties, however, survived at the Ampthill Nursery.⁸²

(28.A) In 1797 Robert Shaw, not otherwise evidenced, was rated for house and nursery ground in Old Brompton on an assessment of £21.⁸³

(28.B) George Mitchell was rated on £36 for a nursery in Old Brompton in 1797.⁸⁴ He was presumably the seedsmen and florist of 19 New Bond Street in 1790–91.⁸⁵ It seems possible that these two nurseries were the two parcels totalling 8 acres mentioned above (26.b) as part of the Thoburn & Whitley nursery. Though this comprised 40 acres in 1811 it was rated at a total of only £42 in 1797,⁸⁶ as against £163 for the Kensington Nursery (above, 22), £90 for Brompton Park (above, 23) and £78 for Kirkes' nursery (above, 24).

Little Chelsea

Henry Shailer (above, 9) was a nurseryman here by 1788 and until 1815.

Kew – see RICHMOND

Kingsland – see ISLINGTON

KINGSTON upon Thames (Surrey)

(29) London Road (N. side), Park Road, Elton Road, Willoughby Road, Gordon Road. 12 acres.

Kingston Hill Nursery, not traced at the period of Milne's map but occupied from c. 1820 by Thomas Jackson (c. 1791–1859), nurseryman and fruiterer, and by his successors to 1875 as Jackson & Sons;⁸⁷ probably of J. & G. Mitchelson in 1786 (see below, 33).

Ham

A nursery near Ham Common was occupied in 1789–91 by Hairs, Hairs & Smith, nurserymen of St. James's Street (see above CHELSEA, *Ranelagh*), and they may have continued to a later date.⁸⁸

LAMBETH (Surrey)

(30) Kennington Road (W. side), Lambeth Walk, Walnut Tree Walk. 2 acres. Not certainly traced, but probably represents removal of a nursery from its earlier site slightly to N. (Kennington Road, Lambeth Road, Hercules Road). Richard North nurseryman, author of *A Treatise on Grasses and the Norfolk Willow* (1760), who in 1757–59 had occupied Shoulder of Mutton Field ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) in Marsh and Wall Liberty, N. of Westminster Bridge Road,⁸⁹ moved to this latter position. He died c. 1765, some two years after disposing of the nursery to James Sheilds or Shiells.⁹⁰ Shiells was also noted as having one of the two principal Pineries in London by 1779.⁹¹ *Shields Nursery* is marked on plans

of 1787 and 1800 in the more northerly position, perhaps due merely to lack of revision.⁹² In 1789 this was the site of "Mr. North's nursery and flower gardens".⁹³ William North in 1788 paid rates on an assessment of £28 in Asylum Road and also £13 "for Mays" in Three Coney (*i.e.* Lambeth) Walk.⁹⁴ James Shiells, however, was at the same time assessed at £18 in East Place, Bishop's Liberty.⁹⁵ William North continued in a nursery, with Pinery and Forcing Houses, near or opposite The Asylum (Bethlehem Hospital) until 1806 at least, but in 1805 his shop was at 161 Piccadilly.⁹⁶ In 1829 the nursery formerly of North was said to be occupied by John Hay.⁹⁷

Serious confusion is caused by the existence of another nursery E. of The Asylum (St. Georges Road, S. side, W. of West Square). In 1788 this was occupied by Mr. Hay,⁹⁸ who appears to be Walter Hay, in the same year rated on £13 for No. 13 Moor Place, Bishop's Liberty.⁹⁹ In 1803 the firm of Hay & Co., and in 1805 Walter Hay and James & George Swinnerton, nursery and seedsmen, were at St. Georges Fields; Walter Hay's private address was No. 2 Durham Place, Lambeth.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the same nurserymen must have changed partners, since James Shiells was in 1776 in partnership with John Cowie of The Acorn, 21 Parliament Street, Westminster, by 1780 trading as Shiells & Hay there and at The Nursery Gardens, Lambeth, continuing to 1783. In 1784 the same firm was listed as Walter Hay.¹⁰¹

- (31) Black Prince Road (N. side), Bolwell Street, Ward Street, Brittany Street. 3 acres. *Cotmansfield Nursery*, purchased in 1827 for the erection of a parochial chapel,¹⁰² but not otherwise traced.
- (32) Kennington Lane (N. side), Tyers Terrace, St. Oswald Place, Vauxhall Street. 5 acres. In 1785 garden ground occupied by Messrs. Tyers, Rogers and Barrett under Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart.¹⁰³ not otherwise traced.

- (33) Kennington Oval (central space) 9 acres. Part of a larger area of 38 acres, known as The Forty Acres, which also included the original nursery of William Malcolm by 1757 (see *Stockwell*, below 34). By 1785 most of this site was occupied as a nursery by James & George Mitchelson, and continued as Mitchelsons' until about 1835.¹⁰⁴ In 1803 the business was in the hands of J. Mitchelson,¹⁰⁵ who is said to have lived to the age of 100 years¹⁰⁶ (see also above, 29).

Stockwell

- (34) Brixton Road (W. side), Clapham Road, Caldwell Street, Stockwell Park Road, Lorn Road. 50 acres.

William Malcolm was already a nurseryman of standing in 1757 when he was rated on an assessment of £46 in Kennington (above, 33); in 1761 this had risen to £54. By 1788 William Malcolm & Son were rated at Kennington Common on £46 10s., and also at Stockwell (South Lambeth Common, *i.e.* this site) on £114.¹⁰⁷ The earlier address was The Pine Apple near Kennington Turnpike.¹⁰⁸ Malcolm was supplying plants to the Princess Dowager of Wales for Kew Gardens in 1769,¹⁰⁹ and his catalogue of 1771 was perhaps the first trade list to be drawn up on botanical principles.¹¹⁰

By March 1789 the nursery moved to the Stockwell site, and in that year "Mr. Malcolm has just erected a handsome house, built with grey stock-bricks, which is most delightfully situated; on its south-east side are large hot-houses, conservatories, etc."¹¹¹ William Malcolm senior was dead by c. 1800.¹¹² In 1794 William and James Malcolm had produced for the Board of Agriculture *General Views* of the agriculture of Buckinghamshire and of Surrey, but

the latter was said to be "full of mistakes".¹¹³ The firm became Malcolm & Doughty from 1805 to 1810, in 1811 Malcolm & (Robert) Sweet, and closed in 1815.¹¹⁴ The younger William Malcolm had by then taken over the Kensington Nursery (above, 22).

Vauxhall

By 1803 "Mr. Napier, Nurseryman, near Vauxhall" was described as "a very successful cultivator of many rare articles" and had both raised from seed and flowered *Protea anemonifolia* from Port Jackson (New South Wales). This almost certainly implies a start by 1800. In the following two years the firm was Napier & Chandler.¹¹⁵ The site (Wandsworth Road E. side, Thorncroft Street, Camellia Street) is shown as market garden on Milne's map, but in 1824–26 as a nursery.¹¹⁶ The firm became Chandler & Buckingham (1827–33) and later Chandler & Sons; it was especially famous for the culture of Camellias owing to the hybridizing undertaken from c. 1806 by Alfred Chandler senior¹¹⁷.

LEWISHAM (Kent)

- | | |
|--|----------|
| (35) (a) High Street (E. side), Hither Green Lane, Courthill Road. | 2 acres. |
| (b) Dermody Road (S. side), Courthill Road. | 8 acres. |
| (c) Brockley Grove (S. side), Arthurdon Road, Henryson Road. | 5 acres. |

The Lewisham Nursery. These parcels of land formed part of the great nursery founded c. 1760 by John Russell (c. 1731–1794) and continued by his sons John Russell junior (1766–1808) and Thomas (c. 1773–1810) and son-in-law John Willmott (1775–1834). Russell "raised himself by his skill and industry to a state of affluence rare among nurserymen and, after keeping his carriage and living many years like a gentleman, died in 1794 aged 63, leaving property to the amount of £20,000".¹¹⁸ The firm was Russell, Russell & Willmott in 1805,¹¹⁹ later John Willmott & Co., and finally Willmott & Chaundy, closing in 1860.¹²⁰

The nursery occupied above 100 acres in 1811 and paid for labour alone over £3,000 a year, "being the largest concern of the kind in the neighbourhood of London and one of the largest in the kingdom".¹²¹ By 1822 the grounds extended to 150 acres and 70 hands were employed;¹²² in 1843 over 112 acres, mostly leased from the Earl of Dartmouth, were occupied in the parish of Lewisham alone, and other ground stretched into Lee.

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| (36) (a) Brockley Road (W. side), Howson Road, Arabin Road, Beecroft Road [parcel to S. of c. 6 acres, marked "n" but not coloured]. | 27 acres. |
| (b) Brockley Grove (N. side) (Cemetery), Darfield Road. | 4 acres. |

Not traced as nursery grounds; all were classified as arable land in 1843.¹²³

James Major (c. 1737–1831), who lived at Lewisham for many years, was famous for raising the earliest laced Pinks in 1771–74;¹²⁴ it is uncertain whether he had a trade nursery there.

LEYTON (Essex)

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| (37) Lea Bridge Road (N. side), Overton Road, Belvedere Road, Hitcham Road. | 12 acres. |
|---|-----------|
- "Lea Bridge Road Nursery" (see below) already in business under Richard Siborne by 1755 and until 1775. From 1775 to 1782 it was held by Joseph Hughes with his farm on the opposite side of Lea Bridge Road. Thereafter the nursery seems to have been occupied with Black Marsh Farm, which was rated to Henry Wilkinson from 1790 to 1830, who probably

sub-let it. From 1838 to 1860 it was certainly occupied as a nursery by James Pamplin, and in 1861–69 by William Pamplin. This nursery must be distinguished from the more famous Lea Bridge Road Nursery, founded in 1823 by Finlay Fraser (d. c. 1849).¹²⁵

Leytonstone

(38) Leytonstone High Road (W. side), Grove Green Road, Dyers Hall Road, Vernon Road. 11 acres.

Leytonstone or *Leyton Nursery* (later *American Nursery*), already occupied by the famous nurseryman Adam Holt in 1710–29.¹²⁶ Holt supplied fruit trees to Sir Samuel Clarke of West Bromwich Manor, Staffs., in 1720 and raised the "Royal Widow" auricula sold for 10 guineas.¹²⁷ The nursery was later in the hands of John Hay from 1759 until his death in 1792, and of James Hill (c. 1761–1832) and his widow Charlotte. In 1799–1801 Hill could supply crocus bulbs, fan yews and laurustinus, as well as mignonette and other flower seeds.¹²⁸ When visited by Loudon in 1835 the nursery abounded in a "very great variety of Red American Oaks".¹²⁹ From 1839 to 1888 the nursery was carried on by Protheroe & Morris.¹³⁰

(39) Leytonstone High Road (W. side), Langthorne Road (S. side), Brierley Road, Victoria Road. 8 acres.

Holloway Down Nursery, in existence by c. 1751, was owned by Spencer Turner who died in 1776. His name is commemorated by the hybrid semi-evergreen Oak raised in the nursery, *Quercus x Turneri*.¹³¹ Turner's will offered the nursery at a valuation to his servant William Perkins, who carried it on until 1825. From 1834 until 1863, when the land was built over, the nursery was run by Edward Perkins.¹³²

Leytonstone – see LYTTON

Mile End – see STRATFORD-BOW

New Cross – see DEPTFORD

NEWINGTON (Surrey)

(40) (a) New Kent Road (N. side), Ralph Street, Falmouth Road, Spurgeon Street. 14 acres.

(b) Old Kent Road (S. side), Beckway Street, Alfreton Street, East Street [2 acres in St. George the Martyr, Southwark]. 5 acres.

(c) Kinglake Street (E. side), Smyrk's Road, Alvey Street. 4 acres.

