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Volume 30 1979



London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

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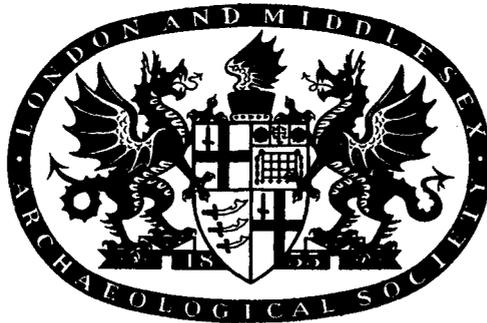
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Transactions of the
London & Middlesex
Archaeological Society

incorporating the
Middlesex Local History Council

Volume 30

1979

Museum of London, London Wall, London EC2Y 5HN

The Society and Editors are extremely grateful to the Museum of London for help with the publication of several papers in this volume.

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incorporating Middlesex Local History Council

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London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

incorporating Middlesex Local History Council

123rd ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDING
30th SEPTEMBER 1978

During the year the Society's move from the Bishopsgate Institute was completed, with the removal of the Library to the Museum of London. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Governors of the Bishopsgate Institute who have courteously extended facilities to us for our meetings and for our Library over many years.

Two major publications were issued, Volume 28 of *Transactions* in December 1977 and, in September 1978, *Collectanea Londiniensia: Studies presented to Ralph Merrifield*, the Society's *Special Paper No. 2* published to mark Mr. Merrifield's retirement from the Museum of London. Three numbers of the Newsletter appeared, carrying fuller reports of the proceedings at lectures and visits.

The Presidential Address by Mr. M. G. Hebditch at the Annual General Meeting on 24th February was on *The History of the Museum of London*. As usual, seven other lecture meetings were held, starting with the controversial *Was London really a Roman Foundation? The Celtic Oppidum of Londinion* by Dr. Mansel G. Spratling on 14th October, and ending with *Muslim and Crusader Castles* by Mrs. Hellings-Jackson on 22nd September. London topics were *The Tower of London, from Roman Riverside Wall to Medieval Concentric Fortress* by Philip Walker on 11th November, *The Religious Houses of London in the Later 14th Century* by Dr. Alison McHardy on 10th March, and *The Armouries of the Tower of London* by Nicholas Hall on 14th April. There were two lectures of wider interest—the George Eades Lecture on 13th January was *The Victoria County Histories* by Christopher Elrington, and for students of ecclesiology the meeting on 9th December was *Nonconformist Chapels* by Peter A. T. Burman.

The Stow Commemoration Service at St. Andrew Undershaft took place on 12th April, when the address was given by Professor Robert Ashton. The Pepys Service was held on 31st May in St. Olave Hart Street, the speaker being Sir Oliver Millar.

Seven visits were arranged during the year. Four were in London—to *Skinners Hall* on 21st October, to *Parts of the Tower of London* on 3rd December, to *Medieval Churches in the western half of the City* on 25th February, and to *Lambeth Palace* on 2nd March. Two excursions penetrated the Home Counties—to *Norman Remains in the western half of Essex* on 8th April, and to *St. Albans and Verulamium* on 16th September—while on 17th June the most distant recent excursion reached *The Castles and Churches of Gwent*. Duplicated programme guides were again available for some visits, and a 26-page booklet was produced for the Gwent Tour.

Archaeological Research Committee

The Committee's work during the year included a survey of the conditions of employment of archaeologists working in Greater London. At Staines, excavations continued under the direction of the Society's Field Officer, where remains of Roman buildings were revealed on the Central Area Development site.

Through the meetings of the Borough Secretaries contact was maintained with excavations and fieldwork being carried out in Greater London by both local societies and full-time units, while at meetings of the Joint Working Party on London Archaeology, on which this Society, together with the Surrey Archaeological Society and other bodies, is represented, discussions took place on many problems affecting local archaeology. A member of the Working Party now attends Executive Board meetings of the Council for British Archaeology.

Finally, a successful Annual Conference of London Archaeologists was held on 18th March at the Museum of London.

Inner London (North) Archaeological Unit

During the year the Unit carried out four excavations: at Tower Hill, where the Roman city defences were examined; at Cromwell Green, Westminster, where prehistoric and Roman features were identified; at Shore Road, Hackney, which produced evidence of a medieval Manor House; and at Burlington Place, Fulham, where a series of pits dating from the 17th to 19th centuries was recorded. Post-excavation work continued on all sites and nine exhibitions were arranged. Apart from the three site reports that appeared in *Transactions* Vol. 28 two booklets were published, on the archaeology of Tower Hamlets and of Islington.

Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee

The Committee was more active than in the previous year, considering some eighty new cases in addition to keeping a watching brief on several others of long standing, the increasing number of applications for Listed Building Consent reflecting the changing economic outlook.

The large number of applications relating to 19th-century houses reflected in part the welcome trend towards rehabilitation rather than redevelopment in both the public and private sectors, but resistance had to be offered to the less welcome commercial pressures for demolition.

The question of freedom from control of Crown property came to the surface with controversial proposals for development at, *inter alia*, Chiswick House and the Natural History Museum. Another cause for concern was the threat of the present system of Listed Building control being virtually dismantled.

Local History Committee

The Twelfth Annual Local History Conference was held at the Museum of London on 19th November and attracted the largest audience so far, in excess of 250. The principal speaker was Mr. Colin Sorensen of the Museum's own staff, whose subject was the modern collections from the 18th and later centuries, their acquisition and presentation. The other talks were on the theme of oral history, recording and transcription for publication, and were given by Dr. Denis Smith of the Greater London Industrial Archaeology Society and Mr. D. H. Simpson of the Twickenham Local History Society.

Preliminary work was carried out on the third of the Committee's surveys of local historical research and publications in Greater London which will cover the years 1976 and 1977.

A new departure was made in May 1978, when the Committee held its first one-day research seminar at Crosby Hall, Chelsea. The theme was building and development in London during the formative period 1830-1939. Six speakers covered a wide range of topics, including Victorian and inter-war suburban development, the history of municipal housing in Battersea and techniques of street and photographic surveys. There was a full and wide-ranging discussion on the various papers and it is hoped to repeat this successful venture in the future, looking at other aspects of London local history.

The membership of the Committee did not, unfortunately, increase during the year, and it was with regret that it accepted the resignation of Christopher Wade at the end of the period. His contribution will be missed.

Youth Section

The Youth Section had an eventful year, making two visits during the winter, one to the G.L.C. Record Office at County Hall, and the second to the Pumping Station at Kew—another successful day. A two-day course on archaeology for the older members was held at the Museum of London in the summer. This combined outdoor activities with slide talks and discussions. Two newsletters were sent out to 63 members, of whom many had contributed reports, ideas and letters.

In June Mrs. Elizabeth Newbery resigned as Hon. Secretary of the Section on moving out of London, and her place was filled by Mrs. Victoria Woollard of the Museum of London. We are grateful to Mrs. Newbery for her past services.

Membership and Finance

Total membership at 30th September 1978 was 829, made up of 572 Ordinary Members, 45 Life Members, 10 Honorary Members and 38 Student Members, together with 121 Institutional Members and 43 Affiliated Societies.

The need for an increase in subscriptions at 1st October 1977 is borne out by the annual accounts which show only a small surplus despite the higher income. Publication costs continue to account for the majority of the Society's expenditure and we believe that it will be possible to sustain the publication programme for the current year on the resources available. It is hoped that the membership figures will continue to rise as this will, in the long term, afford the best means for stabilising the subscription rates.

Council wishes to record its sincere thanks to the Honorary Officers for their work during the year.

By direction of Council

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J. A. CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., A.M.A.
Honorary Secretary

LONDON & MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT for the year ended 30th September, 1978

1976/77		1977/78		1976/77		1977/78	
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
6,592	Publications:	9,556		2,203	Subscriptions	3,206	
—	Transactions, volume 28	8,000		191	Income tax reclaimed on Deeds of Covenant	71	
635	Special Paper No. 3 (part)	543		1,017	Income from investments and bank deposit	1,268	
—	Newsletter	—	18,099	230	Sales of publications and surplus library books	163	
7,227	Lectures and visits	—	131		Donations and grants:		
162	Conferences—grants expended	60	—		Corporation of London—		
120	Commemorative services	21	39		Conferences	60	
—	Committees:	—	—		Museum of London—		
14	Local History	—	511	1,440	Publications	2,785	
44	Library	—	—	3,198	Miscellaneous—publications	11,436	
50	Rent	—	26	35	—general	12	
450	Postage, printing and stationery	—	7	25	Bequest	—	
10	Subscriptions and donations	—	18,894	—		—	
21	Sundry expenses	26	—	4,818		—	14,293
8	Depreciation of equipment	7	—	£8,459		—	£19,001
8,231		—	—				
228	Excess of income over expenditure added to accumulated funds	107	—				
£8,459		£19,001	—				

The Society and Editors are extremely grateful to the Department of the Environment for a grant towards the cost of publishing this report.

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EXCAVATIONS AT 48-50 CANNON STREET, CITY OF LONDON, 1975

Andy Boddington

Finds Research co-ordinated by Michael Rhodes

Rescue excavations on a small site to the south of Cannon Street located a number of linear features of Roman and post-Roman date. Three of the Roman features were water channels revetted with timber, probably for drainage rather than water supply. Numerous post-holes were found, mostly associated with the channels, though one group probably represented a small building, possibly of late Saxon date by association with some of the 19 pits of Roman, late Saxon and medieval date which were also uncovered on the site. The site may be linked topographically with others to the north and west both in the Roman and late Saxon periods.

1 INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The site (TQ 32428096) is located between Cannon Street and Great St. Thomas Apostle (Fig. 1) immediately west of the site of the church of St. Thomas Apostle. It lies on the southern slope of the western hill of the City, upon which St. Paul's is centred, and south of Cheapside. Little is known about this area archaeologically though the near vicinity has produced traces of mosaics¹ and the Huggin Hill baths have been excavated 150m to the south-west². The demolition of the Victorian buildings on the site presented an opportunity to investigate this relatively untouched area: a trial trench by Mr. C. Hill indicated the survival of archaeological features, and following this four areas (Trenches 1-3, Fig. 3; Trench 4, not shown), were machine-stripped under the supervision of the author.

Only three weeks were available for excavation and accordingly a policy of priorities was determined. This involved machining 0.5m off the top of the archaeological levels to a level at which all the features were sharply defined and could therefore be rapidly excavated³. Little work was conducted in Trench 4 as, on cleaning, it revealed only pits which were not regarded as of high a priority as the linear and structural features. Elsewhere pits were excavated without half sections and some pits were not excavated at all (Plates 1-2).

A total of 23 days was spent on the excavation which was carried out with the co-operation and encouragement of the developers, Compass Securities Ltd.; the demolition contractors, Griffiths Ltd.; the architect, Mr. A. Schickle, and the construction contractors, Higgs and Hill. A major part of the excavation work was carried out by the COLAS field-work group and other volunteers, without whose determined and dedicated efforts the site could not have been tackled in the same extensive manner. I would also like to express thanks to the Department of Urban Archaeology team, in particular to Ken Dash, Paul Herbert, Trevor Dennis and Barbara Garfi. Mr. Dash should be especially thanked for acting as assistant supervisor, for assisting with photography and for conducting the development watching brief. The drawings were prepared for publication by Robert Britton.

The features below are discussed in possible chronological order where this was determined, but as a number of features were either poorly dated or undated the features

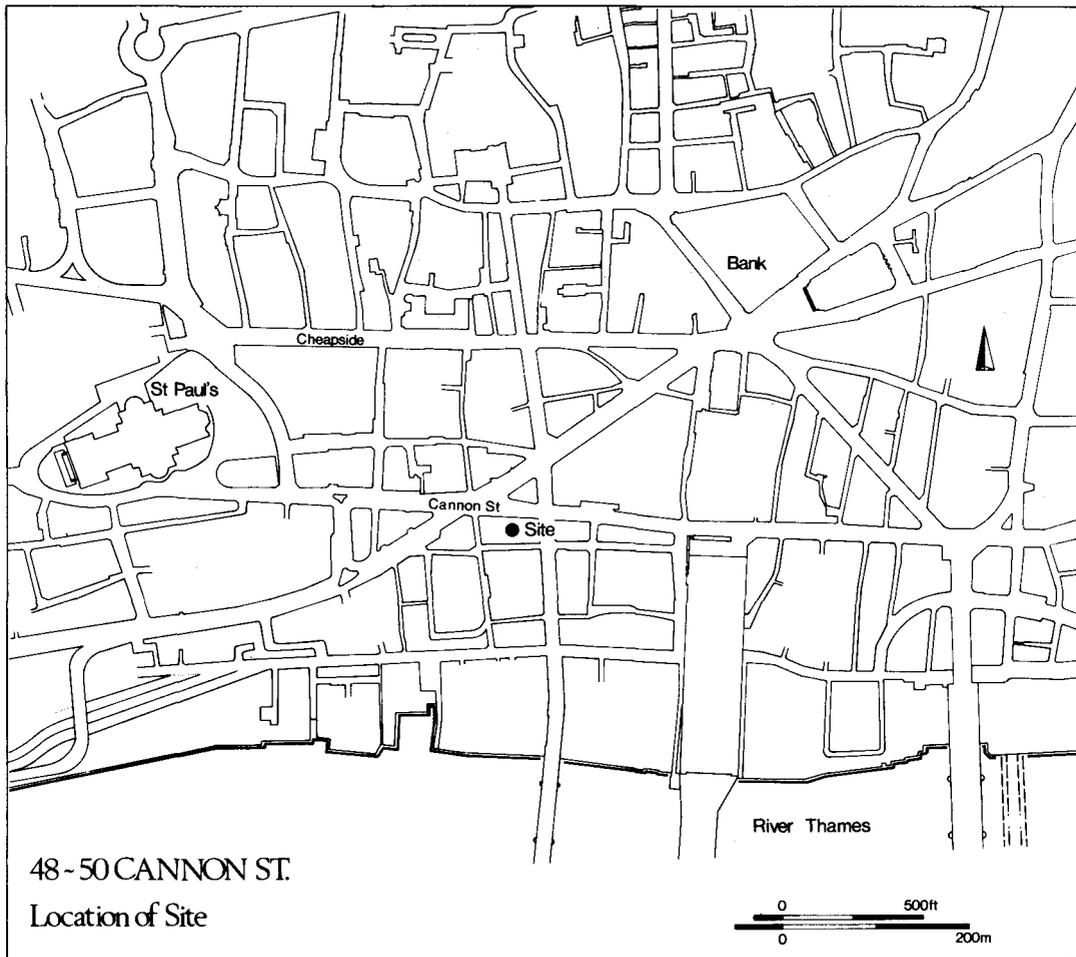


Fig. 1. Cannon Street 1975: Site Location Map.

are arranged into three groups: linear features, stakeholes and pits. The natural surface throughout Trenches 1 and 2 and the west part of Trench 3 was brickearth; in the east part of Trench 3 and Trench 4 coarse sand and gravel of the Taplow terrace.