Kent Road Nursery. Samuel Driver, possibly the Lambeth nurseryman flourishing in 1717–30 or his son, was in Kent Road, Walworth, by 1760,¹³³ and still in 1777.¹³⁴ By 1785 Alexander (:Abraham) and William Driver were assessed on two holdings at £36 and £33, and in 1788 they were said to have nursery grounds of about 40 acres adjoining the house of William Driver at the (E.) corner of East Lane (now Street); to W. of this lane was the "handsome modern built brick house" of Mr. Abraham Purhouse Driver, behind which was "a most elegant and spacious conservatory, 240 feet in length and 24 in width".¹³⁵ "Drivers' Seed Shop" was at William Driver's house in 1787.¹³⁶ It was in the next year that the Drivers published a revised edition of *The Pomona Britanica, or Fruit-Garden displayed*, and in 1794 they produced a *General View of the Agriculture of Hampshire* for the Board of Agriculture.

New building took place on much of the nursery ground and in 1803 the Drivers' assessments had changed. They were jointly rated on four separate parcels: £30 plus £1 stock;

£20 for 5 acres; £12 for 9 acres; and £12 for 4 acres, while William Driver at Surrey Square was separately rated on a rental put at £50 plus stock at £2.¹³⁷ In 1805 they were described as nursery, seedsmen and land surveyors, Kent Road; Abraham Driver's address was also Kent Road; William Driver was in Surrey Square.¹³⁸ The Drivers as surveyors produced a plan of the northern division of Lambeth Manor in 1812.¹³⁹

Walworth

(41) Walworth Road (W. side), Olney Road, Sutherland Square, Empress Street. 18 acres. The *Walworth Nursery*, founded by James Maddock (c. 1715–1786), a Quaker said to have moved from Warrington, Lancs., about 1765–75.¹⁴⁰ Priced catalogues of the auriculas, polyanthus and carnations sold by him here were printed in 1777,¹⁴¹ and of 320 sorts of Gooseberry Trees raised in Lancashire and sold by him in 1780.¹⁴² The property was assessed at £34 from 1782 until 1792, when it was occupied by James Maddock junior (1763–1825) son of the founder, who in that year issued his father's work *The Florist's Directory*. At that time the nursery had more than 800 named varieties of *Ranunculus asiaticus*.¹⁴³ The gardens were mentioned in 1788 as "belonging to Mr. Maddox, florist, well known to the curious in flowers throughout the kingdom".¹⁴⁴ It was in 1792 that the younger Maddock disposed of the business to Goring & Wright, cousins of his wife Mary Curtis and of the famous William Curtis (above, 27), whose son-in-law (and brother-in-law of Maddock) Samuel Curtis (1779–1860) took over the firm c. 1800–09. The business went under the name of Curtis & Sturge c. 1800–05, in 1810–14 Curtis & Milliken, from 1815 to c. 1825, Curtis, Milliken & Co. In 1826–54 it was continued by Henry Groom, who moved to Clapham Rise in 1843.¹⁴⁵ While at Walworth, Samuel Curtis issued *The Beauties of Flora* (1806) and in 1810 an improved edition of *The Florist's Directory*. In 1805 Curtis's private address was Albion Place, Walworth, while the business was at No. 1 Walworth Place.¹⁴⁶ At all times famous for bulbs, the nursery under Groom was noted for hybrid lilies.¹⁴⁷

Newington Green – see ISLINGTON

PUTNEY (Surrey)

(42) Upper Richmond Road (S. side), St. Johns Avenue, Putney Hill, Ravenna Road [parcel of c. 1 acre along Putney Hill marked "n" but not coloured]. 10 acres.

The *Putney Nursery*, probably founded about 1650 by Francis Hunt (d. 1662), who was a gardener in the town before 1654. It achieved some importance under his son Francis Hunt (1652–1713) and fame under the latter's elder son Francis Hunt (1691–1763). This site may not have been occupied until 1727, but by 1713 the nursery comprised more than 13 acres in Putney and 4 in Wandsworth. The last of the family to continue the nursery was Francis Hunt (c. 1729–1775), at whose death it was sold to William Howey (c. 1729–1792), who bequeathed it to his sons John Howey (1762–1798) and Robert Howey (1764–1800). In their time the nursery was said to cover 30 acres. John's widow Elizabeth and his aunt Martha Howey carried on the business until John's infant son William attained his majority in 1819. William Howey is last mentioned as a Putney nurseryman in 1838, but the site was occupied as nursery ground by John Hargood in 1848.¹⁴⁸

RICHMOND (Surrey)

Kew

(43) Kew Green (E. side), Forest Road, Bushwood Road, Gloucester Road. 13 acres.

Kew Green Nursery, occupied by William Cox the elder (d. 1704), probably as early as 1680. His son William Cox (1680–1722) was noted for his improvement of the Hotspur Pea.¹⁴⁹ After Cox's death a detailed inventory of his stock was taken, showing that he had over 30,000 plants as well as 7 acres under barley, 3½ acres of peas and one acre of beans. Among the plants were 2,250 yew trees, 1,200 elms, 900 hornbeam, 600 horse chestnuts and smaller quantities of sycamores, limes and walnuts, as well as about a dozen species of flowering shrubs. The nursery was taken over by Richard Butt, who seems to have continued to specialize in peas since some seed lists of the later eighteenth century name Butt's or Golden Hotspur Pea as the earliest kind to come into bearing. Butt, however, also supplied trees and shrubs for Kew New Garden (the beginning of Kew Gardens) when it was laid out for Frederick Prince of Wales between 1731 and 1751. Although the nursery continued to exist on the same site until after 1800, its later occupiers have not yet been traced.¹⁵⁰

ST. PANCRAS (Middlesex)

- (44) Upper Woburn Place (W. side), Taviton Street, Endsleigh Gardens, Endsleigh Place. 5 acres.

The Bedford Nursery, marked as Mr. Hall's Nursery in 1790 and 1804, and occupied in 1812 by J. Hall, nurseryman and seedsman, New Road, St. Pancras.¹⁵¹

- (44.A) An earlier nursery in the parish on the N. side of the Euston Road, opposite to Fitzroy Square, was that of Daniel West who about 1775 raised from seed West's Black St. Peter Grape.¹⁵² This was possibly identical with the nursery of Thomas Brown, Hampstead Road and New (Euston) Road, c. 1800–1824. Somewhere in the same area were nurseries, or possibly market gardens, belonging to one Montgomery, in whose rooms "Peter Pindar" the satirist (John Wolcot) spent his last years, dying in 1819.¹⁵³
- (44.B) A small nursery, not marked by Milne, lay S. of Highgate West Hill opposite the S. end of The Grove. This was described as Mr. Bamstread's Nursery in 1790 and as William Bonstead's in 1804. William Bowstread was in fact the tenant from c. 1769 to c. 1812, when he was succeeded by William Cutbush.¹⁵⁴

SHOREDITCH (Middlesex)

- (45) Hackney Road (N. side), How's Street, Weymouth Terrace, Nichol's Square. 9 acres.

The Pine Apple Nursery, marked as Alport's Garden in 1787,¹⁵⁵ and occupied by John Allport, seedsman and nurseryman in 1791 and later.¹⁵⁶ The firm was Allport & Son by 1800, G. & J. Allport in 1810–20, and from 1822 to 1825 George Allport. It is possible that the closely adjacent area of 8 acres in the parish of Bethnal Green (above, 1) also formed part of this nursery.

Hoxton

- (45.A) Many early nurseries were grouped within the small area of Hoxton.¹⁵⁷ Though one of the last of these nurserymen, John Renton (c. 1747–1810) was living at the time, his *Hoxton Field Nursery* is not marked on Milne's map. It was in a built-up area and probably quite small.

Stockwell – see LAMBETH

STRATFORD-BOW (Middlesex)

- (46) (a) Bow Road (N. side), Morgan Street, Coborn Road, Alfred Street. 14 acres.
 (b) Bow Road (S. side), Archbald Street, Merchant Street, Mornington Grove. 17 acres.

- (c) [in parish of Bromley St. Leonard: Archbald Street (S. side), Arnold Road, Wellington Way.] 3 acres.]

The Mile End Nursery, generally stated to have comprised 50 acres (see below). It is not clear whether these grounds (none of which is in the hamlet of Mile End) include the sites of the small nursery of one Clements, mentioned in 1691,¹⁵⁸ or the original nursery of James Gordon (?1708–1780), opened in 1742. Gordon can first be traced as paying rates in Bow in 1751, and by 1755 he was tenant of 9 acres. For 25 years before the founder's death this was the most influential nursery in the country, and was instrumental in introducing many important exotics, notably the Camellia. When Gordon died in 1780 the firm, James Gordon & Co., nurserymen, occupied the house, garden, greenhouse and land.¹⁵⁹ Gordon left all his properties to his three sons, William, James and Alexander Gordon, but the business was thereafter in the name of Gordon, (Thomas) Dermer & (Archibald) Thomson, Gordon & Thomson in 1793–1811, then Gordon, Forsyth & Thomson until 1837, when the land was taken over for building.¹⁶⁰ The seed shop at The Thistle and Crown, 25 Fenchurch Street, London, opened by Gordon before 1764, survived the nursery until 1845. Archibald Thomson (c. 1753–1832) was rated on the grounds previously of James Gordon & Co. from 1805 onwards, the nursery in 1811 being reckoned as 17 acres.¹⁶¹ This would be compatible with the area (b) only, but cannot be reconciled with the statement that Gordon & "Thompson" of Mile End had a nursery of 50 acres at the same date.¹⁶²

STREATHAM (Surrey)

Upper Tooting

- (47) Upper Tooting Road (S.E. side), Lynwood Road, Cowick Road [marked "n" but not coloured]. 3 acres]

This can be identified as "Mr. Hay's nursery", mentioned in 1786–89,¹⁶³ but it is uncertain which of the nurserymen of that name was the proprietor (see LAMBETH, above, 30). It had probably ceased to be a nursery by 1799.

Springfield Nursery (later *American Nursery*) was immediately opposite to the site of Hay's nursery (Upper Tooting Road N.W. side, Pond Road, Water Road, Hebdon Road). It was founded by William Rollisson (c. 1765–1842) traditionally before 1800 and certainly by 1802, when he was occupying 2 acres at an annual value of £30 as tenant of William Pollard, esq.¹⁶⁴ Though the firm's grounds were not extensive, they became famous for the best collection of Heaths in the London area,¹⁶⁵ and also for rare Orchids and for Pitcher Plants.¹⁶⁶ The business, as William Rollisson & Sons, continued until the death of George Rollisson (1800–1880).

Tooting, Upper – see STREATHAM

TOTTENHAM (Middlesex)

- (48) (a) Church Road (N. side), Penshurst Road, High Road (W.), Tottenham Cemetery. 22 acres.
- (b) Church Road (S. side), Kings Road, High Road (W.), Church Lane. 9 acres.
- (c) Park Lane (S. side), Lansdowne Road, Sutherland Road, Chalgrove Road, Shelbourne Road. 29 acres.

The Tottenham Nursery, comprising 60 acres, of which the 29 acres E. of the High Road (c) above, constituted the "Old Nursery". William Coleman (c. 1743–1808), already a nur-

seryman in Tottenham by 1777, was holding land as a tenant of four different proprietors in 1785. In 1789 he held some 12 acres of copyhold land and over 40 acres in leaseshold parcels.¹⁶⁷ By 1802 he owned a freehold house and land.¹⁶⁸ There was a sale on 13 December 1810 of 22 acres of land to W. of the High Road, in 32 lots. Up to this time the nursery, apparently carried on by Coleman's widow Ann and son George Coleman, was reckoned among the principal firms in the London area.¹⁶⁹ George Coleman died in 1822, aged 43, and the Old Nursery in Marsh (now Park) Lane was being run by Sarah Coleman, probably his widow, in 1826–28. At the same time Charles Coleman had a smaller nursery in Church Road (perhaps largely (b) above); he was also a land surveyor. The Tottenham Nursery (?Old Nursery) seems to have come to an end in 1833.¹⁷⁰

Turnham Green – see CHISWICK

TWICKENHAM (Middlesex)

(49) Waldegrave Road (E. side)—part of Strawberry Hill College Grounds. 6 acres.

This nursery was occupied by members of the Ashe family over a long period. Thomas Ashe, nurseryman, was a churchwarden of Twickenham in 1741–2, and paid rates for a house and land in the nursery from 1748 to 1779. He supplied the poet Pope with plants and sold trees and shrubs to Horace Walpole for the planting of Strawberry Hill. On Walpole telling him he would have his trees planted irregularly, Ashe replied: "Yes, Sir, I understand; you would have them hang down somewhat poetical."¹⁷¹ William Ashe was rated for the same property in 1780–May 1784, and John Ashe from December 1784 until 1800. By 1812 the "old nursery land" was owned by Lady Waldegrave. John Ashe's trade card as a "Nursery and Seedsman" was printed by Kirgate at Strawberry Hill in 1791.¹⁷²

One of the first notable nurserymen in England, Vincent Poynter *alias* Corbet (d. 1619), of Ewell, Surrey, where his son Richard Corbet (1582–1635), later bishop of Oxford and of Norwich, was born, moved to Twickenham where he made his Will in 1604. He held copyhold lands in Twickenham and Isleworth. As a nurseryman he was famed for having the greatest variety of plums.¹⁷³ In 1635 Bishop Corbet was occupying about 6 acres of land (Whitton Road W., Egerton Road, Court Way, River Crane). Vincent Corbet in his Will left £1 to Robert Crofton, father of the Mr. [Robert] Crofton, shown as having some 7 acres of nurseries in 1635, in the area of Richmond Road and Lebanon Park.¹⁷⁴ In 1693–4 nectarine trees were supplied for Wrest Park, Beds., by one Grigson, nurseryman of Twickenham,¹⁷⁵ and in 1730–50 Joshua Spires or Spyres was a surveyor and nurseryman there.¹⁷⁶

Vauxhall – see LAMBETH

Walworth – see NEWINGTON

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NOTES

Abbreviations used:

B.M.	British Museum.
B.M. (P. and D.)	British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings.
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Bodl. J.J.	Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection.
Bot. Mag.	Curtis's <i>Botanical Magazine</i> .
Bot. Rep.	H. Andrews, <i>Botanist's Repository</i> .
Coats 1963	A. M. Coats, <i>Garden Shrubs and their Histories</i> .
Coats 1969	A. M. Coats, <i>The Quest for Plants</i> .
Cobbett 1872	R. S. Cobbett, <i>Memorials of Twickenham</i> .
Dir	Directories.
Edwards 1801	J. Edwards, <i>A Companion from London to Brighthelmston</i> .
Faulkner 1820	T. Faulkner, <i>The History and Antiquities of Kensington</i> .
Faulker 1845	T. Faulkner, <i>The History and Antiquities of Brentford, Ealing and Chiswick</i> .
Flor Cab	<i>Floricultural Cabinet</i>
Gard Chron	<i>The Gardener's Chronicle</i> .
Gard Mag	<i>The Gardener's Magazine</i> .
G.L.R.O.	Greater London Record Office.
Gorer 1970	R. Gorer, <i>The Development of Garden Flowers</i> .
Hadfield 1969	M. Hadfield, <i>A History of British Gardening</i> .
Harvey 1972	J. Harvey, <i>Early Gardening Catalogues</i> .
Holden	Holden's <i>Triennial Directory</i> , 1805.
Langley 1728	B. Langley, <i>New Principles of Gardening</i> .
Lib	Library.
Loudon 1822	J. C. Loudon, <i>An Encyclopaedia of Gardening</i> .
Loudon 1829	J. C. Loudon, <i>An Encyclopaedia of Plants</i> .
Lysons 1811	D. Lysons, <i>The Environs of London</i> , 2nd ed.
Min Lib	Minet Library, Lambeth.
Mx R.O.	Middlesex Records Office.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
R.H.S.	Royal Horticultural Society (Lindley Lib.).
R.O.	Record Office.
Robinson 1842	W. Robinson, <i>A History of Hackney</i> .
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office.
Toynbee 1927	P. Toynbee, <i>Strawberry Hill Accounts</i> .
Univ Dir	Universal British Directory, 5 vols., 1790–97.
Whitting 1965	P. D. Whitting, ed., <i>A History of Hammersmith</i> (Hammersmith Local History Group).
Whitting 1970	P. D. Whitting, <i>A History of Fulham</i> (Fulham History Society).
Willson 1961	E. J. Willson, <i>James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith</i> (Hammersmith Local History Group).

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- ⁶⁹ Loudon 1822; Soc. Genealogists, great card index; Dir; Kensington Lib., MS 2844.
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NOTE

The London Topographical Society has in hand the preparation of a facsimile reproduction in colour of Milne's Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster. It is expected that this will be issued to members after the publications now in hand for this and next year. Enquiries should be sent to Stephen Marks, Hon. Secretary, 50 Grove Lane, London, S.E.5.—*Editor.*

LAND AND LABOUR IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY TOTTENHAM

DOUGLAS MOSS AND IAN MURRAY

This essay is a preliminary study of the Middlesex manor of Tottenham based on the numerous documents held at Bruce Castle Museum in the London Borough of Haringey, of which Tottenham is now a part. Court rolls, extents, bailiff's accounts, surveys, rentals and custumals, the earliest dating from 1318, make up a mass of material rarely found in lay-owned manors, though for the fourteenth century there are considerable gaps. For some years the Libraries Department of the former Borough of Tottenham had been engaged in translating this material and several volumes of court rolls covering the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries have been published. Mr. R. Oram, Mr. F. L. Fenton, Mr. W. Marcham and Mr. C. H. Rock were the pioneers in this task which we hope to carry a stage further, for although tentative suggestions as to the social and economic organisation of the manor have already been put forward, notably by Messrs. F. L. Fenton and D. Avery, the subject has never been treated in detail. We limit ourselves initially to the fourteenth century pending the translation and publication of the much more numerous fifteenth century records, which have unaccountably so far been neglected.

The manor of Tottenham in 1086 belonged to Judith, the Conqueror's niece. Judith's daughter married David, future king of Scotland, and until 1254 Tottenham was a possession of the Scottish royal house. In that year direct succession failed and the manor was divided into three parts, owned respectively by Robert de Brus, John de Balliol, and Henry de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. In 1295 the Balliol manor and in 1306 the Bruce manor, escheated on their lords' rebellion. By the mid fourteenth century the Balliol manor was owned by the Daubeny family, the Bruce manor by the Fawconers and the two manors were often known by their names. An approximate third of the Bruce manor was leased to the Mocking family in 1332 and subsequently passed to Elmin Legat, who had married Margery, widow of Nicholas de Mocking. So, in the second half of the century there were four Tottenham manors, Balliol/Daubencys, Bruce/Fawconers, Mockings and Pembroke. These were re-united in 1429 by John Gedeney, London draper, one of the many prosperous London citizens who over the centuries bought land in the district. The activities of another of these, John of Northampton, following his acquisition of Daubencys in 1392, are of particular interest.

I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE MANORS

Dr. Robinson, the nineteenth century antiquarian, in his *History of Tottenham*, quotes from a number of extents, and we begin with that of 1254, made when the single manor was about to be divided. The details are set out in Table I.¹

The total enumerated acreage is thus 1915, the total value, with a few other items, is given as £57.15.6. This area may be compared with the approximately 4600 acres of present day Tottenham and Wood Green. The difference would be made up by two woods, "of uncertain extent" and the non-enumerated lands of the free tenants, who paid £4.10.4 in quit rents. The considerable difference in the value placed on the arable and the meadow reflects the disparity between the rich land by the banks of the River Lea and the poor productivity of the London clay, of which most of the region consisted. Tottenham probably was always more important as a pastoral, rather than arable, community.

TABLE 1

	Area	Value	Value per acre
Demesne arable	527 acres	£9 17 0	4½d
Villein lands	40 x 32 acre virgates 1280 acres	£20 0 0	3¾d
Cottar			
Meadow	92 acres	£22 3 0*	5/4½d
Pasture	16 acres	£2 12 0	3/3d

* After deduction of 9 acres for tithe.

A Bruce/Fawkener extent of 1304, a Pembroke extent of 1313 and a Balliol/Daubeney extent of 1334 show the position some years after the division and, from the summary in Table 2, one observes that several changes had taken place.²

TABLE 2

	Demesne	Meadow	Villein Arable	Value
Bruce 1304	110 acres	22 acres at 2/-	274 acres	£14 3 0
Pembroke 1313	172 acres	30 acres at 2/-	433 acres	£19 6 4½
Daubeney 1334	171 acres	32½ acres at 2/6	433 acres	£17 4 3½
Total ..	453 acres	84½ acres	1140 acres	£50 13 8

The total demesne arable has diminished by about 14%, the villein arable not so much, the total value had fallen by about an eighth. Most surprising of all is the drop in the value placed on the meadow. The overall picture is of a fall in estate value similar to that which was taking place in many parts of the country after the thirteenth century, the medieval "high farming" periods had ended.

Two fourteenth century rentals exist, one dated 1368, the other undated but from internal evidence probably some twenty-five years earlier.³ Regrettably these are both for the Pembroke manor, but in compensation provide a vast amount of information. In the earlier rental 47 tenants in villeinage are listed, in the later one 40 (see table 3). As Pembroke was something over a third of the total Tottenham area this implies some 130 villein tenants in all. We have in the court rolls, lists of tenants for Pembroke 1396-7,⁴ Bruce 1397-8,⁵ and Daubeney 1391-2,⁶ and omitting names repeated in different manors, these total 100 unfree and at least 21 free tenants, a high proportion of villeins for this date. A rental of Mockings manor 1377,⁷ much less detailed, names a further 24 free and 13 unfree tenants, two names appearing in both lists. Of these 35, 20 are found in the other manors. There were, then, after several outbreaks of plague, still something over a hundred unfree tenants, a high population density in an area of not very good land.

Four classes of unfree tenants are enumerated in the rentals, holders of villein land, mlland and cotland and those paying money rents. The total size of individual holdings varied from, in the earlier rental, John atte Mersh 41 acres (out of a total 432) to the one acre of John Denys junr. and the several who only held a cottage. One family, that of atte Mersh, held in all 91¾ acres. Ignoring seven cottagers the median holding was only 7½ acres, something not

surprising in view of the concentration of occupiers. In 1368 one tenant, Thomas Hardynge, was occupying $54\frac{3}{4}$ acres.