This account is seen as a Level IV report as outlined in the Frere report (Department of the Environment, 1975). A copy of the archive report (Level III) can be obtained on application to the Department of Urban Archaeology and the Level II records may be inspected by appointment.

II THE FEATURES

(i) Roman

Feature A (Figs. 3-5)

Consisting of a north-south U-shaped linear cut with a flat bottom, this feature showed some indication of having contained a wooden structure; evidence of eight post-holes spaced on either side survived (Fig. 3). It is possible that these formed part of the structure of a wooden channel similar to Feature C but no other evidence for this survived. The construction cut (249) survived to a depth of 0.10m in Trench 3 and 0.25m in

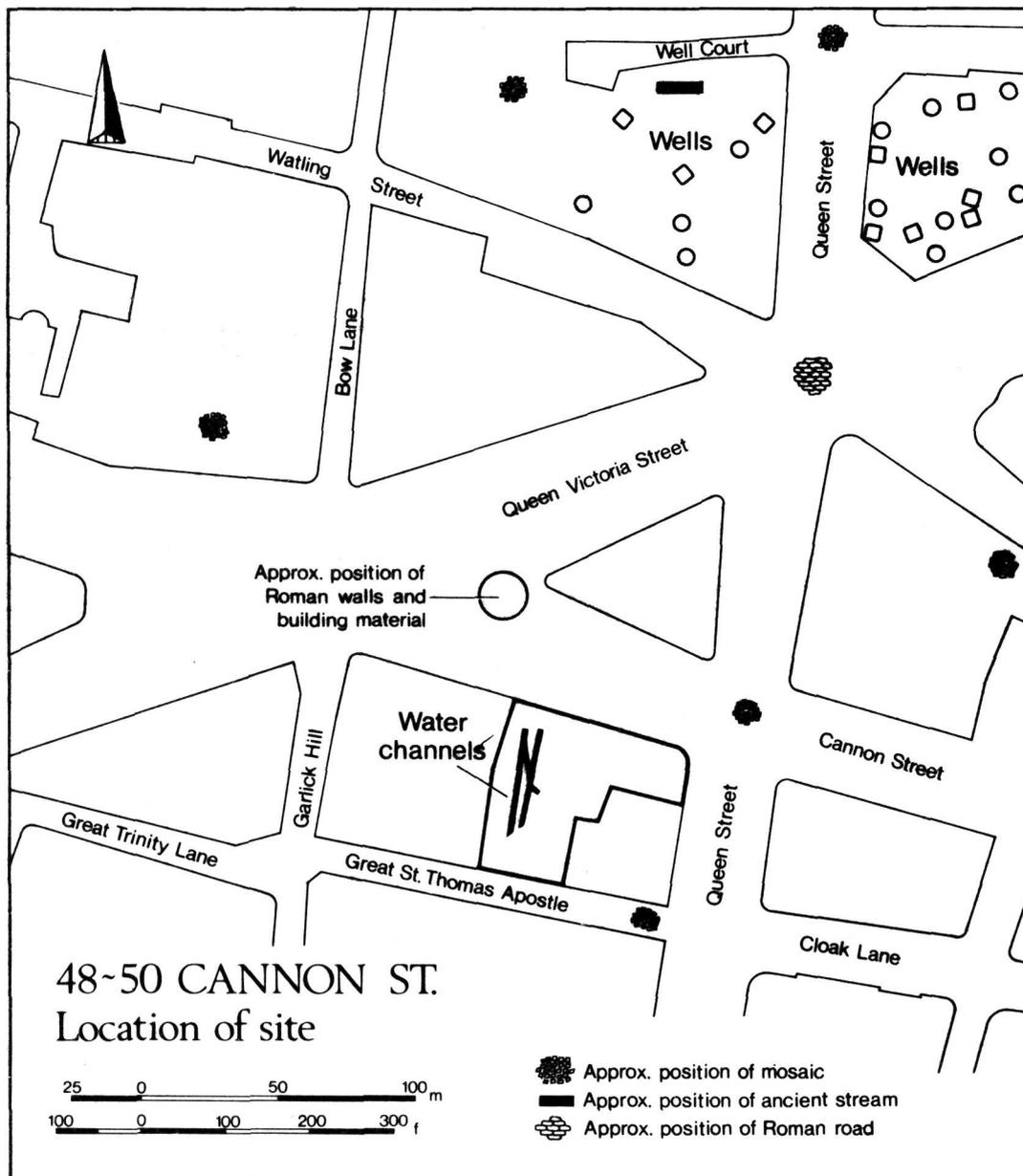


Fig. 2. Cannon Street 1975: Location of site (detail).

Trench 2. On the evidence of the small length surviving the bottom of the cut may be judged to be sloping to the south at a gradient of c. 1 in 40. The construction of the channel could not be dated.

The fill of the feature throughout was composed of layers of sand, charcoal mixed with sand, and of gravel (94); it was a water-lain fill which post-dated the removal or decay of any timber-work. Stratigraphically Feature A preceded Features B and C, and thus its fill may be dated to the 1st century.

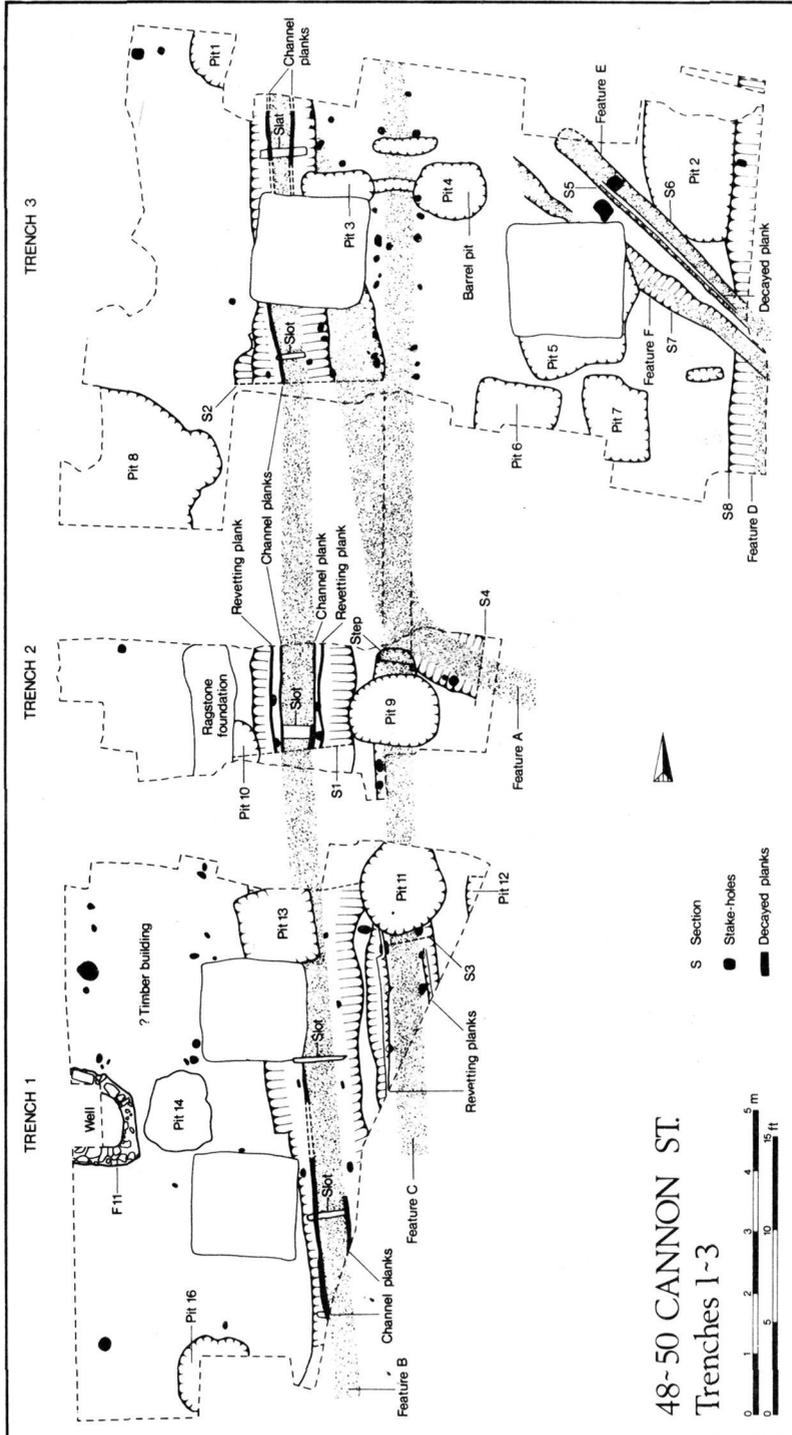


Fig. 3. Cannon Street 1975: Plan of trenches 1-3.

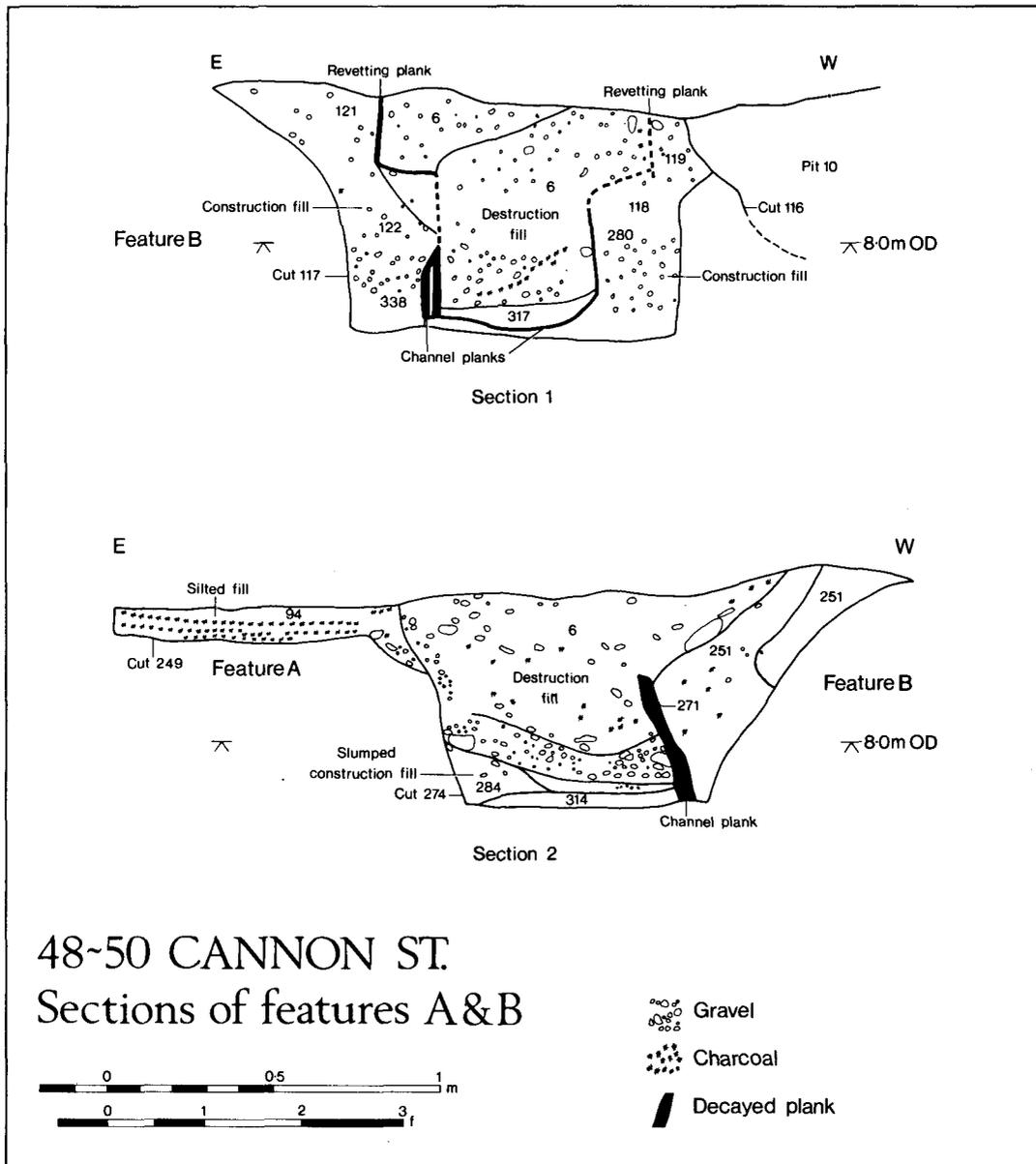


Fig. 4. Cannon Street 1975: Sections of Features A and B.

Feature B (Figs. 3-4, 6) (Plate 3)

Feature B, a similar structure, cut into A (Fig. 4). The construction ditch originally contained a wooden structure, the lower part of which was a plank-lined channel, and the upper part a revetment. Evidence for this survived as thin dark brown staining. The details of construction are as follows:

(I) A flat-bottomed ditch with steep sloping sides formed the construction trench (117, 274). Although within the excavation area this only survived up to 0.8m deep the east section of Trench A indicated that it was formerly at least 1.45m deep. The width of the bottom varied considerably between 0.75 and 1.04m.