TABLE 3

INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS OF VILLEIN LANDS

	<i>Earlier rental</i>	<i>1368 rental</i>
John atte Mersh	41 acres	Thomas Hardinge
William Egepole	38 acres	Geoffrey Egepole
John atte Wode	37 acres	Alice Edrych
William atte Mersh	28 acres	William atte Mersh
Geoffrey Edrich	28 acres	Hugh atte Stone
Gilbert Absolon	$27\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Geoffrey Maiheu
Heirs of Boleheued, seven, including John Hood	$27\frac{1}{4}$ acres	John Hood
Richard atte Helle	24 acres	John atte Mersh
Hugh atte Stone	24 acres	Heirs of William Colyere
John Hood	16 acres	Alice Absolon } John Brodelane }
William Colyere	16 acres	John Denys
John Denys	$11\frac{3}{4}$ acres	Richard atte Mersh
William son of John atte Mersh	$10\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Geoffrey Godard
Geoffrey Godard	$9\frac{3}{4}$ acres	William Drake
John Godewyne	8 acres	John Abraham
John son of Abraham	8 acres	Thomas Vynche
Geoffrey son of John atte Mersh	$7\frac{3}{4}$ acres	William the Bakere
Alice le Yonge	$7\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Alice Yonge
Katerina Fyppes	$7\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Roger Marshal
Thomas Shepherde	7 acres	Geoffrey Chapman
John Busse	$6\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Thomas de Westone } Isobel Egropol }
Robert Maiheu	$5\frac{3}{4}$ acres	William atte Mersh } Juliana atte Waters }
Ralph Hunteman	$5\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Geoffrey Warin
William Brodelane	5 acres	John Egepol
Geoffrey atte Mersh	$4\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Stephen Shepherd
Michael Sherman	4 acres	Thomas Flemynge
Abraham son of John	4 acres	John Busse
John atte Merke	4 acres	John Phipps
Geoffrey Chapman	3 acres	John Absolon
John de Mockynges	$2\frac{1}{2}$ acres	Isabella atte Churche
William Balle	2 acres	Gilbert Absolon
Matilda Marshall	$1\frac{3}{4}$ acres	William de Ware
Sibilla Hood	$1\frac{3}{4}$ acres	Robert Skyne
John son of John Denys	1 acre	Robert Hadham
Roger Denys	third of 2 acres	Geoffrey Thurkell
Roger atte Lofte		John atte Watere } Heirs of John Cormonger }
John Abraham, blacksmith		third of 2 acres } curtilages }
John son of Richard atte Stone		
John atte Watere		
William Briscey		
John Cormonger		
	curtilages	

The duties of the various types of tenant are enumerated in great detail. Services were light; for a whole 32 acre virgate 37 winter and 31 summer works were all that were exacted. This, of course, is to be expected in such close proximity to London. Four and a half acres only had to be ploughed by a virgate tenant, one and a half of "cert corn", one and a half of oats, one and a half of fallow, this constituting $13\frac{1}{2}$ works. The sum of all ploughing to be performed by the villeins was only about 45 acres, implying that much of the 172 acres of Pembroke's demesne was, at the time when the listed obligations were first written down, either already leased or else worked by hired labour. In all, $425\frac{1}{4}$ winter works, valued at $\frac{3}{4}$ d each, 294 summer works, valued at 1d, and 142 "opera minutae", in summer, valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ d, were due. In addition, rents were paid, $7\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ for 32 acres, $4\frac{1}{10}\frac{1}{2}$ for 24 acres, being typical. Surprisingly, there is no mention whatsoever of payments in kind, poultry at Christmas or eggs at Easter.

After the 20 villein tenements eight mollands are listed, each of eight acres of arable and, in all but one case, half an acre of meadow. Molmen being less common than villeins we give their obligations. John, son of William Abraham, rendered $35\frac{3}{4}$ d, considerably more per acre than the villeins and the services were correspondingly lighter. "He was liable in summer for eight minute works. He will hoe a whole day for two works and make hay on $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow of cert for one work and he will help at stacking of hay in the grange (two works per day); also he will reap, bind and shock one acre of corn of cert (two works) and if he does not do the aforesaid works when the lord is not in need he shall pay for each work a $\frac{1}{2}$ d as above, and he will make one wodelode, price 1d." These lighter services, of course, reflect the partial commutation of the molmens' services for money rent. Finally, the nine cottars, owning from one to four acres of arable, sometimes with meadow, paid $4\frac{1}{2}$ d an acre rent and performed either eight or nine minute works.

The holdings of the unfree tenants are described schematically in table 4. In total, the area is roughly equivalent to 13 virgates, about a third of the forty virgates of villein arable in the undivided manor. All the villein land holdings are distinguished by names, mostly family names and it is of interest to note that in the 1368 rental only seven of the twenty are held by families bearing the name of their tenement, while in the earlier one eleven are. From the names of recent holders given in this earlier rental a further four tenements had been held some way, perhaps a generation back, by the family whose name the tenement bore, in all, then, fifteen out of twenty. Might we not infer from this that the whole tenement system of the Pembroke manor, as described in these rentals, only dates back to about the end of the previous century?

In the Domesday Inquest we are told that six villeins held virgates, 24 half virgates, and 12 bordars five acres each. The 20 virgates of 1086 had expanded to 40 in 1254, as a result of assarts from the Middlesex forest, presumably. The 1254 extent does not say how the 40 were divided between the tenants. On examination, the 20 holdings in the Pembroke rentals divide into two of 32 acres, two of 16 acres, five of 24 and five of 8 acres, one of 28 and one of 4 acres, one of 13 and one of 3 acres. There are eight mollands totalling 64 acres and two holdings which do not fit so easily into the pattern, occupying 12 and $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In addition there were 25 acres of cotland and about 17 acres belonging to payers of rent. It appears likely that the rental holdings had been formed by the division of what were originally whole and half virgates, a process brought about by the pressure of population on the land available in this overcrowded manor.

TABLE 4
PEMBROKE MANOR — BONDAGE TENEMENTS

<i>Name of Tenement</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Sub-divisions</i>	<i>Winter Works</i>	<i>Summer Works</i>	<i>Money Rent</i>
1 Geoffrey atte Mersh	32 acres, 3 acres meadow		37 $\frac{3}{4}$	31	7/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
2 Entire	28 acres, 2 acres meadow		35 $\frac{1}{4}$	20	6/6
3 Absolon	24 acres, 2 acres meadow		40 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 Stonat	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres, 1 acre meadow	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres 3 roods	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
5 Hood	12 acres, 1 rood meadow			10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{1}{2}$ farth
6 Arnold	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres		10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 Huberd	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres $\frac{1}{2}$ acre		10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
8 Boleheued	13 acres, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres meadow (Margin note: 8 acres worked in winter, 12 acres in summer)	In 7 hands	27	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/1
9 Balle	24 acres, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres meadow	3 acres 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres 1 acre 4 acres 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres 1 rood 2 acres 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	35 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	5/4
10 Edrych	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow			5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/8
11 Maberly	8 acres, 1 acre meadow	1 rood 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$
12 Abraham	4 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow			5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/2
13 Egepol	32 acres, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres meadow	30 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres 1 rood	48 $\frac{3}{4}$	29	6/6 $\frac{3}{4}$
14 In the Lane	24 acres, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres meadow	9 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres 8 acres 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres 3 roods 3 roods	51	21	3/11 $\frac{1}{4}$
15 atte Stone	16 acres, 1 acre meadow		20	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
16 atte Helle	24 acres, 3 acres meadow		38 $\frac{1}{4}$	26 $\frac{1}{4}$	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
17 Colyere	16 acres, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres meadow		27	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/1 $\frac{3}{4}$
18 Denys	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 1 acre meadow		13 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{1}{2}$ farth
19 atte Wode	24 acres, 2 acres meadow		25	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
20 Pymmehowe	3 acres	Empty			
			425 $\frac{1}{4}$	294	72/4 $\frac{3}{4}$

Note that, at $\frac{3}{4}$ d for a winter work and 1d for a summer work, total payments work out at equivalent of just under $4\frac{1}{2}$ d an acre, some tenement's services being more commuted than others.

PEMBROKE MANOR — MOLLAND TENEMENTS

Name	Area	Sub-divisions	Summer minute works	Money Rent
1 Rolfe	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow		8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
2 ate Stone	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow		8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
3 Corleby	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow		8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
4 Robert	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow	4 acres	8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
		4 acres		
5 Edrych	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow		8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
6 Thorwreve	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow		8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
7 Merdes	8 acres, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow	3 acres	8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$
		4 acres		
		1 acre		
8 Boleheued	8 acres, 1 rood meadow	Owned jointly by heirs	8	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$

COTLANDS

Area	Summer Minute works	Money Rent
1 1 acre in early rental, 6 in 1368	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
2 1 acre " 6 "	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
3 1 acre " 6 "	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
4 4 acres, 1 rood meadow	9	1/6
5 4 acres	9	1/6
6 4 acres, 1 rood meadow heirs of Boleheued	9	1/6
7 4 acres	9	1/6
8 2 acres	9	1/6
9 4 acres	9	1/6

Tenements 1, 2 and 3 paid same rents and performed same works in later rental, in spite of increased size of tenement.

TENANT FOR CERT RENT IN MONEY

1 Dwelling with garden and 4 acres of land	1/- rent for dwelling and garden 1/6 for the land
2 Messuage and 7 acres land in three parts	3/- rent for messuage 1/6 for 3 acres 1/6 for 4 acres
3 Croft and 3 acres land	Croft 1/1 rent land 2/1 rent
4 2 acres	1/4 rent
5 Area not stated	2d rent
6 A plot	1d rent
7 Messuage and 1 acre	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d rent
8 Messuage and 1 curtilage	1/- rent
9 A third of 2 acres	4d rent
10 Messuage and curtilage	1/- rent
11 Messuage and curtilage	1d rent
12 Messuage and curtilage	1d rent
13 Dwelling	1d rent
14 Dwelling	1d rent
15 Dwelling and curtilage	6d rent

We have suggested that the subdivision of original whole and half virgates into the holdings listed in the rentals had been reached shortly before 1300. The process did not end there. Eight of the tenements are sub-divided. In the course of some twenty years, however, the median size of an individual serf's holding (about seven acres) remained the same. There had been some polarisation between large and small occupiers; Thomas Hardynge in 1368 had $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres, John atte Mersh, with the largest holding a generation earlier, had only 41. There were, in both rentals, a number of very small holdings. As already observed, even after the outbreaks of plague Tottenham's population was still high, pressure of population on land considerable, and, indeed, the splitting of tenements was still occurring. From examination of the court rolls it might have been possible to see in detail how changes in ownership pattern had been brought about, but, unfortunately, there are no court rolls for Pembroke in existence prior to 1377. We felt that perhaps something could be inferred from the court records of all three manors, which do exist.

The laws of inheritance prevailing in Tottenham were unusual. A custumal, dated 36th year of Henry VI,⁸ quoted by Robinson, states "if any have two or more sons the youngest son born shall be heir, according to the custom of the manor", and "inheritance of the customary land and tenements ought to be divided amongst the daughters, issue male being deficient." Without speculating on why, in this part of Middlesex, youngest sons inherited, we give examples, from Bruce manor 1395/6, of the second rule's application. In that year, on the death of William Drake, one and a half roods of meadow in Wyldemerssh were claimed by his three daughters, Joan, Alice and Juliana.⁹ In the next year Joan and Katherine, daughters and co-heirs of John Denys,¹⁰ "claim two acres of land". And in Pembroke, 1394/5, we again find William Drake's daughters, this time seeking the seven acres their father had held in that manor.¹¹

Yet whatever the custom of inheritance may have been, in practice it was frequently circumvented. This same William Drake, on his deathbed, "sick in body but sound in mind", as the phrase went, had paid the lord for licence, first to sell a croft and an acre of land to the use of Thomas Fynch and Richard Drake, "for the benefit of the King's way and of his (Drake's) soul". Secondly, a messuage, with garden and hedges was to go to Fynch and Richard Drake so that they might surrender it to the use of Joan, William's wife, for her life, and only on her death was it to pass to the direct heirs.¹² A rather circuitous way of making sure his wife was provided for. Other instances abound, sometimes, apparently, aimed at preventing inheritance by the lawful heir, as when William Deyere, before death, surrendered his two acres to his son Thomas. Only if Thomas died without heir was this land to go to the younger son, William, and then only if William gave Tottenham church the then large sum of 40/-.¹³

Actually there seems to have existed a considerable free market in land, subject only to first obtaining, and paying for, the lord's license. The court rolls abound with sales, leases and mortgages, but once again we must express regret that owing to the gaps in the records it is difficult to follow the fortunes of any individual peasant completely. For instance, we find the before-mentioned William Drake owning eight acres of arable in 1368; in 1377/8 he bought 14 acres of land and two acres of meadow from William atte Mersh;¹⁴ on his deathbed left an acre to Fynch and Richard Drake, yet in 1394/5 he died seised of 19 acres of land.¹⁵ Note that the purchase from William atte Mersh meant that from then on tenement 2 on our list, tenement Entire, became sub-divided. In Daubeney, during nineteen years commencing in 1380/81, Thomas Fynch bought 12 acres of land and a half