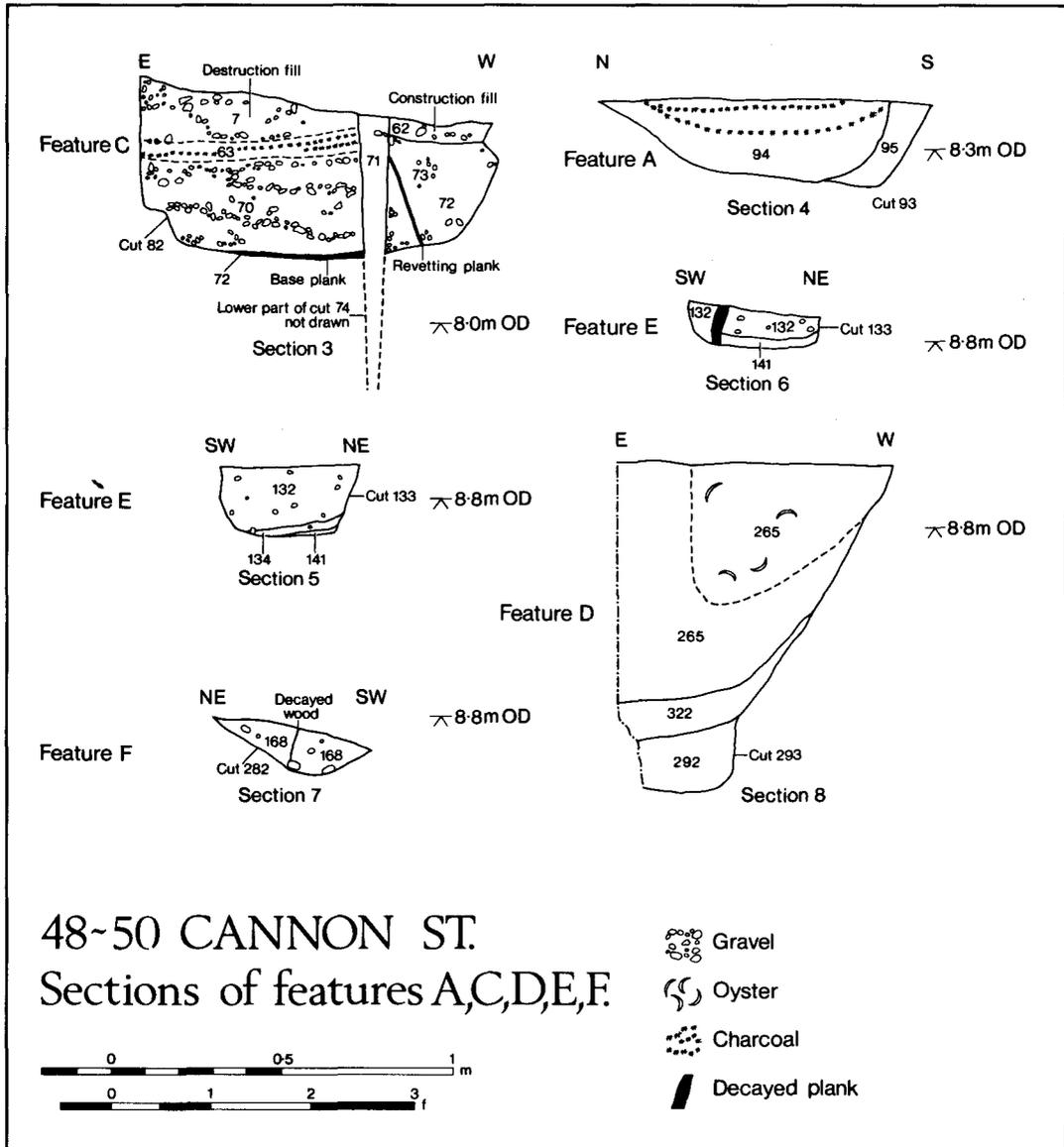


Fig. 5. Cannon Street 1975: Sections of Features A and C to F.

(II) Wooden slats were set across the bottom of this cut at varying intervals. These were used to level the bottom of the channel, the spaces between them being backfilled level to their tops. A gradient of c. 1 in 100 sloping down to the south was produced by this grading.

(III) On to the top of this levelling were laid the 40mm thick planks for the channel with planks of the same thickness set on their edges to form the sides. At the north end the planks survived *in situ* in an amorphous and highly decayed state. Elsewhere the planks may have been removed. The width of the channel was 0.40-0.43m, its original depth 0.43m. Mixed brickearth, sand and gravel was backfilled behind the vertical planks (118, 122, 280, 338, 251).

(IV) Revetting stakes were driven through the backfill on either side of the channel at intervals varying from 0.48 to 1.35m. Except for short lengths in Trench 1, the stains for the revetting planks only survived in Trench 2. Again brickearth, sand and gravel was backfilled behind the planks (119, 121). A construction date at the end of the 1st century seems probable.

It appears that the majority of the planks and stakes had been later removed. Over the length of the feature was a layer of sand and gravel 0.05-0.10m thick (317) which post-dated the removal of the timbers but did not seem to represent water-lain fill. The trench was backfilled with light grey-silt mixed with gravel which contained pottery of Hadrianic date, fragments of oyster shell, tile and wall-plaster along with three chalk *tesserae* (6). Towards the north the quantity of building debris increased, from which, in Trench C, was recovered a gold and emerald necklace (p. 22, No. 59; Fig. 12, Pl. 5). The reconstruction (Fig. 6) suggests that the structure was open, and the slope of the channel sides at the north end may suggest that it was in a state of disrepair before it was finally backfilled. The absence of silt at the north end, where the channel survived, indicated that the feature had not silted up.

Feature C (Figs. 3, 5-6)

This feature ran a straight course through the excavation from north to south parallel to, but having no relationship with, Feature B, and cut the fills of Feature A. Feature C survived best in Trench 1 where its method of construction could be determined:

(I) The construction cut was a flat-bottom ditch, 0.8m wide at the bottom and surviving 0.5m deep with near vertical sides. In Trench 2 the cut ended abruptly, apparently representing a step in the bottom level of the ditch which was at least 0.37m deep.

(II) Dark grey staining indicated that wooden planks about 0.46m wide had been laid along the bottom of the construction cut. In Trench 1 a thin levelling deposit was laid prior to the insertion of the plank.

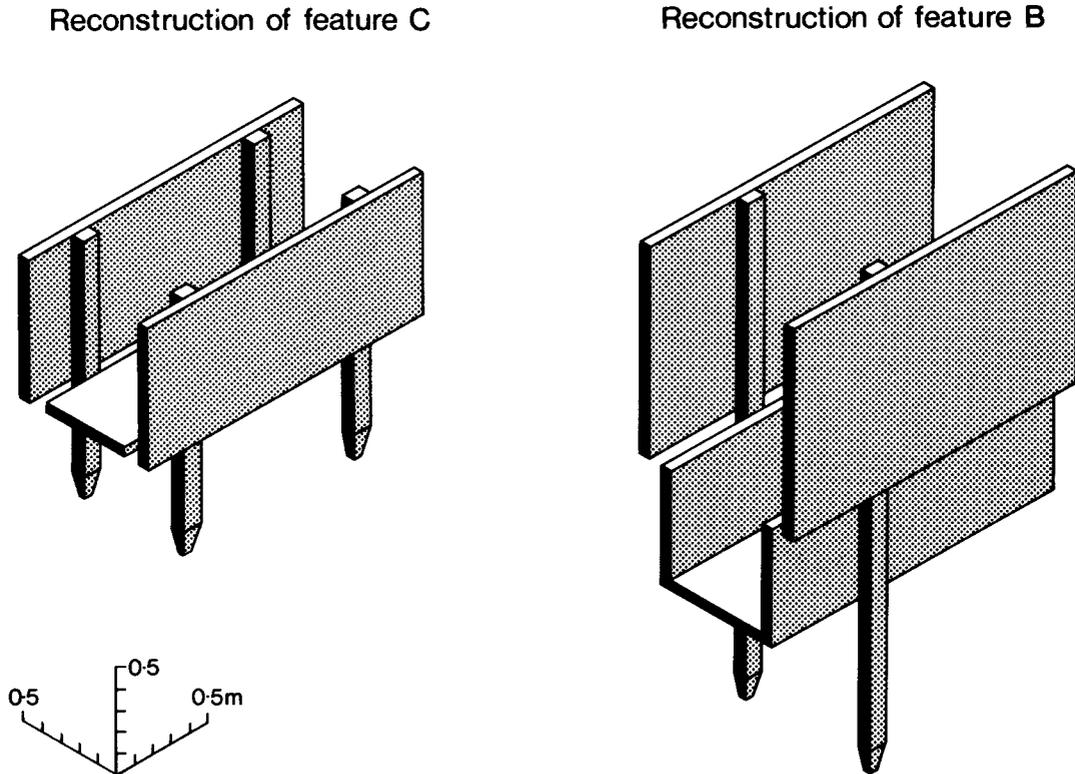


Fig. 6. Cannon Street 1975: Reconstructions of Features B and C.

(III) Stakes were driven into the bottom of the construction cut in pairs spaced at intervals of between 0.26 and 1.32m. These supported revetting planks which survived as thin wood stains which in some places were flush with the side of the construction cut. In others there was a backfill of sand and silt behind.

Although the construction cut did not survive in Trench 3, except in the north section face, the two lines of revetting stakes could be traced through the trench. From the spacing of the stake holes throughout, it was evident that the revetting planks were spaced between 0.56 and 0.74m apart. After use the wood work was apparently removed and the channel was backfilled with coarse sand and gravel (70, 63, 7).

An abrupt step in the bottom of the construction trench in Trench 2 appears to have been a deliberate construction to reduce the gradient of the channel from *c.* 1 in 60 to *c.* 1 in 100. These gradients could not be determined precisely due to the extent of destruction by later features.

Two shallow slots occurred in Trench 3 at right angles to the line of Feature C (Fig. 3), and whilst it appears probable that these features were associated with Feature C, their function is unknown.

Pottery from the construction fill (context 79) suggests an end of 1st-century date for this feature and destruction (context 70) probably in the Hadrianic period.

Feature D (Fig. 3, 5)

Along the east edge of Trench 3, the western half of a north-south aligned ditch was located, its eastern side having been destroyed by modern disturbance. The edge sloped in steeply from the top and for the lowest 0.25m was vertical; maximum depth 0.91m. The sand and gravel fill of Feature D was cut by Pit 2 which in turn was cut by another ditch, Feature E. A few sherds of pre- or early Flavian pottery were recovered from the sand and gravel fill (contexts 265 and 292), with one late 1st/early 2nd-century sherd. This may have been the earliest feature examined.

(ii) Post-Roman

Feature E (Figs. 3, 5)

A shallow ditch with a U-shaped profile, the end of this feature coincided with the north edge of Trench 3 and sloped down to the south-east at a gradient of *c.* 1 in 40. It survived to a maximum depth of 0.22m. Thin traces of wood indicated that there was originally a plank-lining along the bottom, which was a constant 0.33m wide, and the sides. The fill (context 132) was composed of silted layers of fine sand and clay and contained late Flavian/Trajanic pottery. This material is clearly residual as the fill of Pit 2, which is cut by Feature E, contains material of possible late 9th-century date.

Feature F (Figs. 3, 5)

This was an irregularly cut small ditch with no evidence of the wooden structure which ran alongside Feature E. The width across the bottom varied from 0.50 to 0.32m and had a gradient of very approximately 1 in 50; maximum surviving depth 0.14m. It is interesting to note that the layers of sand clay were identical to Feature E, which suggests that the two silted together. No other dating evidence was obtained.

Stakeholes

The majority of the stakeholes, discovered in Trench 3, were associated with Features A and C. A few, however, had no obvious associations. The only well-defined group of stakeholes not associated with the linear features occurred in the west part of Trench 1. It is possible that these may represent part of a wattle-and-daub building constructed of stakes varying in width from 0.06-0.26m, driven into the brickearth to surviving depths of between 0.06 and 0.96m. In cross-section the stakes were oval or round. Those stakes along the southern and eastern sides were grouped in threes, whilst those on the west side were apparently arranged singly. From this may be inferred the possibility that the southern and eastern lines represent external walls and that the western line was an internal partition, but without further evidence no firm conclusions may be reached. Traces of wattle and daub (not datable) were recovered from Pit 12. The structure as located within the excavation trench was 2m wide east-west and a minimum of 3.5m long north-south. Since the north edge of the structure was not located in Trench 1, it must have lain under the concrete foundation between Trenches 1 and 2: its maximum possible length therefore would have been 5m. No floor levels were located, and no dating evidence was obtained other than one Roman sherd from one of the stakehole fills.

Pits

Nineteen pits were discovered, though only eight were completely excavated. The pits were found throughout the site, and showed no apparent concentration or pattern. The fills varied from highly organic clay to redeposited layers of gravel with Roman wall-plaster, and produced material of a range of dates (see finds reports). Some pits contained good groups of Roman material, but others contained Roman residual material with a small proportion of Saxon material (e.g. Pit II, where Roman sherds outnumber the Saxon by over 6:1). There is thus a strong possibility that other pits with only Roman material may have been dug and backfilled in the Saxon period, particularly those with only a few Roman sherds present. This is investigated further in the finds report.

The probable dates of the pits may be tabulated thus:

<i>Roman:</i>	Pit 1	?late 2nd century or later
	3	Roman
	5	4th century
	9	late 3rd or later
	10	Roman
	16	?1st century
<i>Saxon:</i>	Pit 2	late 9th century
	11	9th/10th century
	? 13	Roman plus one Saxon sherd
<i>Medieval:</i>	Pit 4	13th/14th century
	15	mid-14th century
	17	late 11th/13th century
	18	11th/12th century
	19	11th or early 12th century

Pits 6, 7, 8, 12 and 14 either could not be dated or produced no finds. Pits 15, 17-19 are not shown on Fig. 3⁴.

Other Features (Fig. 3)

Two chalk-lined wells were located, one on the west side of Trench 1, F11 (fill context 8), containing 13th-century pottery, the other to the south of this trench (not shown on Fig. 3) (fill context 343) which was dated to the first half of the 15th century. In Trench 2 a ragstone foundation (context 76) containing a Tudor brick ran parallel to and was stratigraphically later than Feature C.

DISCUSSION

by Andy Boddington and John Schofield

Roman period

The size of channels A, B and C indicates that a fair quantity of water was involved though there is no conclusive evidence from the site as to whether this was fresh water being supplied or waste effluent being disposed of.