TABLE 5 BRUCE OR FAWKONER'S MANOR — ACCOUNTS

It will be seen that some of the accounts do not balance,

Year	Income	Expenses	Deliveries of money to lord	Reeve's excess or deficiency
1374/5	£19 12 9½	£2 4 6	£16 0 0	- £1 7 10½
1375/6	£24 10 3¾	£2 11 9	£22 4 6	+ 5 II
1376/7	£23 8 4	£3 11 11	£19 0 0	- 16 4¾
1377/8	£25 2 11½ & half farthing	£2 13 10	£19 13 4	- £2 15 9½
1379/80	£27 0 14¾ & half farthing (sic.)	£3 19 4	£20 11 0	- £2 10 10½
1380/81	£22 15 6¾ (£25 6 5½ with arrears b/f.)	£2 7 5	£13 11 0	- £9 8 0
1381/2	£16 6 10¾ (£23 14 10¾ with arrears b/f.)	£5 11 9¾	£17 0 0	- £1 3 1
1382/3	£14 11 5 (£15 14 6 with arrears b/f.)	£2 5 10½	£14 19 4	+ £2 3 8
1383/4	£18 18 0½	£2 19 4	£14 12 0	- £1 6 8½
1384/5	£18 13 3 (£19 9 11¼ with arrears b/f.)	£2 11 0	£16 14 0	- 4 11½
1385/6	£23 17 4½	£3 19 1½	£19 0 10	- £1 7 4¾
1386/7	£26 8 10½	£4 11 0	£13 7 11	- £8 9 1½ £7 0 0 owing by Duke of York)
1387/8	£21 13 2½ (£30 3 3½ with arrears)	£3 12 10½	£19 4 4	- £7 6 1 (£7 by Duke)
1388/9	£18 7 3 (£25 7 3 with arrears)	£4 3 1½	£14 0 18 (sic.)	- £7 2 7¾ (£7 by Duke)
1394/5	£21 7 10 (£28 7 10 with arrears)	£3 7 7	£10 7 2	- £14 13 1 (of which £5 1 0 written off)
1397/8	£7 5 11½	£1 17 7½	15 0	- £4 15 4
1398/9	£7 0 4½ (£11 0 10½ with arrears b/f.)	£1 15 0½	None	- £9 5 3½
1399/ 1400	£16 8 10 (£24 14 1½ with arrears b/f.)	£2 14 9½	£4 2 10½	- £18 16 5¾
1401/2	£13 14 1¾ (£24 2 6¾ in- cluding arrears b/f.)	£4 5 5	£7 12 7	- £12 4 6¾

(Compiled from Bruce Castle Museum Records Mem. 33-62)
but these are the figures in the documents

	<i>Faggots sold</i>		<i>Hay sold</i>		<i>Pasture sold</i>
3000	£6 15 0	16 acres	£5 8 0	6 acres	£1 0 0
3000	£6 15 0	16 acres	£7 10 0	6 acres	£2 0 0
3000	£6 15 0	16 acres	£10 0 0		
3000	£7 10 0	16 acres	£8 6 8	6 acres	£2 6 8
3000	£7 10 0	5 acres and old hay	£2 2 0 £5 9 4	6 acres	£2 3 4
3000	£7 10 0	16 acres	£5 0 0	6 acres	£2 3 4
3000	£6 15 0			£2 12 8	
2260		£4 12 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		£2 6 8	
			20 acres	£5 3 4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres
					14 4
1200 at 5/-					
1025 at 5/-	£5 17 3	30 acres	£9 16 4		
4100	£11 5 6	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres (of which Duke of York owes £7 0 0)	£7 8 0		
2875	£7 3 9	32 acres 3 roods	£8 0 0		
3000	£7 10 0	20 acres	£4 1 6		
2400	£7 13 4	10 acres	£6 13 4		
	None		None		
	None		Destroyed or taken away by Henry of Lancaster's army		
2000	£5 0 0		None	13 acres	£4 2 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
2000	£5 0 0		£1 4 9		

TABLE 6
DAUBENEY/BALLIOL MANOR ACCOUNTS

It will be seen that some of the accounts do not balance,

Year	Income	Expenses	Deliveries of money to lord	Deficit
1389/90	£15 5 2	£3 15 1½	£7 0 0	- £4 10 0½
1390/91	£17 7 7½	Not listed	£8 13 4	Not listed
		John of Northampton becomes Lord		
1391/2	£13 6 9½	£1 16 0½	£5 0 0	- £6 13 7
1392/3	£14 12 5½ (£15 7 0½ with arrears b/f.)	£2 11 10	£7 5 8	- £5 9 6½
1393/4	£12 6 4½ (£16 15 10³ with arrears b/f.)	19 0½	£12 7 0	- £3 9 10½
1394/5	£13 13 8½	19 0	£5 13 10½	- £7 0 10½
1395/6	£12 13 11½	£5 6 1½ (of which £3 1 3½ for Greneford's confiscated land)	£4 0 0	- £3 7 10
1396/7	£14 8 4	£3 6 6½	£9 13 11	- £1 12 11¼
1397/8	£14 13 5¾	£3 10 0½	£7 5 11	- £3 9 11¾
1398/9	£21 10 5¼ (including £5 fine levied on Greneford which was never paid)	£11 13 3½ (including two fines, of £5 and £2, not paid)	£8 2 1	- £1 2 7½ (sic.)

(Compiled from Bruce Castle Museum Records Mem. 27-40)

but these are the figures in the documents

<i>Faggots sold</i>	<i>Hay sold</i>	<i>Oats sold</i>
500 £1 5 0	£1 0 0	
No sale. 2000 made, 1000 of which carted to Fletstret to Prior of St. Bartholomew	£5 0 0	
	None	
525 £1 6 3	None	
		5 quarters 3 bushels 12/6½
	Hay of 25 acres not carried	
1500 faggots made for stock	A cart of hay carried to Shordyche for stock	
1000 faggots and 400 400 "Bressayll" * made for stock	Hay for stock only	
300 "Bressayll" * 3/6	ditto	
1500 faggots for stock		

*Brushwood, Brushes?

acre of meadow in several transactions, besides leasing $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, a croft and half an acre of meadow. He also bought four and a half acres in Pembroke in the same period.¹⁶ We would very much like to know the transactions which resulted in Geoffrey Maiheu, with his 31 acres in the 1368 rental, dying in 1397/8 with only six acres remaining,¹⁷ but in the years for which court rolls exist not a single sale by him is mentioned. However, in Pembroke alone, for the years of which records remain, 1377–1383/4 and 1391–1399, a total of $106\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land and nine acres of meadow were sold and $9\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land and $15\frac{1}{4}$ acres of meadow were leased for varying periods, in addition to a number of tofts, crofts and gardens of unspecified area. By these various devices, in a village of high population density, the process by which the number of small occupiers increased was facilitated, as was also that by which the virgate holdings became broken down.

An example must be given of another type of change, one which was to accelerate in the next century, namely, the purchase of land, villein and free, by London citizens. From Pembroke court rolls for 1380/81 and 1392/3¹⁸ we learn that the 24 acres of John atte Mersh in the 1368 rental, tenement atte Helle, passed to his son Thomas. On Thomas' death it had been sold to Alice, daughter of Gilbert atte Mersh and her husband, Richard Henham, though Alice's sisters disputed this fact, apparently unsuccessfully. Finally, Alice and Richard sold it to Thomas Purnell, "gurdeler", and themselves disappear from the records. Purnell thus joined the small group of Londoners investing in land in Tottenham, already including Sir Nicholas Twyford, goldsmith and alderman, Adam Bamme, goldsmith, Thomas Duk, at one time Sir William Walworth, and some eight others besides.¹⁹

II. MANORIAL FINANCES

Tables 5 and 6, based on the bailiff's accounts, illustrate the economic fluctuations of the Bruce-Fawconer manor (1374–1402) and the Balliol-Daubeney manor (1389–1399). Once again, there are some gaps in the record, and no accounts at all exist for the Pembroke manor for this period. Actually, although it is customary to refer to this type of document as a bailiff's account, no mention of a bailiff occurs anywhere in the documents except in Bruce manor, 1398/9 and 1399/1400. Otherwise, the only manorial officials mentioned are the lord's steward, presiding over the court, the reeve, who put together the details on which the accounts were based, the woodward and the constable. One of the clerks, who inscribed the details given him by the reeve, has left his name, Peter Gold, to posterity at the foot of a membrane. Surprisingly, it is from these accounts, together with the court rolls, that we obtain a momentary glimpse of what manner of men were these who, long ago, worked on their several acres, bought and sold them, perhaps succeeded in accumulating a large holding, and who, as will appear, were by no means downtrodden, subservient animals.

The accounts abound with figures erased, disallowed by the lord's steward, and corrections inserted generally increasing the sums due and decreasing those paid out. One constantly repeated erasure is of the payment of 2/- for hire of a man to guard the hay at night time. A careful watch was kept on the reeve's figures, though. It will be seen that fluctuations occur in the quantities of faggots and hay sold and in the prices obtained. A permanent increase in the price for faggots, from 45/- to 50/- per thousand, took place in Bruce manor from 1377/8. The cost of making them, 10/- per thousand, remained the same. The quantity sold rose to a peak of 4100 in 1386/7 and in the preceding year the sale of hay reached its maximum.

It is clear that in a normal year there was a considerable surplus for the lord in both manor's somewhat larger in Bruce, the smaller of the two. Typical of the income side are the following items from the earliest Bruce account, 48th year of Edward III.²⁰

Rents of assize	£3 10 6 ³ / ₄
Farm of 60 acres demesne	£1 0 0
Farm of pasture	6d
Fishing	4 0
Income from courts	9 4
Sale of 3000 faggots	£6 15 0
Sale of hay	£5 8 0
Sale of pasture	£1 0 0
Winter works (160 ³ / ₄)	10 0 ¹ / ₂
Summer works (97 ³ / ₄)	8 2
Works sold on account	7 2 & half farthing
Total	£19 12 9 ¹ / ₄ & half farthing

Over half the possible labour services were being performed. Most of the demesne arable, in both manors, was farmed by tenants at the low rent of four pence an acre, the amount named in the demands of the rebellious peasants in 1381. In the earliest of all the extant court rolls, a Daubency court of October 1318 there are two references to tenants leasing portions of demesne, seven acres by William le Yunger, four acres by Gilbert atte Fryth.²¹ The only items sold throughout all the accounts, are faggots, hay and pasture, in varying amounts—except for one year during John of Northampton's ownership of Daubeneys, of which more presently. Although in a region likely to produce a saleable surplus of meat and dairy products, there is no mention of such sales in either manor. Many tenants had quite a few animals; references occur to trespass or over-burdening the common, by single individuals, with 14 bullocks, 12 cows, 6 oxen, 10, 20 36 and 40 sheep. Perhaps the lords had leased their stock of animals with the demesne, but with a rent of only 4d an acre this hardly seems likely. There are no items giving payments to servants looking after the demesne animals: there do not seem to have been any.

It appears that in all but a few years the deliveries of money by the reeve to the lord were deficient. Generally the reeve either paid the difference on the spot, or it was carried forward and gradually worked off, with the lord occasionally remitting a small portion. What was done about the excess payment of £2 3 8 in 1382/3 is not recorded, one of the unanswered questions from the period. There seems to have been a most unexpected explanation, if we are correct, of the very large deficiency, £9 8 0, or over 40 per cent of the sum due in Bruce manor in 1380/81.

On the membrane detailing this year's account²² there appears a list of payments made which has been erased, as presumably not acceptable and which shows a smaller deficiency of £5 8 0. This includes two, if not three, very unusual entries, as follows: "To a certain priest, on Good Friday, 40/-". To a certain servant of the lord coming upon a messenger 20/-. Delivered to a certain priest coming with a certain sign (*per certum signum*) at seed time 20:-". Nowhere else in any of these accounts is money recorded as having been paid to anyone except the lord or the lady, or to some named servant or official, as Richard Waltham, the lord's attorney, John Beverley, Thomas the lord's servant, Peter Hereford, the steward. Who, then, were these mysterious anonymous priests and messenger, one bearing a sign, in the spring prior to the peasants' uprising? May there not be at least a possibility that we have here instances of payment by sympathetic peasants to some of those

priests who, chroniclers said, went about fomenting rebellion? If so, this prosaic account membrane casts a glimmer of light on the methods used in organising the revolt. We wonder whether anything similar has been noted in records of other manors.

It may be objected that if payments had been made to emissaries of an organised revolt the fact would not have been committed to writing. Yet ostensibly the revolt was not directed against the king, but only his evil advisers and the peasants may not have believed that the payments were wrong. Further, doubtless expecting the rising to be successful, they would have felt that eventually all would be forgiven. Of course, as soon as the clerk realised the implications of the entries, he erased and disallowed them.

Although we do not know if any Tottenham residents joined in the march to London, there is ample evidence that an insubordinate spirit was present there at the time. Tottenham does not seem to have had a particularly repressive regime; if anything the reverse was the case. Labour services were light, rents low, and the custom regarding heriot was most favourable to the tenants. It was only payable if the dead man had owned cattle²³ and time after time we read that the land was "not heriotable", or, "no heriot is due".

Nevertheless, in Richard's second year, in Daubeney, four villeins would not carry the lord's wood to London and the whole homage was in mercy for refusing to perform this task and for not reaping the lord's corn. Richard Abraham did not mow half an acre of meadow and an acre of oats for the lord. Richard Attegor did not plough an acre of the season's fallow.²⁴ In the third year of the reign, in Bruce's, Richard Malger, a member of a family noted throughout the century for its independence, and two of whom were at that time in flight from the manor, had his corn and chattels seized, because he was "in rebellion against serving the lord" and "is a rebel and fugitive".²⁵ And in the climacteric year, 1380/81, on a Pembroke court roll there is an enigmatic reference to "things taken away from the mill".²⁶ Some peasants ran away from the manor and, in spite of repeated injunctions, were never brought back. We shall probably never be certain as to the explanation of the handing over of such large sums to anonymous priests but it is surely legitimate to speculate. After all, we remember that in 1351 Tottenham had been the seat of a riot against the justices attempting to enforce the Statute of Labourers²⁷ and the tradition of rebelliousness may still have been alive. It remains to add that in the following year a pound of the large deficit was allowed by the lord and six pounds paid by the reeve. Possibly, if our theory of the deficit's origin is correct, the result of a collective effort by the peasantry.

To pass on, after 1380/81 there was a decline in the income and profits of the Bruce/Fawconer manor for a few years, till in 1385/6 the position was restored. There were no signs of unrest in the court now. A setback, however, happened in 1386/7, when seven pounds' worth of hay was sold to the Duke of York²⁸ and, from the accounts of this and subsequent years, payment was never received. It is tantalising to find accounts for the two years 1396/8 missing, as in the next year a catastrophic collapse of the finances is seen to have occurred. Nothing was sold; no hay, no faggots. The demesne leased had risen to 108 acres and the number of works commuted had risen by 40 per cent.²⁹ And then in 1399, Henry of Lancaster's army, on its way to London, destroyed or took away all the hay³⁰ from the grange, presumably, considering the time of year, preparatory to its sale. It is surprising that there was a partial recovery in the manor's fortunes in the next two years, in view of the impact these depredations must have made.

The Daubeney accounts bring to light the fact that no similar depredations by Henry IV's forces are recorded there. This manor's lord was James of Northampton, son of the

John of Northampton who had been an adherent of John of Gaunt's party during the conflicts of Richard II's reign. Most probably it is this which accounts for the differing action in the two manors. One sighs at the absence of Pembroke accounts, which might have been conclusive on this point. Pembroke was at the time in the hands of Roger Walden, Richard's Treasurer and Archbishop of Canterbury, soon to be replaced in the latter office by the Lancastrian Thomas Arundel. If only we knew whether Henry IV's soldiers spoiled the Pembroke manor too—but, alas, we must be grateful that so much material relating to this little village has survived.

Turning our attention now to the accounts of the Balliol/Daubeney manor we see immediately that, while larger than Bruce, it was, to begin with, poorer and less efficiently run. For comparison, the sources of income for our earliest year, 1389/90, are given.³¹

Rents of assize	£7 9 2 and 1 lb of pepper
Farm of 162 acres of demesne	£2 14 0
Income from courts	14 6
Sale of hay	£1 0 0
Sale of 500 faggots	£1 5 0
Sale of 432 winter works	
Sale of 169 summer works	
17 wodelodes	£2 2 6
Total	£15 5 2 and 1 lb of pepper

When John of Northampton, a member of the draper's company and former mayor of London, became lord in 1392, it would appear he was determined to improve matters.

This John of Northampton is well known as the flamboyant and demagogic character who, supported by members of the lesser crafts, had led a struggle against the London oligarchy, headed by William Walworth and Nicholas Brembre. As mentioned, he was of John of Gaunt's party, had suffered imprisonment in Tintagel, and had, in 1392, not long been released owing to a turn of fortune in the conflicts of the rival groups. In Tottenham his actions were rather surprising for such a champion of the poorer classes.

In the account for 1392/3 no winter works were sold, and for a brief moment we wondered whether John had magnanimously remitted the amount due. Of course, this idea was absurd. It seems he had decided, in the final decade of the fourteenth century, to restore labour services and cultivate part of his demesne directly. Just when, in the country as a whole, the reverse was happening. From reference to the court rolls, quoted above, to mowing oats and to ploughing fallow in Richard's second year, cultivation of the demesne by labour services existed to some extent then, but there are no more such references after that year. (Did the Peasants' Revolt lead to the change?) Now, on ten acres of demesne retained in the lord's hands, three quarters six bushels of oats, purchased from one Richard Norton, were sown, fencing, ploughing, harrowing, reaping, binding and threshing were performed. In all 24 quarters, 3 bushels of oats were obtained, of which four were reserved for seed, 15 were carried to the lord's grange at Shoreditch and the rest was sold for 12/6½d. The seed had cost about 8/9, possibly less; the works performed, if they had been sold, would have brought in £1 13 4. As the total value of the oats harvested was thus about £2 16 10 a good profit had been made.³² If we relate these figures to Sir William Beveridge's details of Winchester manors of around this period,³³ some comparisons emerge. Three bushels were sown on an acre in Tottenham, about four in the Winchester manors. The yield per quarter of seed was thus over 6·5 at Tottenham, compared with 2·87 for

1350–99, or 3·59 for 1400–1449, in Beveridge's figures, a phenomenal difference, only to be explained by the fact that these Tottenham acres had been under grass for many years. The yield per acre was 2·4 quarters, again much more than the 1·7 Beveridge found for 1400–1449. Four quarters were reserved for next year's seed and John must have been congratulating himself on the experiment's success. But the cultivation of oats and the imposition of labour services came to an abrupt end.

We will never know precisely why, but an examination of the 1394/5 accounts may perhaps explain the matter.³⁴ It will be seen that there was an enormous deficiency in deliveries that year, £5 13 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ paid, £7 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ deficient. There appears no reference on this or subsequent accounts to this money being obtained from the reeve or his successors. One can legitimately conclude that stubborn resistance by the peasants, "bloody-mindedness" might be a better term, exemplified by a deliberate withholding of money, somehow prevailed over the new lord's attempt to introduce the greater efficiency of the business man.

John had a small success in the production of the hay crop. The cost of making and mowing the meadow in 1389/90 was 2/- an acre³⁵ and by 1395/6 this had been reduced to 1/10.³⁶ For comparison, the value of the works required to perform these operations on the larger part of the meadow worked by labour services, at three works per acre, was 3d. Maybe it was this great difference between hired and compulsory labour costs which induced Northampton to make his attempt to extend labour services to arable cultivation.

The evidence seems to point too, to John Northampton, and subsequently his son James, trying to grasp the lands of John Greneford, or at least to harassing Greneford for some ulterior purpose. Greneford was the largest holder of villein land in the manor, perhaps in the village, with at least 50 acres of arable, 3 acres of meadow, 5 acres of wood and, in addition, 35 acres of demesne which he rented.³⁷ As a preliminary, possibly connected with what was to follow, as soon as Northampton became lord, there occurred the unexplained action of a Roger Milys, or Miles, a man not resident in the manor, against Greneford "in plea of land".³⁸ This dragged on over four courts before, in the court after All Saints' Day in 1392, Milys demanded the 50 acres, etc., from Greneford with a writ of *forma donacionis in descendere*.^{39*} Two courts later, in Pentecost week 1393, Milys "by license of the lord, releases to John Greneford . . . all the right and claim which he has" for the land in question for which 10/4 was given for enrolment.⁴⁰ Then, at the court held after St. Andrew, 1393, we read that Greneford, "to the prejudice of the lord and his fee, has demised to John Maiheu . . . a messuage and 30 acres of land in villeinage by indenture for one and a half years, and therefore it is ordered to seize the aforesaid tenement". Further Greneford had "demised without license to William Salmon two tenements called Markes" and these were also to be seized.⁴¹ Greneford had respite at this court, then at the next he brought from London the indenture by which he had demised the lands in question. But it was nevertheless ordered that Maiheu and Salmon "shall not occupy the said lands and tenements" and "other indenture was required".⁴² Greneford paid twice for respites, the second time in Pentecost week, 1396, and we hear no more of the matter and Greneford was occupying his lands again.

At Michaelmas court, 1397, Greneford was amerced 12d for not repairing his houses.⁴³ At the Pentecost court, 1398, the enormous fine of 100/- was imposed for this offence.⁴⁴ The fine was not paid and at James Northampton's first court, Monday after St. Luke

*It seems strange to invoke this Writ if the land in dispute was unfree. Was Greneford, who undoubtedly held villein land, a freeman, holding freehold land also?

1398, an order was made for the seizure of all the lands and tenements in bondage belonging to Greneford.⁴⁵ Just as the fine was not paid so there is no mention in the accounts, as there was in 1395–6, to the loss of revenue due to the sequestration of Greneford's land. (Why not in 1394–5 also?) Indeed, in the account for 1399–1400 a specific mention is made of rent paid by Greneford. It would seem that in some way, by stubbornness and procrastination, this tenant triumphed over his lord. But whatever the outcome, this affair, and John Northampton's other actions as lord, would appear to throw interesting fresh light on the character of the man.

As will be seen, the loss of income from Greneford's estate, which sum, by rather strange medieval book-keeping methods, was added to the expenses, considerably increased the manor's outgoings in 1395–6.⁴⁶ Deliveries to the lord were small, the deficit again large, if not as large as in the previous year. Not till 1396–7, by which time full commutation had been restored, was there a return to a satisfactory financial position, and there was nothing corresponding to the contemporary collapse in Bruce.

III. THE AGRICULTURAL METHODS OF THE MANOR

The system of cultivation employed in eastern Middlesex in the Middle Ages has always been obscure. H. L. Gray described it as a "hybrid system difficult to follow in its origins . . . Scarcely any part of England is so dependent upon conjecture for the writing of its early field history."⁴⁷ He believed it resembled the fields of Hertfordshire, where the open fields were irregular in character, numerous and "so far as can be seen, not grouped by furlongs into two or three large areas."⁴⁸ Of those who have examined the Tottenham material, C. H. Rock wondered whether common fields ever existed in Tottenham,⁴⁹ while mentioning that Edmonton was not enclosed till 1800. Walthamstow, too, was not enclosed till 1850, whereas, at the time of the Earl of Dorset's survey, 1619, Tottenham was almost entirely enclosed. Others were puzzled by the fact that, while there was obviously strip cultivation, such a large number of fields were named, fifty or more in the fourteenth century, excluding crofts and "pytels".