The problem of a water supply for London is well known and has recently been discussed by Wachter⁵. He refers to, amongst other sources, the intense concentration of wells 200m to the north of the Cannon Street site on the sites of Aldermay House and the Bank of London and South America, Queen Street (Fig. 2)⁶. These indicate an intensive water supply in use perhaps for a long period, though it is doubtful whether they would have sufficed to supply any buildings other than those immediately above them. Gradient was obviously a crucial factor in the construction of the channels, as witnessed by the care taken in the levelling of the bottom channel plank of Feature B, and the

possible step, or weir, in the bottom of Feature C. Such accuracy is essential as any reduction in gradient, for instance where the slope of the hillside levels out behind the Roman riverside, would result in deposition of silt elements and during heavy rainfall the channel would be prone to flooding.

Such parallels as exist for the Feature B type of channel point to its use for effluent rather than supply: one of two wooden drains at Cirencester⁷ had stakes along the outside of the channel. The closest parallels for the type come from London itself. An identical structure has recently been discovered at Mason's Avenue, Basinghall Street, and clearly functioned as a drain⁸, as may be another possible example which ran alongside the road on the east side of the Forum⁹. Another has been found on the Billingsgate Bath House site, Lower Thames Street¹⁰, functioning as a road drain. It may be concluded that these analogies suggest, on the whole, a drainage function for features A, B and C.

Other than the channels, little can be said of the Roman occupation of the site, though the backfill of the north end of Feature B suggests domestic occupation nearby at this period. This is in keeping with previous evidence from the area which is all of domestic character (Fig. 2). Chalk tesserae from Feature B suggest the use of mosaics at an early date (see below, p. 26).

Post-Roman period

Little occupation of the post-Roman period survived, in part due to the method of excavation. Stakeholes in a pattern suggesting part of a building or structure were found in the south-west of the site, adjacent to two pits (11 and 13) which were of probably and possibly late Saxon date respectively. A further possible late Saxon pit (2) lay in the north-east corner of the site. Pits have been shown in close proximity to a Saxon sunken hut on the site of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, about 270m to the west¹¹, dated to the mid-to late Saxon period by associated pottery¹²: such an arrangement may suggest a Saxon date for the Cannon Street structure. The pattern of the stakeholes suggests a small building of ancillary nature, perhaps aligned north-south and therefore aligning with the medieval property boundaries coming back from Great St. Thomas Apostle (Street) to the south. The east edge of Pit 2, in the north-east corner of the site, may also have been straightened to observe another north-south property boundary, possibly of the ninth or tenth centuries. This was, however, overlain by Features E and F on radically different alignments. These features, presumably of early or later medieval date, are of uncertain purpose. No relationship survived between them, except that their fills were identical.

Thus the site exhibits small evidence of occupation, possibly including a small building, in the late Saxon period. It joins an increasing group of sites on the western hill of the City of London which have produced similar evidence: the Financial Times site,¹³ St. Mildred's¹⁴, and more recently Milk Street¹⁵ and Watling Court¹⁶. The present site is the most south-easterly of an area of demonstrable late Saxon occupation in the area around and to the south of Cheapside, perhaps laid out following some kind of urban replanning in the ninth century for which there is evidence in the layout of the early medieval streets, and in documentary evidence for the area immediately north of Queenhithe¹⁷. It is unfortunate that the stakehole building aligning with Great St. Thomas Apostle remains undatable.

The fragmentary medieval remains included pits dotted over the property, a well, and a late medieval ragstone foundation (76) which lay north-south and followed the alignment

of the east side of the stakehole structure, 3m to the south. Possibly here also is a case of continuity of property boundaries from the late Saxon period into the late medieval.

NOTES

1. R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London 1965) Gazetteer Nos. 105-8.
2. P. V. R. Marsden 'Two Roman Public Baths in London', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 1-70.
3. The limited time available on site encouraged the rapid machine removal of material which, there was subsequently reason to suppose, may have contained stratification above what was actually examined. There is evidently an important moral for the future in such expedients.
4. Pit 15 lay in Trench 1, over the line of Feature B, but would confuse the plan if shown; Pits 17, 18 and 19 were summarily excavated to the north and east of the excavated areas.
5. J. Wachter 'The Water supply of Londinium' in *Collectanea Londiniensia* J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark (eds.), London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 2 (1978) 104-108.
6. R. Merrifield (*op. cit.* in Note 1) Gazetteer Nos. 89, 91.
7. J. S. Wachter 'Cirencester 1961: Second Interim Report' *Antiq. J.* 42 (1962) 12 (Fig. 5).
8. P. Herbert, Department of Urban Archaeology Level III report.
9. A. Boddington, Department of Urban Archaeology Level III report.
10. We are grateful to P. Marsden for this information.
11. P. Marsden, T. Dyson and M. Rhodes 'Excavation on the site of St. Mildred's Church, Bread Street, London, 1973-4' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975) 181-7.
12. M. Rhodes 'The Finds' (*op. cit.* in Note 11) 203. Further discoveries of late Saxon material from a number of sites do not resemble the St. Mildred's groups, suggesting that the latter may be earlier.
13. W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London 1968) 155.
14. *Op. cit.* in Note 11.
15. S. Roskams, Department of Urban Archaeology Level III report.
16. Dominic Perring, Department of Urban Archaeology Level III report.
17. T. Dyson 'Two Saxon Land Grants for Queenhithe' (*in op. cit.* in Note 5) 200-15.

THE FINDS

Edited by Michael Rhodes

With contributions by Hugh Chapman, Chris Green, Catherine Johns, Don Mackreth and Clive Orton, and notes supplied by Caroline Bird and Philip Armitage, Joanna Bird, Elizabeth Eames, John Evans, D. B. Harden, Brian Hartley and Brenda Dickinson, D. T. Moore and M. Morgan.

INTRODUCTION

By Michael Rhodes

The finds were examined primarily as a means of providing dating evidence. In the absence of any coins, this rests heavily on the pottery, although two features have been broadly dated in the post-Roman periods by pieces of building material in their make-up, emphasising the importance of retaining all stratified finds until a preliminary examination of the material has taken place.

Although the pottery has received a very thorough examination, much of the dating evidence it provides must be treated with caution in view of the small size of most of the groups (a number have been dated on the evidence of a single sherd), the high proportion of residual material which they contain and the small number of stratigraphic relationships that were recorded. This applies in particular to a number of the pre-medieval pits which may well be Saxon or even sub-Roman although they produced only Roman pottery. They demonstrate once again that features belonging to these periods are unlikely to be identified as such unless they can be related to others of known date on the basis of their stratigraphy, or can be dated by absolute methods.

The large proportion of residual pottery on this site implies that objects which cannot be dated as closely on typological criteria may also have been removed from circulation at a period considerably earlier than the date of the deposits from which they were recovered. For this reason, where an object has come from a layer dated, for example, to the Hadrianic period, the phrase 'not later than Hadrianic' has been used to summarise the dating evidence.

Most of the Roman finds are described below with the exception of a few unidentifiable iron objects (probably nails), fragments of mud-brick and a piece of slag-like material (4091/74) which was recovered from the fill of Feature C. John Evans submitted this to analysis by emission spectroscopy, atomic absorption and flame photometry, although with inconclusive results. A few fragments of crust-like material, thought to be of faecal origin, were collected from the fills of Feature A (4104/10) and Feature C (4098/12) although, in view of the fact that these deposits contained materials which were clearly brought onto the site, these samples could not be used to provide evidence about the use of the water channels and were therefore not subject to further analysis.

The principal Roman discoveries are of late 1st to 2nd-century date and consist mainly of domestic rubbish together with quantities of building material, comprising fragments of mud-brick, window glass (No. 55), *tegulae*, *imbrices*, bonding course bricks and box flue tiles (Nos. 63-65), *tesserae* (Nos. 66-71) and painted wall-plaster (p. 26). Although no Roman buildings were discovered in the excavation, these remains combine to give the impression that the surrounding area may have been utilised for domestic structures of the kind discovered in the 1978-9 excavations at Watling Court (see Schofield and Dyson, forthcoming), i.e. timber-framed buildings with mud-brick walls on clay sills or stone foundations, with wall-paintings and mosaics on their floors.

A number of post-Roman finds have also not been described in detail. These include two pieces of burnt daub containing wattle impressions from Pit 12 (E.R. 4087) which are probably Saxon as at Bread Street (Rhodes, 1975, 206), although no Saxon wattle and daub structures have yet been discovered in the City. There are also some small quantities of medieval roof tiles (from Context 8; E.R. 4092: 13th century, Pit 4; E.R. 4103: late 13th or early 14th century and Pit 15; E.R. 4089: second half of 15th century), a late 19th century (?) clay tobacco pipe and some unstratified post-medieval pottery comprising red-wares, stone-wares, transfer-printed and plain white 'china'.

After an explanation of the methods used to study the pottery, the reports are grouped in four main sections dealing with the Roman, Saxon, Medieval and post-Medieval periods. Summaries of the skeletal evidence are added as appendices.

Each individually-described object is given a Catalogue Number and these are used in the illustrations. Each layer-group has been given a Museum of London group-accession number, pre-fixed by the letters E.R. Accession numbers of individual finds are given in brackets. These are in two parts, the first half being the E.R. number of the group to which each belongs.

All the finds are now in the Museum of London.



Pl. 1. Cannon Street 1975: General view of Trenches 2 and 3, looking west (Photo: Ken Dash).



Pl. 2. Cannon Street 1975: General view of Trench 1, looking south west (Photo: Ken Dash).



Pl. 3. Cannon Street 1975: Detail of Feature B at Section 1, looking south (Photo: Ken Dash).



Pl. 4. Cannon Street 1975: Roman millefiori glass, No. 51 (for scale see Fig. 12) (Photo: T. J. Hurst).



Pl. 5. Cannon Street 1975: Roman necklace, No. 59 (for scale see Fig. 12) (Photo: T. J. Hurst).

INTRODUCTION TO THE POTTERY REPORT

By Clive Orton

The pottery has been sorted and classified, and this report written, according to the system developed for use in the Department of Urban Archaeology (see Rhodes, 1977a or Orton, 1977a). A more detailed explanation of the methods employed (the 'Users' Handbook') is available on request. The reference for the identification of inclusions is now Peacock (1977c, 30-2). The keywords given by Orton (1977b) have since been augmented by the following:

(iv) *Visual texture* sub-conchoidal: breaks somewhat like glass or flint.

Because a relatively small amount of pottery was found, these reports differ from the preferred format in that it has sometimes proved necessary to publish detailed descriptions of individual sherds or vessels. Pottery names given in italics are the Common Names (Orton, 1977b, 29).

ROMAN

POTTERY

By Chris Green

incorporating notes on the samian by Joanna Bird

The Roman pottery consists of almost 15kgs (33lbs) from the Roman levels with a very much smaller quantity of residual material. Most of it is datable to the later 1st to mid 2nd centuries, the same period as the largest groups from the Billingsgate Buildings site, and this report should be read in conjunction with the report on those assemblages (Green, 1980, forthcoming) since it uses the same conventions, with additional descriptions and illustrations where necessary.

The assemblages are unremarkable, in a fragmentary condition and too small for a useful statistical analysis. The quantities of pottery from the main assemblages (i.e. excluding Features A and C – which produced very small groups) are tabulated according to type in Fig. 7.

Summary of the Dating Evidence:

Fill of Feature A (E.R. 4104)

The pottery consists merely of 72gms of Romano-British greyware body sherds. These cannot be dated, but the drain is stratigraphically earlier than the construction of Features B and C.

Construction trench of Feature B (E.R. 4108, E.R. 4119 and E.R. 4121).

Not a large group (2kgs), but the presence of *Central Gaulish samian* suggests that it belongs to the end of the 1st century at the earliest.

Fill of Feature B (E.R. 4090, E.R. 4112 and E.R. 4118)

Much the largest group, but contamination from later layers is apparent. If this is ignored, sherds of *Black-burnished Ware 1* and a local white-slipped ware should reliably indicate a Hadrianic date, suggesting that this feature was not in use for very long.

Construction trench of Feature C (E.R. 4101)

Only 63gms of pottery were found: 'grey' ware body sherds, a sherd of 'carrot' *amphora* and a sherd of coarse mica-dusted ware. This last item should be late 1st century at the earliest showing that Features C and B are roughly contemporary.

Fill of Feature C (E.R. 4091 and E.R. 4099)

By no means a large group, but a further sherd of the white-slipped fabric found in the fill of Feature B suggests that both drains could well have been demolished at the same time.

Fill of Feature D (E.R. 4120 and E.R. 4122)

This is stratigraphically isolated and difficult to date with certainty, but is perhaps the earliest feature on the site as it produced a number of hand-made grog-tempered vessels which normally indicate a pre- or early Flavian date when found in quantity in London. However, a single sherd of coarse mica-dusted ware (late 1st-early 2nd century) suggests that the hand-made pots could derive from the disturbance of an earlier feature not seen in the excavation.

FABRIC TYPE/SOURCE	POTTERY GROUPS						WEIGHT (gms)	
	B (construction trench)	B backfill	C backfill	D	Later Pits	Isolated Pits		Post- Roman
Dressel 2-4 amphora	P	P	-	-	P	-	-	830
Dressel 20 amphora	P	P	P	P	-	P	P	2474
Dressel 30 amphora	P	P	P	P	P	-	P	792
?Cam. 185a amphora	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	(10)
Cam. 186 amphora	P	P	-	-	P	P	P	671
Cam. 189 amphora	-	-	P	-	-	-	P	28
African cylindrical amphora	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	(90)
White rilled amphora	-	-	-	-	-	-	P*	(68)
Unassigned amphorae	-	P	-	P	-	-	P	(223)
Amphorae or large flagons	-	0.12*	-	-	-	-	R*	32
Grog-tempered (handmade)	P	0.07	P	0.87*	P	0.07	R*	809
Grog-tempered (wheelmade)	0.11	0.21	-	0.47*	-	-	-	250
Shell and/or sand-tempered (handmade)	-	0.02*	-	0.09*	-	-	-	83
Highgate-type greywares	P	0.86*	0.24*	P	0.15	-	R*	274
Brockley Hill-Verulamium white wares	0.45	1.20	0.06	0.75	P	P	R*	2811
Brockley Hill-Verulamium grey wares	-	0.49	P	-	-	-	-	234
Black-Burnished 1 (Dorset)	-	0.27	-	-	-	-	-	71
Black-Burnished 2 (Colchester (?))	-	-	0.02	-	-	-	R	23
Misc. coarser greywares	0.57	1.30*	0.07	0.38	0.25*	P	R*	3929
Misc. finer greywares	-	0.35*	-	-	-	0.08	P	76
London(?) - Staines white-slipped flagons	-	P	P	-	-	-	R*	55
White-slipped beakers, etc. uncertain source	-	P	-	0.20*	-	-	-	15
Face Urn	-	P*	-	-	-	-	-	65
Late Roman 'Calcite-gritted' ware (Midlands)	-	-	-	-	-	0.10	-	13
Coarser Mica-dusted	0.13	-	-	0.06	-	-	P	18
Burnt, etc. coarse wares	0.06	P	-	P	P	P	-	217
South Gaulish samian	P	1.55	0.06	0.09	P	-	-	276
Central Gaulish samian	0.10	0.03	0.04	-	0.08	-	P*	96
East Gaulish samian	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	13
Late Italian samian	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Pompeian Redware 1	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	17
Pompeian Redware, Romano-British	0.03*	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Terra Nigra	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Lyons Ware	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	1
Finer Mica-dusted	-	0.39*	-	-	-	-	P*	65
Fineware 'second'	-	-	-	0.10*	-	-	-	44
Black Micaceous fineware (Flavian)	0.41	0.20*	-	-	-	-	R*	78
Eggshell Ware (local)	-	0.19*	-	-	-	-	-	5
Marbled Ware (local)	-	0.18*	-	-	-	-	-	51
Red-painted fineware	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	43
'London Ware'	-	0.17*	-	-	-	-	-	81
Mosellekeramik	-	-	-	-	-	P	-	8
Nene Valley colour-coated	-	I	-	-	-	P	-	58
Oxon. red colour-coated	-	I	-	-	0.09	-	P	126
Oxon. white colour-coated mortarium	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	(40)
Total - pottery from Roman layers	1.86	7.60	0.49	3.01	0.57	0.25		
	2011	8412	633	2064	1031	506		
								(Equivalent of 13.78 rims; Weight 14657gms)

- * = examples illustrated
P = present but without rim sherds
I = present but presumed intrusive
R = Rim sherd(s) in post-Roman contexts
0.07 etc = Proportion of a whole rim recovered (absolute quantities)
123 etc = Weight in grams (used in totals only).

Fig. 7. Cannon Street 1975: Quantities of Roman pottery in the main groups.

LATER PITTS

The following pits cut the fills of Features B and C, and should therefore be Hadrianic or later. The dating evidence is generally poor:

Pit 1 (E.R. 4115)

Only greyware sherds were found, but these include a widely-everted jar rim (source unknown) which should be late 2nd-century or later on purely typological grounds.

Pit 3 (E.R. 4113)

None of the sherds (*amphorae*, coarsewares and *South Gaulish samian*) need be later than the 1st century, and are thus uninformative as to the date.

Pit 9 (E.R. 4102)

This contained two sherds of *Oxfordshire red colour-coated* bowls and should therefore be late 3rd century or later in date.

Pit 10 (E.R. 4107)

This contained a sherd of early *Central Gaulish samian* and two coarseware sherds, all clearly earlier than the pit itself.

Pit 13 (E.R. 4093)

This contained a single sherd of *Central Gaulish samian*.

ISOLATED PITTS

These have no post-Roman finds, but are not necessarily of Roman date.

Pit 5 (E.R. 4116)

This contained three sherds, all of late 2nd-century or later date. The latest is from a *late Roman calcite-gritted jar*, probably from a Midlands source and of 4th-century date in London.

Pit 7 (E.R. 4117)

Two undatable sherds only.

Pit 16 (E.R. 4096)

This contained a dozen sherds from common *amphora* types and coarsewares none of which need be later than the 1st century.

The Fabrics Present:

Unless stated, the types below are not illustrated here. For full descriptions and further references see Green (1980).

AMPHORAE:

(Fig. 8, No. 1)

Dressel 2-4, see Green (1980) Nos. 15-20.

Dressel 20, see *ibid.* Nos. 1-3.

Dressel 30, see *ibid.* Nos. 21-28 and Peacock (1978).

Camulodunum 185a (probably present), see Green (1980) Nos. 4-5.

Camulodunum 186, see *ibid.* Nos. 6-11 and Peacock (1974).

Camulodunum 189 ('Carrot amphorae'), see Green (1980) Nos. 34-35.

African cylindrical, see *ibid.* between Nos. 387 and 388; also Peacock (1977d): The Cannon Street sherd is similar, but not necessarily from precisely the same source.

1. *White rilled amphora*. The fabric is very pale cream (10 YR 9/2), hard, smooth and fairly clean-fractured. Fairly abundant inclusions of white limestone and quartz (mainly subangular and 0.3mm or less in diameter) with sparser mica and ironstone of smaller sizes. The origin and dating of these little vessels is obscure (pers. comm., D. P. S. Peacock). Unstratified; E.R. 4086 (illustrated). Other unknown amphora types. Sherds from three distinct fabrics occur although are not described here as there is no indication of their form.

AMPHORAE OR LARGE FLAGONS:

(Fig. 8, Nos. 2-3)

2. Light grey fabric with red-brown margins (2.5 YR 6/10) and slightly duller surfaces. Very hard, with a rough feel resulting from abundant mainly rounded quartz

inclusions (0.2-0.7mm), with lesser quantities of fine mica, large rounded flint inclusions (c. 2mm) and ironstone. Probably local. From the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4112 (illustrated).

3. Pink fabric with flesh-coloured surfaces. Hard. White grog (up to 1.5mm) and further streaks of white clay are obvious in fracture, with abundant subangular quartz and some ironstone fragments up to 2mm in length. Source unknown. Residual in Pit 2; E.R. 4110 (illustrated).

OTHER COARSEWARES:

(Fig. 8, Nos. 4-22 and Fig. 9)

- 4-12. Handmade grog-tempered vessels. Nos. 4-8 form a coherent group in grey, generally moderately hard fabrics containing abundant light and dark grey grog up to 1mm and more in diameter, with a few grains of charcoal. Ironstone and quartz occur only sparsely as very fine grains in the matrix, so that these vessels feel smooth or 'soapy' despite their rough finish and lack of burnishing. Most examples (Nos. 4-9) are 'bead-rimmed' jars although necked jars also occur. On the evidence of unpublished material from current excavations in the City, it seems likely that they are pre-Flavian. Nos. 4-10 and 12 come from the fill of Feature D; E.R. 4120. No. 11 is unstratified; E.R. 4086 (illustrated).
- 13-14. Wheelmade grog-tempered vessels. A small quantity of material. From the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4121 (illustrated).
15. Handmade shell and/or sand-tempered vessels. A small quantity of material, showing no consistency in fabric. From Feature D; E.R. 4120 (illustrated).

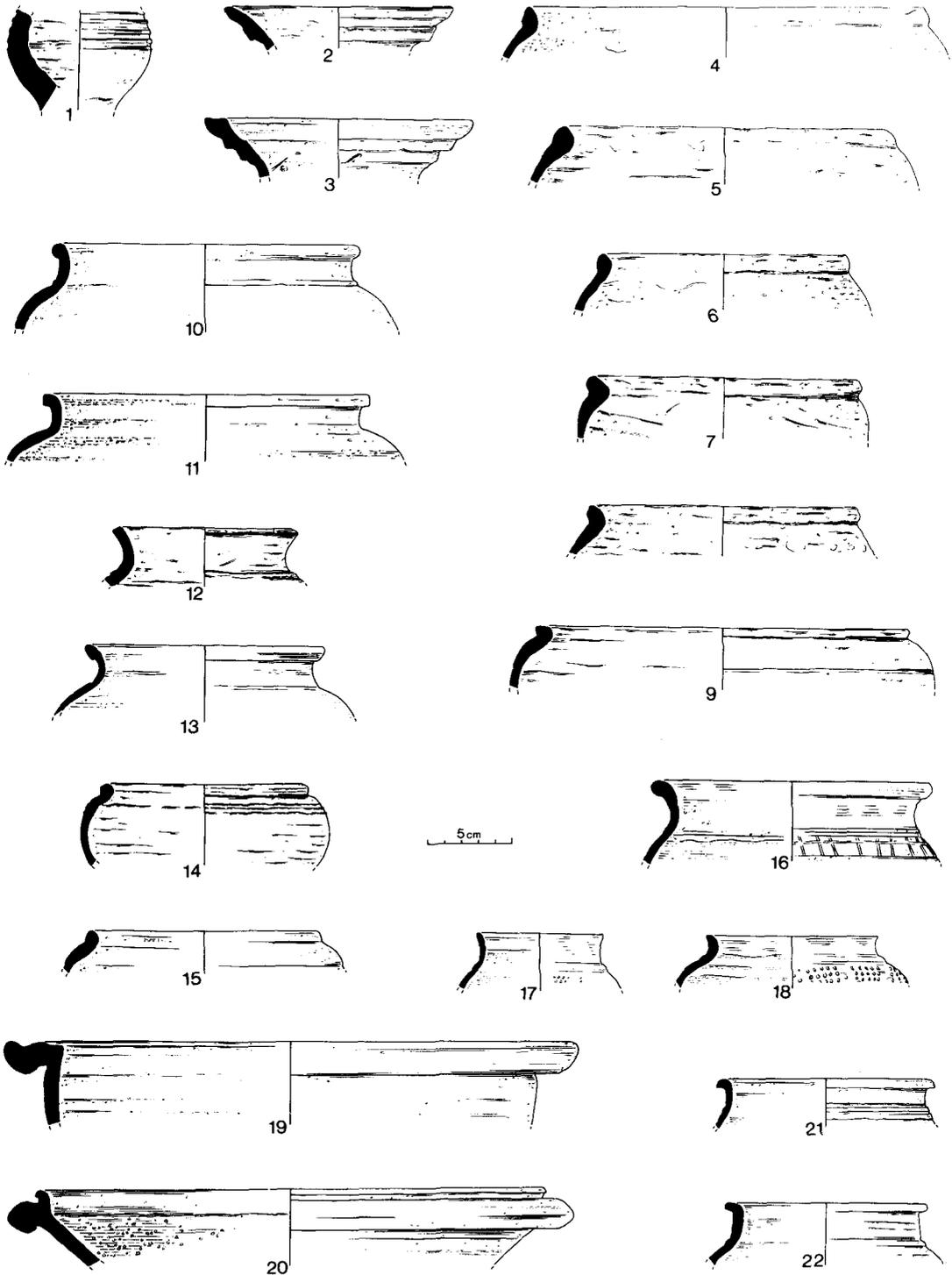


Fig. 8. Cannon Street 1975: Roman amphorae and coarsewares Nos. 1-22 (4).

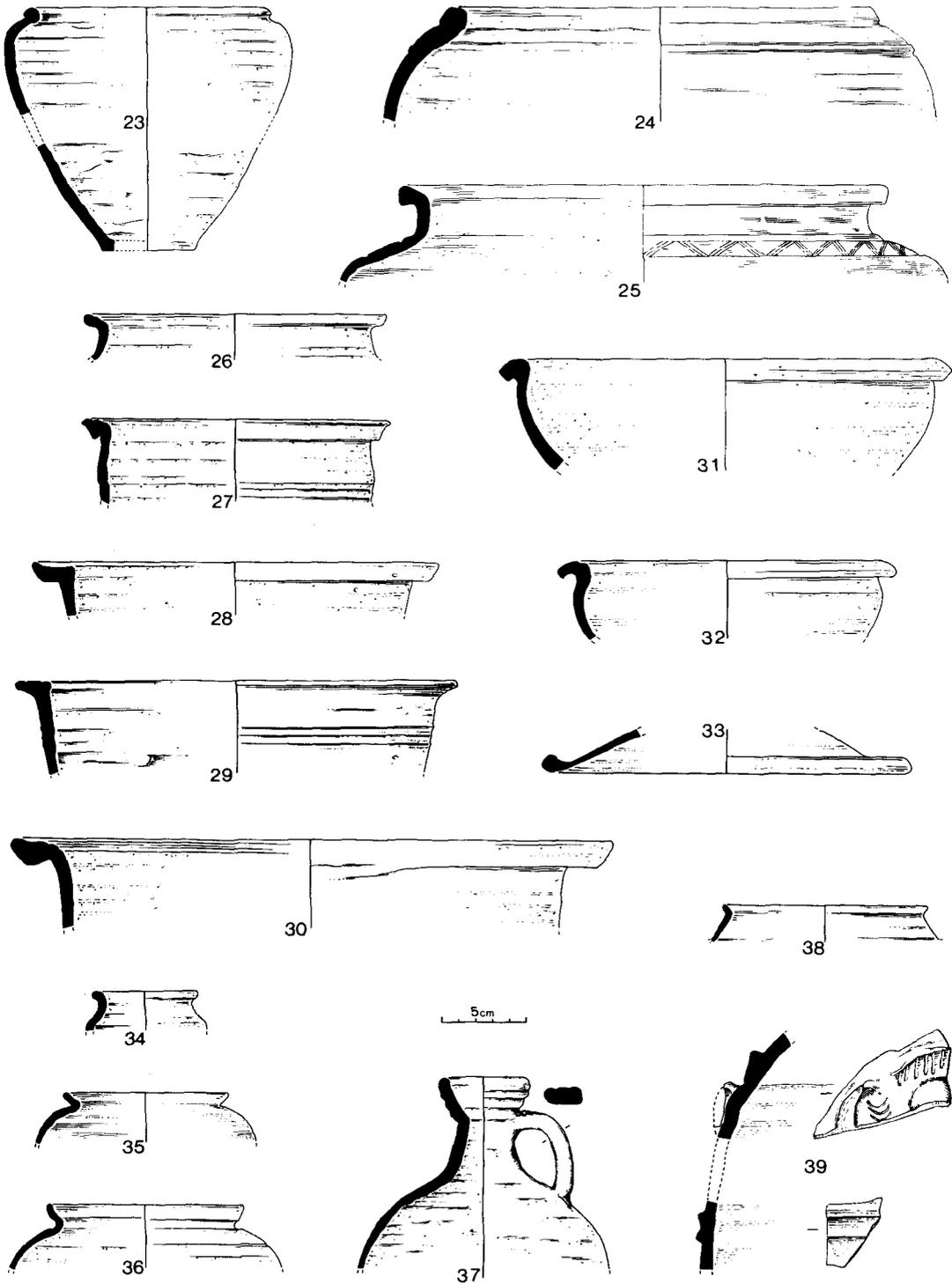


Fig. 9. Cannon Street 1975: Roman coarsewares and finewares Nos. 23-39 (4).