We believe that the field system which existed in the manor of Tottenham corresponded in many respects with Gray's view, though in the absence of any terrier or surveys for the fourteenth century any attempt to solve the problem must be tentative. To establish the existence of a three-field system or what might rather be called a three-course rotation, with fallow every third year, Gray believed the following facts must be proved to exist. First, three large fields containing inter-mixed strips, then, a fallow course every three years, finally, a more or less equal distribution of each tenant's strips throughout all the fields. In the absence of the last a three-field system would, he believed, be unworkable, because each tenant would periodically have most of his land fallow, and so have no source of food or income. It is also necessary to show that there was common grazing on the stubble after harvest.

Of the presence of intermixed strips in the fourteenth century there can be no doubt at all. Instances abound. In one of the earliest court rolls, of Daubeney's 1318, Nicholas Terry surrendered two acres of arable "whereof three rods in Homfeld, three in Wodecroft, half an acre in Longfeld".⁵⁰ In the same manor, in 1324, John in the Hale surrendered two acres, one in Hacchesfeld, one in Clayhanggre.⁵¹ In 1380 William Abraham surrendered "three acres of arable lying in two pieces in the fields called le Greyfeld and Suerdescroft".⁵² There are cases of sales designed to produce consolidation of strips, as when, in 1377, Richard

Taylor "surrendered a piece of land lying in Longcroft between the land of Richard Brok on either side to the use of the said Richard Brok".⁵³ At the very end of the century, in 1398, John Absolon "surrendered an acre and three roods of land in Hodesfeld between the land of Thomas Duk on one part and the land of John Turner on the other".⁵⁴ In 1381 William Godard complained that the same Thomas Duk had cut his grain to his (Godard's) damage,⁵⁵ which implies that Duk had overstepped the "metes", or bounds, between their respective strips. There are a number of instructions in the documents enjoining marking out these metes carefully.

We have suggested that by about 1300 the sub-division of original whole and half virgates had reached the stage appearing in the Pembroke rentals. From these rentals we see that the villein's obligations included ploughing "at the three seasons", "of the winter sowing of *cert* and at sowing of oats and at fallow".⁵⁶ The crops sown appear to have been barley, oats, peas and beans. There are many vague references to corn, but only one to wheat. (From the phrasing of the rentals it would seem that growing of oats was introduced at a later date, probably coinciding with the greater use of horses. But it is surprising that in the late fourteenth century, when in many places cultivation of oats was declining, this cereal appears to have been a principal Tottenham crop. As there are frequent references to makers of "horse bread", production of food for horses was evidently an important Tottenham occupation.) In Daubeneys, in 1378, Richard Attegor was amerced for not ploughing an acre of the lord's fallow, as we have mentioned above. All this implies that at the end of the thirteenth century and later in Pembroke, and in Daubeneys in the year 1378, the traditional three-course rotation was practised on the demesne. But in Bruce, as early as 1374, and in Daubeneys by at any rate 1389 most of the demesne was leased to the tenants. The memorandum attached to the record of John Northampton's first court lists the 24 tenants who rented, at 4d an acre, all but $17\frac{1}{4}$ acres of the demesne, in amounts varying from 35 acres to a half acre.⁵⁷ It would seem certain that this land would be farmed in severalty, and thus create a desire to farm in severalty among some of the other tenants, too. There are a number of specific references to enclosed land. In 1381 Alice Reves surrendered six acres of enclosed land called Parkfeld.⁵⁸ In 1387 William Aleyn surrendered three roods of enclosed land called Mabbescroft.⁵⁹ In 1389 John Wayte surrendered a croft of enclosed land called Snowpygthal.⁶⁰ In 1391 Thomas Cuffele surrendered four and a half acres of land with hedges⁶¹ and next year Hugh atte Stone a croft containing 8 acres, with hedges⁶² (probably one of his eight-acre mollands). Yet, in all the court rolls existing for the fourteenth century these are the sole references to enclosed land and one might reasonably infer that in other cases, except for leased demesne, land mentioned was unenclosed, while in all the above the fact of its being enclosed was stated because it was exceptional. Further, most of these statements refer to crofts or pitells, which one would expect to be enclosed.

Several references appear to land being common. In 1377, in Pembroke, John Cavendish, then lord of Daubeneys, was accused of enclosing "a certain croft of seven acres of land which is common every third year (surely of significance) therefore it is ordered that all tenements which he enclosed shall be open".⁶³ In 1398 John Twyford (heir of the London goldsmith Sir Nicholas Twyford) had "enclosed a croft called Themanlond, which should be common from the Feast of All Saints to the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin (Nov. 1 to Feb. 2) and claims it in severalty, therefore he is in mercy".⁶⁴ In 1399 Lord John Innocent enclosed the field called Caroldysfeldes "which is common".⁶⁵ Later in the year James Northampton had "enclosed a certain pasture called le More", which also "was

common every third year".⁶⁶ (It is to be noted how such attempts, by the gentry, appear and increase towards the century's end.) At this point we pause to say, surely, lands "common every third year" can have no meaning but common pasture on the grass of the fallow field every third year.

Very little is known as to how strips were distributed among the different fields. John of Northampton, in the memorandum already mentioned, lists the fields over which his demesne was spread, which, if it gives any guidance, were as follows:⁶⁷

Longfurlong	$6\frac{1}{2}$ acres		$6\frac{1}{2}$ acres
Danehulle	$18\frac{1}{2}$ acres		
Dane	$8\frac{1}{4}$ acres		$26\frac{3}{4}$ acres
Stones	$5\frac{1}{2}$ acres		
Stonyfeld	$2\frac{1}{2}$ acres		$32\frac{1}{2}$ acres
Estfeld	$1\frac{1}{4}$ acres		$1\frac{1}{4}$ acres
Westhallefeld	$37\frac{1}{2}$ acres	($12\frac{1}{2}$ in one piece)	$37\frac{1}{2}$ acres
Woderedyng	$25\frac{1}{2}$ acres		$25\frac{1}{2}$ acres

If perhaps Stones and Stonyfeld were adjoining, and also Danehulle and Dane, we have six groups, with Longfurlong and perhaps Estfeld as the odd ones out. But in any case we do not know how these fields were spread over the area of the manor. If the demesne was a compact area, and there are no references to tenants, other than those leasing demesne, holding any land in these fields,* there appears to have been a sufficiently equal division between its fields to have satisfied Gray's criterion for a workable three-field system.

As far as the tenants were concerned, the small size, in Richard II's reign, of many of the holdings makes it difficult to see how some of them could have had strips spread evenly over the manor. When tenants died we are almost always only given the acreage they left and not how this was distributed. However, John Denys died owning only two acres, all in the west end of Aylwynesfeld.⁶⁸ The frequent sales of land, of course, easily resulted in this situation, and as to whether it was typical we cannot pronounce.

We have been unable to find any direct reference to feeding on the stubble after harvest. In the adjoining village of Edmonton, which had a similar field pattern, David Avery has quoted from the 1699 by-laws as follows: "No person or persons shall at any time hereafter break open the hedges, gates, rails, locks or chains of any of our common fields or common marshes after they are enclosed until they ought to be laid open for common."⁶⁹ But of course this refers to a period three centuries later than the one we are discussing, and no by-laws for Tottenham in its unenclosed state exist.

So far some case could be made out for much open field cultivation, perhaps on a rotation system of a little wheat, peas, beans and oats, then barley, then fallow, in the latter part of the century, associated with a certain amount of working in severalty. The field system was in a transitional stage. But there remains the difficulty of the large number of obviously small fields. "Altogether more than fifty fields are named on the fourteenth-century rolls: by named, I mean that the word field is part of the name", as the late F. L. Fenton said in a lecture to the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society in 1961.⁷⁰

One possible explanation we would suggest is that this multiplicity of fields is more apparent than real. The 1459 terrier shows that at that date there were only about 24 primary fields, of some 80 acres, the other "fields" being sub-divisions of these. East Middlesex was, in the early Middle Ages, a heavily wooded area. The villein and bordar holdings of Domesday, if the virgate then, as later, consisted of 32 acres, totalled 636 acres.⁷¹ By 1254

*The demesne meadow was mixed with that of the tenants.

the unfree tenants held 1,280 acres and obviously much assarting had taken place in the interval to account for the difference. Might not a similar process have happened in Tottenham to that which T. A. M. Bishop describes, in "Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields",⁷² as occurring in Yorkshire? Individual families, or groups of families, cleared parts of the forest and in many cases these assarts were gradually added to the open fields while retaining their original names. In effect, these "fields" were, in many cases, the furlongs of the larger fields. Clayhanger, Lytelhanger and Woderedyng are obviously wood assarts. Aylwinesfeld, Pagysfeld, Davydsfeld, Ricardyslace are examples of fields bearing personal names, though we must admit all but the first of these seem to have been in the hands of one peasant. We see crofts entirely enclosed, and crofts which are in a transitional state to enclosure, common every third year; crofts in strips belonging to different tenants.

One obscure statement in the court rolls, which may have a bearing on the matter, remains to be mentioned. At a Pembroke court, in Whitsun week, 1397,⁷³ several tenants were amerced for cutting the grass "in the meadow and in the lord's and tenants' field" (*in campo domini et tenentium*). If this is a reference to fields under grass, would it be legitimate to take it as meaning that there was a fallow field as part of the demesne and another, single, fallow field, part of the common land of the tenants? One might also, finally, ask whether, with many peasants owning quite a number of animals, would the 92 acres of meadow, 30 acres of pasture, plus rough grazing in the woods, have been sufficient for the animals without a fallow area and common grazing on the stubble?

Another, and perhaps simpler, explanation of the agricultural methods in use during the fourteenth century presents itself. Professor Postan points out that in the later Middle Ages "variations in field system . . . were far more numerous than the conventional distribution of two or three field systems would indicate", even to having "different sequences of crops on different parts of the village arable", but "some form of obligatory rotation would be found".⁷⁴ Professor Genicot's table of crop rotation at the Ramsey Abbey estate of Holywell is an example of this.⁷⁵ As W. G. Hoskins has said, the furlong became the cropping unit. What we find in fourteenth-century Tottenham, as recorded in our several extracts from the records, is quite compatible with a common cultivation carried out on a number of fields, rather resembling furlongs, by more than a single rotation, at least some including a three-yearly fallow course. The fields would have been arranged in groups so as to make the rotation practised workable. It was the obligatory rotation that was the essential feature and the "fields" could be arranged to comply with it. Finally, side by side with this common agriculture there was a growing amount of farming in severalty. These conclusions are as far as we feel we can go, at the present stage of our researches, and we offer them as a tentative hypothesis. The documents for the fourteenth century, though numerous, are not complete enough to give a more satisfactory answer to the problem of how Tottenham's fields were cultivated, but we hope we have made some approach to a solution.

Much more work remains to be done on these Tottenham records. Even when dealing with those written prior to 1400 copious information about prices, rents of land, villein personal property, money lending, and other matters depicting the life of the villagers, has not been mentioned. As we proceed in this work we hope to trace the decline of villeinage, the transition to the completely enclosed village of 1612, and, possibly, the problem of how the division of the manor in 1254 was effected. This, too, might add to our knowledge of how land cultivation was performed in villages divided between a number of manors. Meanwhile, we trust these brief pages may be of some interest and value to students of economic history.