- 16-18 *Highgate-type sandy 'greywares'*. See Green (1980, Nos. 115-160). Some minor variations in form are illustrated here. From E.R. 4090, 4091 and 4111.
- 19-20. *Brockley Hill/Verulamium region 'white' wares*. See *ibid.* Nos. 53-106; only additional forms are illustrated here. The mortarium, No. 20, seems likely though not certainly to be an overfired vessel from this source. If so it should be a 2nd-century example. No. 19 is residual in Pit 2; E.R. 4088, and No. 20 is unstratified; E.R. 4086 (illustrated).
- Brockley Hill/Verulamium region 'grey' wares*. See *ibid.* Nos. 107-114. All the Cannon Street examples are bowls; *ibid.* Nos. 113-114.
- Black-burnished ware 1* (handmade, Dorset). See *ibid.* Nos. 277-284. These examples are 'early' bowl forms, i.e. Hadrianic-Antonine.
- Black-burnished ware 2* (wheelmade, Colchester (?)). See *ibid.* Nos. 251-257. The 'D' rimmed bowl, *ibid.* Nos. 251-253, is present here.
- 21-33. Miscellaneous coarser greywares. Probably all local. From various contexts; E.R. 4108, 4111, 4109, 4121 and 4090 respectively (illustrated).
- 34-36. Miscellaneous finer greywares. Probably all local. No. 36 comes from Pit 6; E.R. 4106. The others come from the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4108 (illustrated).
37. White-slipped coarseware from the Staines (?) or London areas. See *ibid.* Nos. 258-264. From a post-Roman layer; E.R. 4097 (illustrated).
38. White-slipped fabric (uncertain source). As *ibid.* 265a (but not illustrated there). Subsequent work has shown this to be a well-defined and distinctive fabric, identical to that of kiln waste from Hoo, Kent (Blumstein, 1956) now in the Maidstone Museum, but its date-range remains vague. Present here is a sherd of a rouletted beaker or butt-beaker, from the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4090, and a

beaker (No. 38) from the fill of Feature D; E.R. 4121 (illustrated).

39. Face Urn. Fragments of a finely-executed example with raised girth band. Fabric highly fired and very hard, dull brick red with dark grey inner core and margins, containing a moderate amount of subangular quartz with sparser ironstones, c. 0.5mm or less in diameter. The exterior and parts of the interior are slipped almost pure white. Possibly local? From the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4090 (illustrated).
- Late Roman "Calcite-gritted" ware*. See Orton (1977a, 37-39), where it is termed *late Roman shelly ware*. From the Bedford-Northampton area. A jar rim from Pit 5 (E.R. 4116), form as *ibid.* No. 253, is probably 4th-century date here.
- Coarser mica-dusted wares. See Green (1980, Nos. 325-353).

FINEWARES:

(Fig. 10 and Fig. 11)

South Gaulish samian. Unremarkable fragments of common forms: Drag. 15/17, 18, 27 (most frequent), 29, 35, 36, 37, with a highly fragmentary decorated Déchelette 67. The only stamped sherd has been identified by Brian Hartley and Brenda Dickinson as OFFPATRICI; Patricius i, die 3d, on Drag 27g (La Graufesenque). They comment that this is not known on pre-Flavian sites, but is present at Chester, Nijmegen, Ulpia Noviomagus, Ribchester and Verulamium and is probably AD 70-90 (unstratified; E.R. 4086, and not illustrated in view of its poor condition). *Central Gaulish samian*. Generally in lesser quantities even in 2nd-century deposits. There are sherds of Curle 11 (Martres-de-Veyre), Drag. 18R, 27, 37 and Déchelette 67. Pit 13 (E.R. 4093) produced a Drag 37 (probably Martres-de-Veyre) in the Donnaucus/Sacer style.

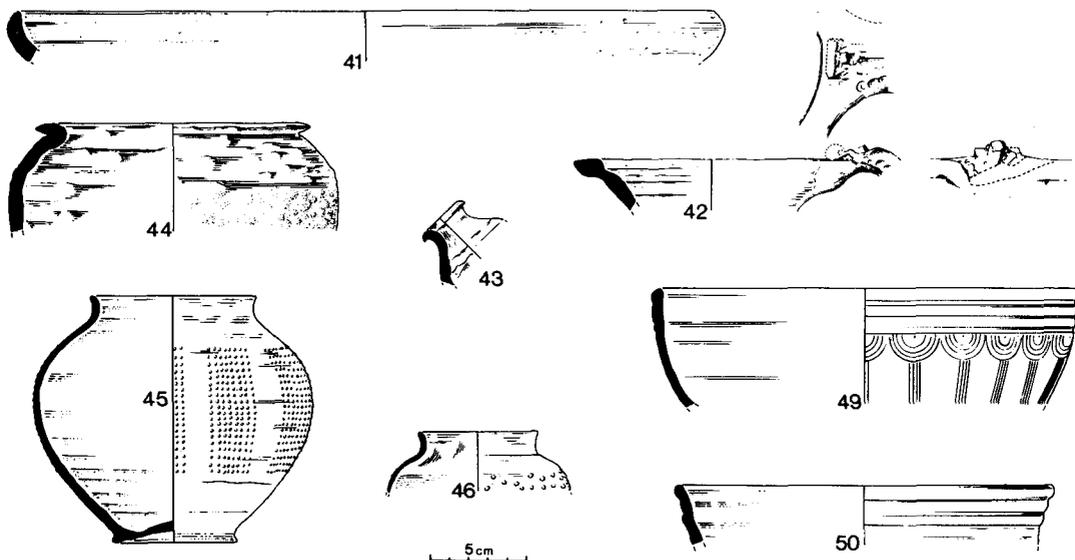


Fig. 10. Cannon Street 1975: Roman finewares Nos. 41-46, 49-50 (4).

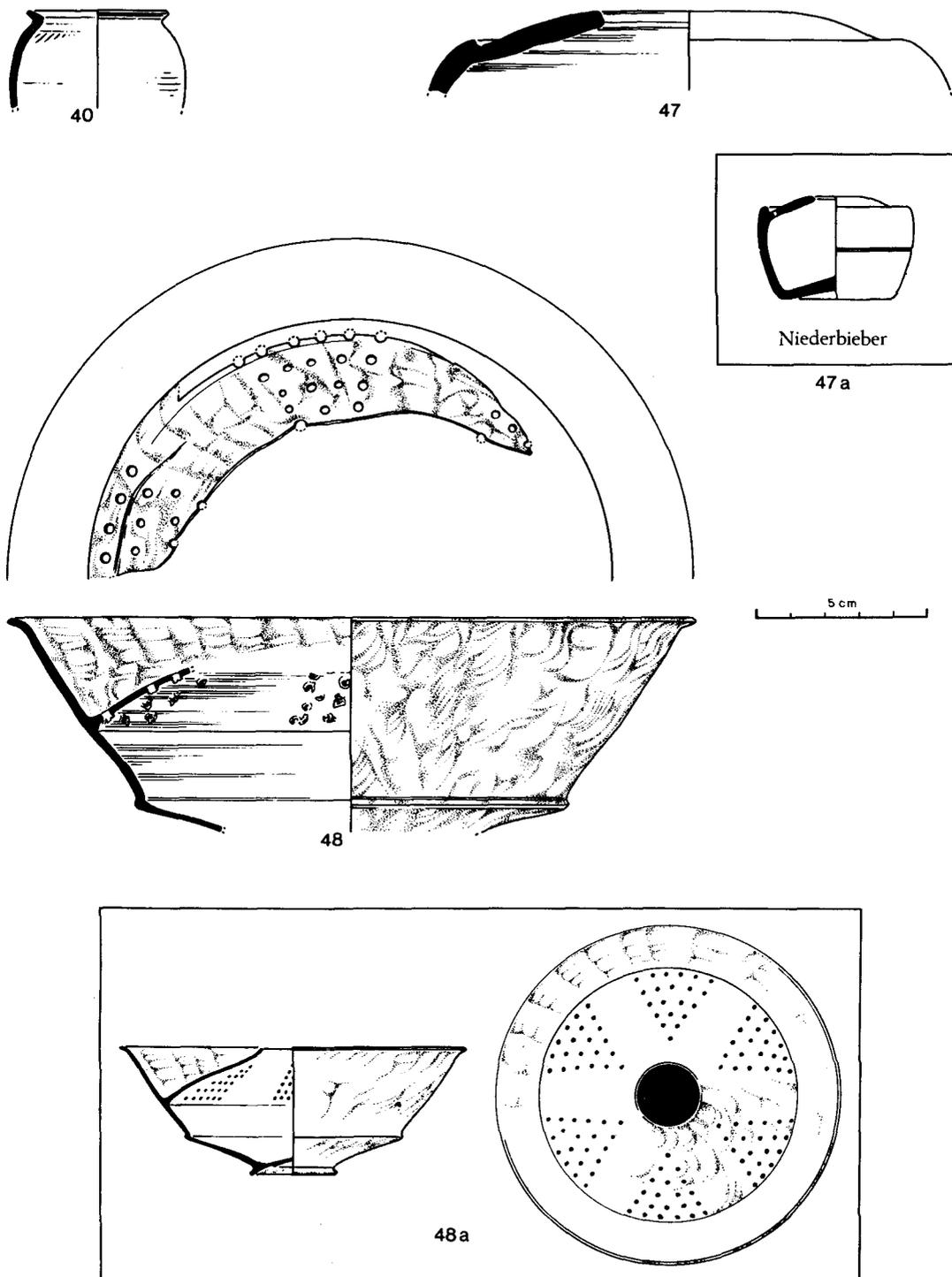


Fig. 11. Cannon Street 1975: Roman finewares Nos. 40, 47-48 ($\frac{1}{2}$; except for Nos. 47a and 48a ($\frac{1}{4}$)).

47. Of particular interest is the disc of an inkwell; a variant of Ritterling 12, probably Central Gaulish. This is a large example, lacking the usual non-spill internal flange. The closest parallel (though early 3rd century and presumably East Gaulish) comes from Niederbieber (Gose, 1950, Form 157 – here shown inset). Residual in Pit 11; E.R. 4088. Probably late 2nd century (illustrated). *East Gaulish samian*. There is a single sherd of Drag 45. Late 2nd century. Residual in Pit 6; E.R. 4106. *Late Italian samian*. Sherd of a dish in the characteristic rather roughly-fractured cream-pink fabric with minute orange-brown flecks and somewhat coarse brownish-red gloss. Rare in Britain: see Boon (1967, 42). Late Flavian-Hadrianic. From the construction of Feature B (E.R. 4109). *Pompeian Red ware. Fabric 1 (Campanian)*. See Green (1980, No. 303).
41. *Pompeian Red ware. Romano-British (?) fabric*. Pale grey with pinkish-brown margins (5 YR 7-8/4), slipped (probably overall) orange-brown (2.5 YR 6/8). Abundant subangular to rounded inclusions of quartz (0.2-0.6mm), with sparse, but prominent, white limestone (1-2mm, angular) and a little mica, grog and ironstone. Not included in Peacock (1977b). From the construction trench of Feature B; E.R. 4109 (illustrated). *Terra-nigra*. Sherd from a dish/bowl. Grey-white with darker margins and very dark grey slip. Moderately hard. The inclusions consist merely of some fine quartz (up to 0.3mm, angular) and much sparser, tiny flecks of ironstone. From the construction trench of Feature B; E.R. 4109. *Lyons ware*. See *ibid.* No. 304. Scraps of a roughcast beaker from the construction trench of Feature B; E.R. 4109.
- 42-43. Finer mica-dusted wares. See *ibid.* Nos. 318-323. Of special note are part of a 'wine-strainer' spout (No. 43) residual in Feature E; E.R. 4111 (illustrated) and a close copy of a bronze jug. (No. 42) from the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4090 (illustrated).
44. Fineware "second" or possibly waster. The vessel walls are overfired and full of gas-blisters, so that the fabric need not be representative of normal examples: grey with pink-buff surfaces (5YR 7/8) containing sparse quartz (sub-angular less than 0.4mm), a few grains of grog (1mm), very fine mica and a very coarse flint inclusion in a silty matrix. Probably local although this vessel may well have been watertight and usable. From the fill of Feature D (E.R. 4121) but perhaps Flavian (illustrated).
- 45-46. *Black micaceous fineware*. Dark grey sometimes with reddish-brown external margins, and a darker (generally black) exterior. Hard, finely irregular in fracture. Fairly abundant inclusions of mainly subangular quartz and sparse ironstone (both silt-size to c. 0.5mm) and, distinctively, moderate amount of white mica (less than 0.3mm) which is conspicuous at the surfaces. No. 45 contains a very coarse flint inclusion. No. 46 is in an altogether finer fabric, but the resemblances are close. The only forms present are the short-rimmed barbotine-panelled beakers illustrated. Probably local and of early (?) Flavian date. No. 46 comes from the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4090 and No. 45 was residual in Pit 2; E.R. 4110 (illustrated).
40. *Eggshell ware (local)*. See *ibid.* Nos. 366-369 and 371. No. 47, which comes from the fill of Feature B (E.R. 4090) is the only example (illustrated).
48. *Marbled ware (local)*. See *ibid.* (grouped with Eggshell ware). The Cannon Street vessel is a fine example of wine-strainer, with orange marbling on the external surfaces only. The type is discussed in Marsh (1978, Type 45). From the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4090 (illustrated). *Red-painted fineware*. See Green (1980, No. 372). The present example is a very similar deep bowl-flange.
- 49-50. *'London Ware'*. See *ibid.* Nos. 354-365. Oddly this locally common type only comes from one group – the fill of Feature B; E.R. 4090 (illustrated). *Mosellekeramik*. This is the East Gaulish variety of the so-called 'Rhenish ware' of the late 2nd-early 3rd centuries, see Orton (1977c, 42) and Greene (1978, 18-19). *Nene Valley colour-coated wares*. See Orton (1977c, 41). The white fabric was present at Cannon Street. It probably dates to the later 3rd or 4th centuries, but could be earlier. *Oxfordshire red-colour-coated wares*. See Young (1977, 123-184). Bowl sherds, too fragmentary for a close determination of their form. Late 3rd-4th centuries. *Oxfordshire white colour-coated ware*. See *ibid.* 117-122. A sherd of Young type WC 4.1 was found unstratified.

CONCLUSION

The Cannon Street groups have added very little to our knowledge of London's Roman pottery. However, they illustrate clearly the need to examine assemblages carefully as the dating evidence they provide has rested upon a single sherd in several instances.

GLASS

From notes by Dr D. B. Harden

(Fig. 12, Nos. 51-58; Pl. 4)

Although 32 fragments of Roman glass were recovered, these are mostly small and only pieces large enough to be identified have been included in this report. Munsell numbers have been used to give some indication of their colours.

51. (4090/6) Fragment of a flat-based dish or bowl in *millefiori* glass, fused in a two-part mould using green (5GY 5/4 – 10 G 3/4), yellow (5Y 8/12), white and red (2.5R 8/4) rods of glass. These are too distorted for the original flower pattern to be recognised. Perhaps Central or South Italian;

- the type is found in Britain in the second half of the 1st century. From the destruction fill of Feature B (illustrated).
52. (4090/47) Fragment of a small jar, possibly cast rather than blown, in opaque turquoise glass (5B 5/6). Italian. From the destruction fill of Feature B and therefore not later than the Hadrianic period (illustrated).

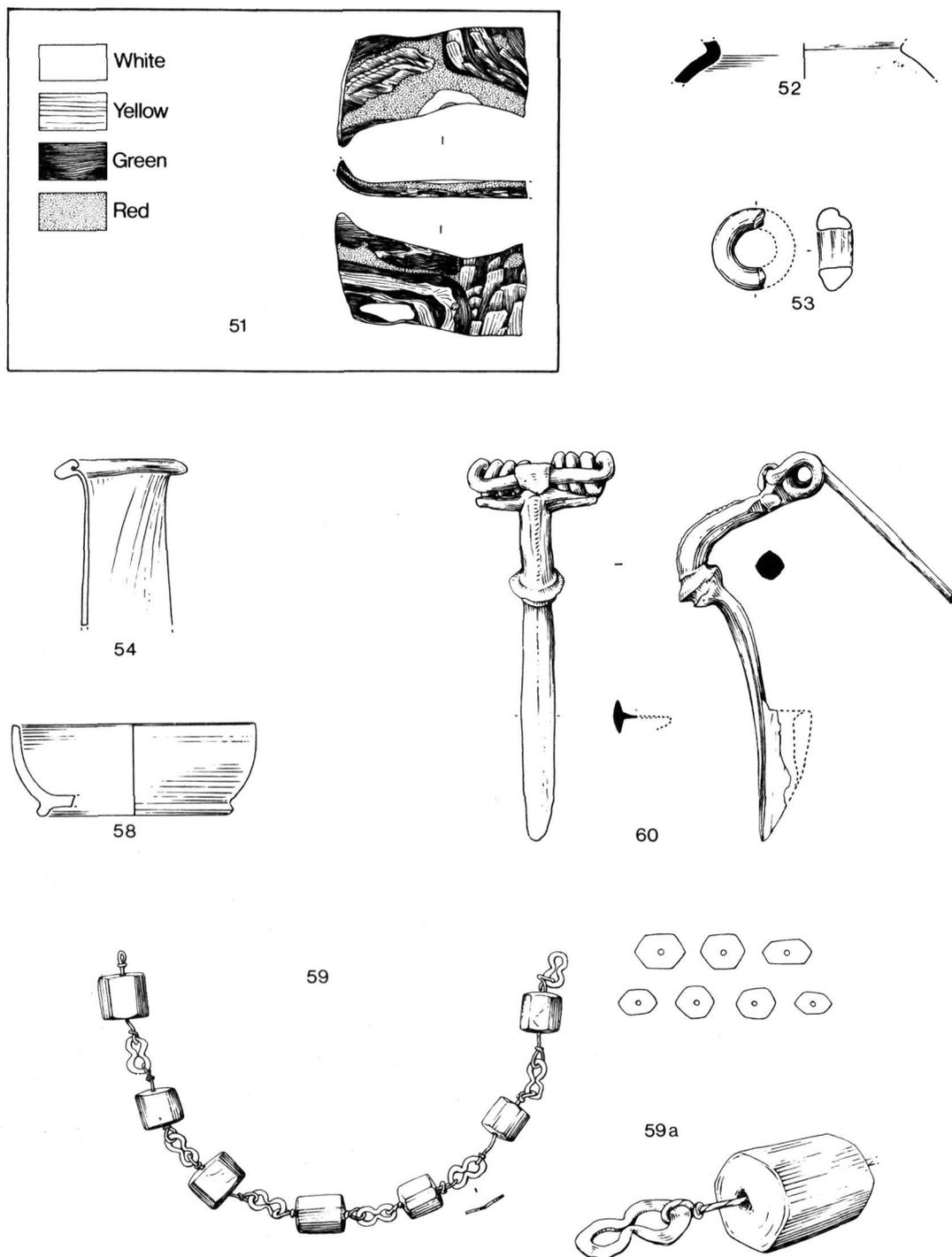


Fig. 12. Cannon Street 1975: Roman glass Nos. 51-58 ($\frac{1}{2}$; except for No. 51 1/1); Roman necklace No. 59 (1/1 and 5/2); Roman brooch No. 60 (1/1).

53. (4090/28) Large bead in natural blue-green glass; probably Gaulish. Date and provenance as for No. 52 (illustrated).
54. (4090/13) Neck and rim of a vessel in natural green glass. Probably from an unguent bottle as it appears to have been handleless. 1st century. Probably Gaulish. Provenance as for No. 52 (illustrated).
55. (4090/46) Sherd of natural green window (?) glass, 2-2.5mm thick, with straight heat-finished edge. Date and provenance as for No. 52.
56. (4090/26) Small (dia. approx. 15mm) lump of 'Egyptian Blue' frit; a deep blue (5PB 4/8) vesicular substance used as a pigment, see Harden (1956, 318). It has been found on a number of Romano-British sites, e.g. Woodeaton and Fishbourne. In London, hundreds of balls of 'Egyptian Blue' were found in a pit south of Cheapside in 1957 and use in a process such as enamelling was suggested (Marsden, 1968, 40). Date and provenance as for No. 52.
57. (4090/22) Fragment of turquoise 'melon' bead of standard form. Date and provenance as for No. 52.
58. (4086/21) Cast and wheel-cut bowl in pale natural green glass. There are no precise parallels. Unstratified (illustrated).

NECKLACE

By Catherine Johns

(Fig. 12, No. 59; Pl. 5)

59. (4090/2). Portion of necklace c. 110mm long. It consists of seven highly-polished emerald beads (identified by Mavis Bimson using X-ray diffraction analysis) of straight-sided form and roughly hexagonal cross-section. The beads are longitudinally pierced and threaded upon very fine gold wire where they alternate with flattened gold links of figure-of-eight form. Mavis Bimson has used X-ray fluorescence to show that the gold has a copper content of between 1 and 5%.

Necklaces consisting of beads alternating with gold links are well known in the Roman Empire. Several necklaces in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum show affinities with the Cannon Street fragment although the two closest parallels, Marshall (1911) Nos. 2759 and 2731, are unfortunately unprovenanced. The first of these has figure-of-eight links and green beads described by Marshall as porcelain, but more likely of emerald. The second, a complete necklace with a hook-and-eye type of fastening, has emerald beads very similar to those of the Cannon Street necklace, but the intervening gold links, though flattened, have a quatrefoil shape.

Several other necklaces are of the same general type, occasionally incorporating other stones (amethysts, garnets) as well as emeralds; another shape which occurs in the gold links is that of a knot of Hercules, perhaps the origin of the simpler figure-of-eight.

There is little dating evidence for these necklaces, but two examples from the Beaurains Treasure, near Arras (British Museum Reg. No. 1924/5 - 14/11 and 12) may be relevant. Although these differ in that their emeralds are spaced on a plaited gold chain, they seem, nonetheless, to belong to the same general range, and show that it was a long-lived variety. The Beaurains Treasure can be dated to c. AD 300, as it contains the fine gold medallion showing Constantine Chlorus at the gates of London, produced to commemorate his visit in AD 296 (for illustration see Merrifield, 1965, 167 and Pl. 13). A fragment of a necklace somewhat similar to these, this time with beads of imitation emerald, has recently been found at Canterbury, again probably in a late Roman layer (see Johns, forthcoming).

The Cannon Street necklace is important not only as an example, rare in Britain, of really fine Roman jewellery and the first representative of its exact type from this country, but as the first specimen of its exact type to be soundly stratified; it comes from the fill of Feature B and is therefore not later than Hadrianic (illustrated; see also Pl. 5).

BROOCH

By Don Mackreth

(Fig. 12, No. 60)

60. (4086/1). Brooch of copper-alloy. The spring arrangement is the same as that of Colchester type brooches (see Hawkes and Hull 1947, 308, Type III), save that the hook is short and broad. The wings are plain and narrow. The bow

design falls into two parts. The upper has a swell in front and behind, and an aris down each side. Along the top is a series of cross-cuts. This part of the bow runs out from the wings and then turns down sharply to a triple moulding, the central element of which is much larger than the other two. Below this ornament the lower part of the bow has a recurve and a slight swell in front, with a suggestion of a median aris at the top. The catch-plate is broken and is plain.

Such brooches are rare in Britain and are imports from the Continent. Similar examples have been found at Richborough (Radford, 1932, No. 7, p. 77 and Pl. 9), Lincoln (Hildyard, 1945, No. 3, 156) and Ditchley (Radford, 1936, No. 3, 56 and Pl. 9). Only one of these has any date; the Richborough brooch comes from a context with a date range of AD 50-120. It is clear that the proper starting date of this type is the first half of the 1st century AD along with companion pieces such as brooches with elaborate rosettes (see Hawkes and Hull, 1947, 314, Type X) and the Langton Down type (see Hawkes and Hull, 1947, 317, Type XII). Although it is possible that, like those, it could have been imported before the Conquest, the extreme rarity

of this sort of brooch suggests that it belongs to the period of greatly expanded trading connections after the Conquest. It is also possible that it was already a survival in use when it was brought to this country, the manufacture of the type having ceased. Unstratified (illustrated).

IRON

By Hugh Chapman

(Fig. 13, No. 61)

61. (4096/64) Socketed ballista or catapult bolt, heavily encrusted with corrosion but radiography indicates the

basic outline, solid head and hollow socket. A common type, see e.g. Brailsford (1962, 6, Nos. B117-B183 and Pl. 6, especially B182). From Pit 16 and therefore of late 1st or perhaps early 2nd century date (illustrated from radiograph).

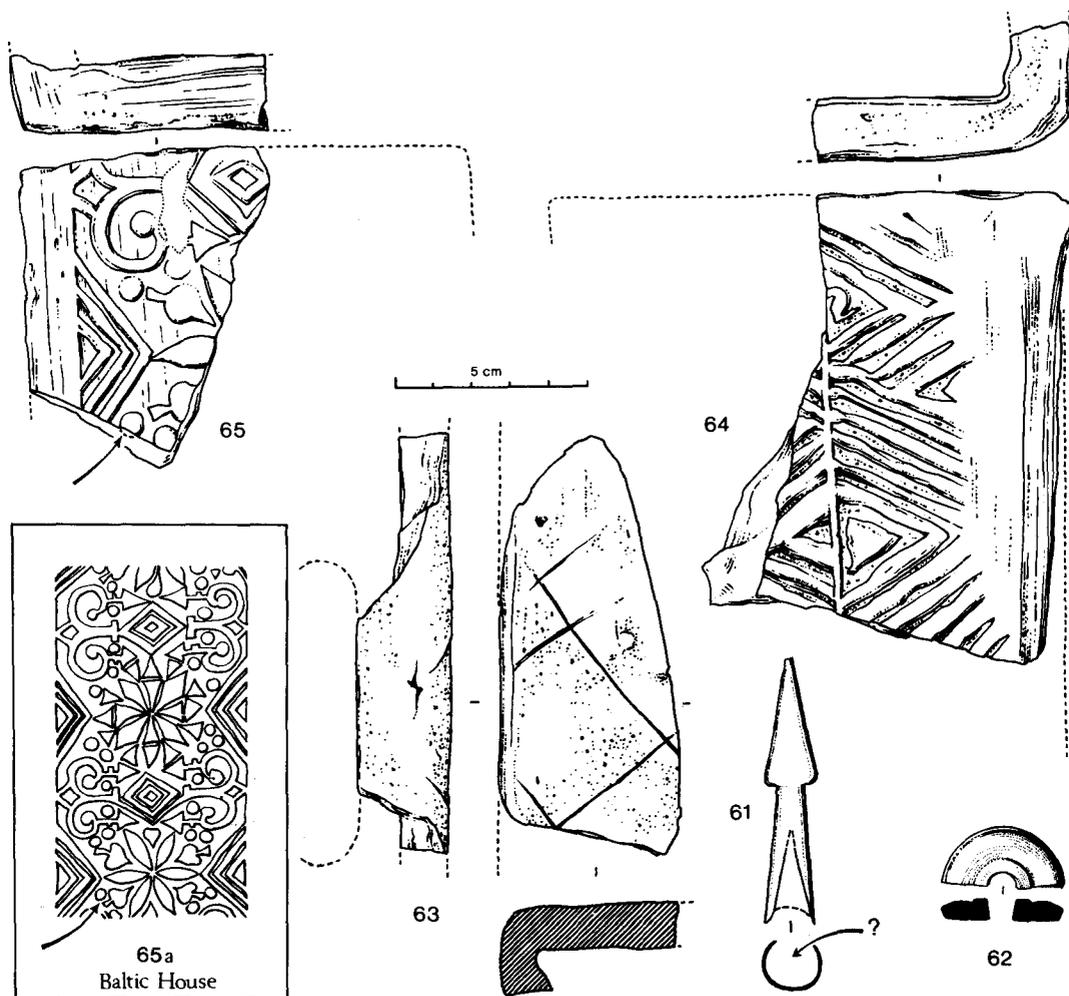


Fig. 13. Cannon Street 1975: Roman objects of iron No. 61 (¼), bone No. 62 (¼); Roman decorated flue-tiles Nos. 63-65 (¼), No. 65a (¼).

IRON NAILS

By Michael Rhodes

The excavations produced c. 22 nails of Type 1 (see Rhodes, 1977b, 63) which are so highly corroded that they may be identified only by radiography. Fifteen came from the destruction fill of two of the drains, Features B and D (E.R. Nos. 4090 and 4121 respectively) and these are small in comparison with similar examples from Angel Court (*ibid.*, Fig. 19), with an average length of c. 45mm and heads with an average width of c. 10.5mm. In view of the range of materials deposited in the fill of the two drains, there is no reason to suppose that these nails were employed in their construction.