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NOTES

Abbreviations used: Tottenham Manorial Rolls – T.M.R.
Bruce Castle Museum Collection – Bruce

- 1 Robinson, *History of Tottenham* (1840), I, pp. 163–4.
- 2 Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 166, 167.
- 3 Bruce Castle Museum Collection MR 9, MR 9a.
- 4 *Tottenham Manorial Rolls*, II (Borough of Tottenham, Libraries and Museum, 1961), p. 284.
- 5 T.M.R., II, p. 88.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 7 Bruce, *op. cit.*, MR 15.
- 8 Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–196.
- 9 T.M.R., II, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 261.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 313.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 120, 125, 132, 139, 157, 234, 262.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 316.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 205–6, 231.
- 19 Sylvia Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Anne Arbor University, 1962), p. 370.
Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1399–1401, pp. 172–3.
Calendar of Close Rolls, 1381–5, p. 58.
Calendar of Wills Enrolled in Court of Hustings, II, pp. 283–4.
- 20 Bruce, m. 61.
- 21 *Tottenham Manorial Rolls*, I (Borough of Tottenham, Libraries and Museum, 1956), p. 1.
- 22 Bruce, *op. cit.*, MR 10, m. 56.
- 23 T.M.R., II, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 25 *:ibid.*, p. 10.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- 27 *Calendar Patent Rolls 1350–54*, p. 158.
- 28 Bruce, *op. cit.*, MR 10, m. 49.
- 29 *Ibid.*, MR 10, m. 37.
- 30 *Ibid.*, MR 10, m. 36.
- 31 *Ibid.*, MR 10, m. 27.
- 32 *Ibid.*, MR 10, mm. 42, 43.
- 33 Lord Beveridge, "The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages", in *Essays in Economic History*, I, p. 18.
- 34 Bruce, *op. cit.*, MR 10, m. 42.
- 35 *Ibid.*, MR 10, m. 27.
- 36 *Ibid.*, MR 10, m. 41.
- 37 T.M.R., II, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- 46 Bruce, *op. cit.*, MR 10, m. 41.
- 47 H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (1959), p. 402.
- 48 Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
- 49 T.M.R., I, *op. cit.*, p. XI.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 52 T.M.R., II, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- ⁵⁶ Bruce, *op. cit.*, MR 9.
- ⁵⁷ T.M.R., II, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 227.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 323.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- ⁶⁹ D. Avery, *The Irregular Common Fields of Edmonton* (1964). Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, Occasional Papers, N.S. 9, p. 25.
- ⁷⁰ F. L. Fenton, *Some Recent Work on the Tottenham Manor Rolls*. (Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, Occasional Papers, N.S. 1, 1961), p. 9.
- ⁷¹ T. G. Pinder, Domesday Survey, in J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King and K. G. T. McDonnell (eds.), *Victoria County History of Middlesex 1960*, I, p. 129.
- ⁷² T. A. M. Bishop, "Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields", in *Essays in Economic History* (1954), I, 26–40 *passim*.
- ⁷³ T.M.R., II, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
- ⁷⁴ M. Postan, "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime" in M. Postan, ed., *Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I; The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 573.
- ⁷⁵ L. Genicot, "Crisis: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times", in M. Postan, ed., *Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I, op. cit.*, p. 718.

THE JOHN STOW COMMEMORATION ADDRESS, 1973

BY FRANCIS W. STEER, M.A., F.S.A., MALTRavers HERALD EXTRAORDINARY

Delivered at the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, 11th April, 1973

The lesson which will be read a little later on explains the reason why we are gathered together in this ancient City church today. We are here to honour the memory of a distinguished citizen of London, a famous man indeed, and one whose particular achievements bear out part of the fourth verse of the lesson. John Stow's knowledge of learning was meet for the people and he was one who was wise and eloquent in his instructions.

It is customary in cathedrals and in the Colleges of our older Universities to have an annual service to commemorate benefactors, but frequently such commemorations have a bias towards material things such as buildings and financial endowments. I am not suggesting that these ought to be forgotten — they are very important. But there are other types of benefaction such as examples of godly living, the provision of comforts for the sick, the elderly and the lonely, the establishment of libraries, the occasional feast where like-minded persons foregather.

We remember with gratitude John Stow, a man of humble birth, a man who achieved eminence by his own endeavours, a man who died in poverty, and the author of a great book called *A Survey of London* which was published in 1598. Thomas Fuller believed that no city in Christendom, Rome alone excepted, had so great a chronicle, and we would not quarrel with that opinion expressed only 57 years after Stow's death.

There have been many learned discourses from this pulpit on John Stow and it is not easy to find a new theme. But I want to try and say something about Stow as a man who demonstrated what scholarship really means; scholarship is the sharing of knowledge for the common good. Each generation owes a debt to those which preceded it, to those who laid foundations, examined and interpreted new sources, considered their findings and published their conclusions. We are fortunate today in having well equipped libraries, enormous collections of carefully catalogued archives, facilities for world-wide travel, the benefit of modern inventions which make life tolerably comfortable, plus the accumulated knowledge of other men's experience. In brief, we have much to be thankful for and which makes the debt to our predecessors all the more heavy.

We can hardly imagine the difficulties under which the Elizabethan historians had to work. John Stow had none of the advantages I have mentioned but he had all the difficulties; the fact that he surmounted them makes him all the more remarkable. Living as he did from about 1525 to 1605, Stow witnessed changes as revolutionary as those which we who have lived through the last half century or more have experienced, but he was a man who, like some in our own time, have maintained high standards of perseverance and scholarship.

Stow features prominently in any investigation of the development of historical studies in the 16th century. The evidence of his sharing of knowledge is abundant. Archbishop Parker borrowed the manuscript of Matthew Paris's *Greater History* (now a treasure in the British Museum) from Stow. Our London historian helped John Hooker of Exeter, Francis Thynne and Abraham Fleming in preparing the 1586 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Stow knew Archbishop Whitgift sufficiently well to dedicate his *Annales* to him and there the historian refers to his great love and entire affection to all good letters in general and to the antiquities in particular. He says—

It is now more than thirtie yeeres (Right reuerende father) since I first addressed all my cares and cogitations to the studie of Histories, and search of Antiquities: the greatest part of which time I haue diligently imployed in collecting such matters of this kingdome, as I thought most worthie to be recommended both to the present and succeeding age.

Stow's ability was manifest when David Powel, the Welsh historian, remarked that Stow deserved commendation for getting together the ancient writers of the histories of this land — he was referring to Stow's generosity in lending him one of the manuscripts of several unpublished chronicles.

All this devoted work on the English chronicles, on Chaucer and on the Survey of London involved great labour; Stow's earlier works were perhaps skeletons of history rather than living history — his real talents did not find full scope until he turned his attention to his native City and here he is seen as the man who knew the value of original records and was not dismayed by the sheer endurance required in searching through archives which were in a state of chaos notwithstanding the efforts of Arthur Agarde, Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, who compiled catalogues of State papers and, like Stow, was one of the earliest members of a society of antiquaries founded, it is believed, by Archbishop Parker in about 1572. Here again we can discern the brotherhood of learning when we recall that Stow, Agarde, Parker, the great Camden, Archbishop Whitgift, John Lord Lumley, Henry Savile, Robert Glover, John Dee and others were contemporaries who could, and did, remember a vanishing, or at least a rapidly changing, England. Of that early society of antiquaries, John Stow was probably the most inconspicuous by birth and position but he was no less equal with the other members and therefore their honoured colleague. The motive of such men was the establishment of facts, which, when all is said and done, is the ultimate purpose of study. This point was made by Matthew Parker when he wrote that it is the law of history that truth is to be preferred to elegance of oratory.

Stow possessed another quality which endears him to me. He was never too shy to admit ignorance; he couldn't know everything and he recognized that to declare an uncertainty as such was a prerequisite in historical writing. He was an acute observer and knew that he had to tramp the muddy streets, the alleys and the waterfront of 16th century London if his record was to be accurate; he had to visit the numerous churches and the Livery Halls; he had to read and consider the writings of others; he had to examine basic sources and to suffer occasional rebuffs such as he met with when he wanted to consult the records of the Vintners' Company.

But Stow was only human and although on good terms with most of his contemporaries was not averse to levelling criticism or indulging in a scholarly wrangle as he did over Richard Grafton's *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* which appeared in 1562. Although Stow, like other 16th century historians, tended to moralize, he did it with his eyes open. Stow was never violent in matters of religion as were several of his contemporaries; this restraint reflects his ability to write history without too obvious a bias and it must be remembered through what extraordinary times Stow had lived so far as religion was concerned. Neither must we forget that Stow's financial resources were very limited — a fact which was brought home to us by Professor Fisher in his address last year. Poverty can have a marked influence on a man's judgement.

Whatever may be the merits of his other works, we are here today to pay tribute to the historian of London, the greatest City in the world. To be a citizen of London in the fullest sense of the term is a privilege which Stow and many before, and many after him, have been granted. He was admitted to the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors in 1547 and it is appropriate that you, my Lord Mayor, should be accompanied by the First Upper Warden

of the Company to which John Stow belonged. I cannot help thinking how much Stow would have approved of this annual service for he understood, as all of us here understand, the traditions of the City of London which remain unchanged in spirit even if the faces of the streets change with alarming rapidity. Stow noted that the south side of the Chapter House of St. Paul's was being disfigured first by low sheds and then by high houses; we too, have seen some of our City's greatest buildings dwarfed by concrete and glass skyscrapers. The simple fact is that history repeats itself and one generation deplores the actions of another.

This discourse has touched, lightly and inadequately, on several aspects of Stow's life and times. I have mentioned his ability as an historian, the mutual generosity of him and his colleagues and the debt which we owe to the labours of those historians and antiquaries who lived in the reign of the first Queen Elizabeth. Knowledge in a wide variety of disciplines is continually advancing and although we may justly disagree with what our predecessors thought and wrote, we must never be unmindful of the fact that many of them were pioneers, most of them were hard workers and men who sought after truth even if they occasionally lacked critical discrimination.

I began by quoting from the fourth verse of this morning's lesson and I finish with the fourteenth verse with John Stow uppermost in my mind at this moment: The bodies of such men are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore.

NEW BOOKS

- J. G. L. Burnby: *John Sherwen and Drug Cultivation in Enfield*.
 Edmonton Hundred Historical Society Occasional Paper n.s. No. 23, 12pp. 1 plate, 1973. 25p.
- G. W. Knight: *Non-conformist Churches in Enfield*.
 Edmonton Hundred Historical Society Occasional Paper n.s. No. 24, 12pp. 4 plates, 1973. 30p.
- D. O. Pam: *Protestant Gentlemen: The Wroths of Dyrants Arbour, Enfield and Loughton, Essex*.
 Edmonton Hundred Historical Society Occasional Paper n.s. No. 25, 24pp. 1 map, 2 plates
 1973, 40p.

These publications of the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society maintain the high standard of the series. The first is illustrated with a letter from John Sherwen to John Britton; the second with four pictures of non-conformist chapels in Enfield; the third with part of the inclosure award map of Enfield, an excellent drawing of the Old Gateway to Durant's Manor House, and a water colour of Loughton Hall. Uniform size $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$.

These, together with the whole series of papers published by this famous society, should be in every local history library.

From D. O. Pam, Edmonton Library, Fore Street, London N9 ONX

- Beryl Cross: 'Cirencester 2000 Years On' in *District Councils Review*, vol. 2, Sept. 1973. pp. 222-227. Pub.
 Rural District Councils Association, 25 Buckingham Gate, London SW1E 6LE
 This article, dealing inter alia with the historical heritage of Cirencester and the conservation
 policy of its council, will be of interest to members who recently visited the town with the
 Society.

- Ralph Merrifield: *A Handbook to Roman London*, Published by Guildhall Museum, 1973, 20p.
 A beautifully produced and well-illustrated booklet (47 pp., map of Roman London, and 30
 plates) which will be of great interest to all lovers of London.

LSS

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