BONE

By Hugh Chapman

(Fig. 13, No. 62)

62. (4110/8) Spindle whorl; half survives; flat underside, turned

concentric groove around outer edge on upper surface and raised rim around central hole, cf. Wheeler (1930, Pl. 46, No. 9). Residual in Pit 2 (illustrated).

CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIALS

By Chris Green

(Fig. 13, Nos. 63-65)

16.8kgs of Roman brick and tile were recovered from the Roman layers, the majority coming from the fill of Feature B (E.R. 4090). This small quantity does not warrant statistical analysis especially in view of its fragmentary condition. As at Billingsgate Buildings (Green, 1980, Nos. 697-708) both red (locally made) and pale yellow (Brockley Hill/Verulamium region ?) varieties are present. Scraps of tegulae, imbrices and bonding course bricks occur in both fabrics, although the yellow fabric forms a small proportion and is largely confined to the fill of Feature B. In addition the following decorated flue-tiles were found:

63. (4090/80) Fragment of a pale yellow box flue-tile with a diagonally scored key for plaster. From the fill of Feature B and therefore Hadrianic or earlier (illustrated).
 64. (4091/79) Roller-stamped box flue-tile in red fabric. Not given by Lowther (1948), but broadly similar to his Group 5. From the fill of Feature C and therefore Hadrianic or earlier (illustrated).
 65. (4086/78) Stamped box flue-tile. This is one of the most ornate flue tile designs, thought by Lowther (*ibid.*) to have been made from a bronze die fixed to a wooden core, but despite the absence of wood-grain impressions it seems more likely that the usual carved wooden roller was employed. Lowther's Die 9 (illustrated here, No. 65a) is

almost identical, but the type specimen (from Baltic House, City of London, Museum of London Acc. No. 24598) is more deeply cut and differs at the point indicated; thus it appears that at least two dies were cut from the same pattern. A further version of the design (London, unprovenanced, Museum of London Acc. No. 24597) is a double-width die, with consequent variations. The design is not entirely abstract: the curvilinear part of the border recalls the *peltae* which frequently flank carved inscriptions (see Thompson, 1968; pers. comm., H. Chapman) while the 'leaves' around the compass-drawn motif are also seen as stops in similar inscriptions (e.g. Collingwood and Wright, 1965, Nos. 263 and 592). Unstratified (illustrated).

CHALK TESSERAE

By Michael Rhodes

(Fig. 14, Nos. 66-68)

Although a considerable number of mosaics have been discovered in London, little has been published about their dating and practically no work has been done on the size and petrology of the tesserae employed in their construction. Information in these areas could prove to be useful for deducing the nature of the industries responsible for the production of London's mosaics and, in view of this, the Cannon Street tesserae are discussed in greater depth than might otherwise be thought necessary.

The six, small used tesserae were submitted to Martyn Owen for petrological examination. He comments that all are, in fact, of the same material, a hard tough variety of the Chalk, but that since thin bands and nodules of this particular lithology occur throughout the succession, especially at the bases of the Middle and Upper divisions, it is not possible to give an exact provenance. They fall into two groups in respect of their dimensions. Nos. 66 (E.R. 4110/70.2, illustrated) and 67 (E.R. 4110/70.3) are relatively shallow (c. 10mm) and have a surface area of c. 16 x 14mm. In contrast Nos. 68 (E.R. 4110/70.1, illustrated), 69 (E.R. 4090/71.1) and 70 (E.R. 4090/71.2) have a small surface area (c. 11 x 8mm) and are relatively deep (19 to 25mm). No. 71 (E.R. 4090/73) is smooth on two surfaces, perhaps because it was re-set at some stage, so that its original dimensions are in some doubt. All of the tesserae were knapped into shape.

Three mosaics are known from the immediate area (see Fig. 2 and Merrifield, 1965, Gazetteer Nos. 87, 106 and 108) and although no illustrations of these survive, all are known to have contained white tesserae.

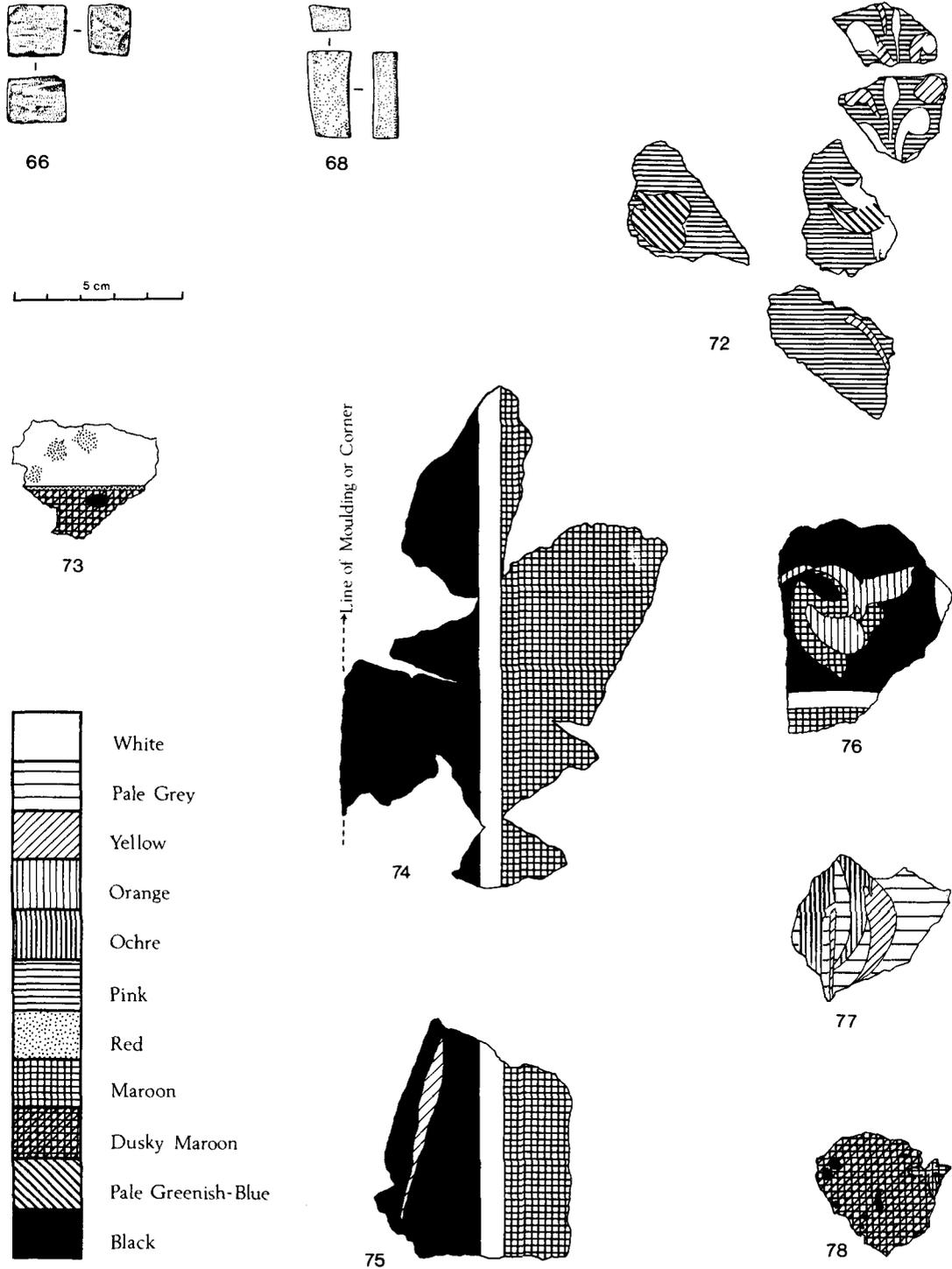


Fig. 14. Cannon Street 1975: Roman tesserae Nos. 66-68 (1/2); Roman painted wall-plaster Nos. 72-78 (1/2).

No dating evidence for these mosaics is available although three of the tesserae described here (Nos. 69, 70 and 71) come from the destruction fill of Feature B which dates from the early 2nd century. They must therefore have come from a mosaic which had been partially destroyed or repaired by this date (although this layer has been subject to some contamination, see p. 13). This places its probable date of construction (late 1st to early 2nd century) well before the first main phase of mosaic-laying in Britain (c. AD 150-200, see Rainey 1973, 14). It appears nonetheless that mosaics were far from unknown in London at this relatively early date. A pavement found in 1841 under the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street (see R.C.H.M., 1928, Pl. 50) is now thought likely to be of early 2nd-century date (D. Neale, pers. comm.), a number of very fragmentary late 1st or early 2nd-century mosaics have been recovered from the 1978-9 excavations at Watling Court (see Richardson, 1979) and tesserae (all white) have been recovered from a number of Flavian and Trajanic deposits on a variety of sites (E.R. 1117, early Flavian; E.R. 259C and 1023, Flavian; E.R. 716 and 792, 1st to 2nd century; information from P. R. V. Marsden) and from a dumped deposit on the Billingsgate Buildings Site, see Rhodes (1979, Nos. 688-689).

Tesserae Nos. 66, 67 and 68 are from Pit 2 and are therefore residual.

PAINTED WALL-PLASTER

From notes by Joan Liversidge

(Fig. 14, Nos. 72-78)

Small quantities of painted wall-plaster were recovered from the construction trench of one of the drains (Feature B: E.R. 4018) dated to the end of the 1st century at the earliest, and from a deposit that filled the same drain after its destruction (E.R. 4090) dated to the Hadrianic period. All of the plaster may have been redeposited more than once and if so is likely to have been painted before the end of the 1st century.

The decoration is extremely fragmentary and the painted surfaces are both abraded and stained, making accurate description and interpretation difficult. The pieces are grouped according to their principal background colour and each group is described in order according to its size. The variety of colours suggests that plaster from more than one room is represented and some of the fragments are angled, suggesting that they may have come from near a door or window.

PINK (7.5R 7/6). Over one third of the fragments are of this colour. Two pieces are angled and five others (No. 72, illustrated) bear parts of a floral design in white (2.5Y, altered by staining?) and yellow (10YR 8/6) with blue-green leaves (?) (5G 8/2), perhaps from a pilaster strip or a garland as at Verulamium, cf. Liversidge (1971, 88 and Pls. XXVII and XXVIIIa). From the fill of Feature B.

WHITE. All of this material was recovered from the fill of Feature B, except for one fragment from its construction trench (No. 73, illustrated). This comes from a place where the white abutted a blackish zone formed by painting a thin layer of black over red (5R 6/10). The white area appears to have been decorated with red stippling and the black zone with black stippling.

MAROON (5R 5/6). There are several plain pieces in this colour, one of which is sharply angled. On others, the maroon zone (painted first) is separated from black (N4) by a white dividing line c. 7mm wide. This was applied after the black, on top of the maroon. In one group of fragments (No. 74, illustrated) the plaster has broken along the line of a moulding or internal corner in the black zone, parallel to the white band and c. 40mm from it. In another (No. 75, illustrated) the black zone is decorated by a yellow (10YR 8/6) tapering streak. All of the material comes from the fill of Feature B.

BLACK (N4). A further group of black fragments from the fill of Feature B appear to have come from a different wall area. One is angled and another has the remains of a green (5G 8/2) decorative motif. Another (No. 76, illustrated), this time from the construction trench, has a flower (?) in maroon (5R 5/10) and orange (5YR 7/8).

YELLOW (2.5Y 8/6). Several relatively large fragments have a black band (N4), c. 5mm wide, bordering a white zone. Another very small fragment bears the remains of white decoration. From the fill of Feature B.

BLUE-GREEN (5G 8/2). One fragment comes from the place where a blue-green area abuts maroon (5R 5/6); the two are divided by a roughly-executed white line, c. 4mm wide. From the fill of Feature B.

BLUE-GREY (10BG 7/1) A small quantity comes from the fill of Feature B.

GREY (5GY 9/1). There is only one piece (No. 77, illustrated) and this has a floral (?) motif in yellow (2.5Y 9/4) and ochre (10YR 6/6). From the construction trench of Feature B.

DUSKY MAROON (2.5R 5/4). Four small fragments. The largest (No. 78, illustrated) is stippled with black (N4) and has the remains of more decoration in maroon (5R 6/8). From the fill of Feature B.

ORANGE (10R 6/8). One fragment. From the fill of Feature B.

MIDDLE AND LATE SAXON

POTTERY

By Michael Rhodes

(Fig. 15, Nos. 79-87)

Fourteen sherds of pottery representing nine vessels have been identified as Saxon although the exact date of some of these finds is in doubt. This is because of the general difficulty of recognising and dating London's Saxon pottery which has already been discussed at some length (see Rhodes, 1980).

Of the six stratified vessels that are represented, four are associated together in a pit-group in which, as usual (*ibid.*) they are greatly out-numbered by residual Roman sherds; in this case the ratio is over 6:1. This emphasises the strong possibility that some of the pits which contain only Roman pottery may also be of Saxon origin.

Pit 11; E.R. 4088. Probably 9th or 10th century

79. Sherd from the basal angle of a sagged base cooking pot. The fabric is soft, powdery and has an irregular fracture. The inclusions are abundant, fine to very coarse (< 4mm) fossil(?) shell; moderate, medium to very coarse (< 3mm) charcoal; moderate, fine to very coarse (< 2mm) although predominantly medium, sub-angular, light brown, clear and red quartz; sparse to moderate sub-visible to very fine, white, yellow and blue although predominantly white mica; sparse, coarse and very coarse (< 4mm) limestone or chalk; sparse, coarse, round, ill-sorted, red grog. The colour is varied due to very irregular firing (probably in a bonfire). The core is black (N2.5), light red (2.5YR 6/6) with some brown (7.5YR 4/2). The external surface is black (N4) with some very pale brown (10YR 7/4) and the internal surface is light olive grey (5Y 6/2). The vessel was hand made and its surfaces were wiped prior to firing. No fabric parallels are known, although London fabrics with a combination of shell and charcoal are usually mid or late Saxon; a suggestion which is reinforced by the crudity of its manufacture (illustrated).
80. Two sherds in a fairly hard, powdery fabric with an irregular fracture. The inclusions are abundant, very fine to coarse (< 3mm) fossil shell; moderate, very fine to fine, irregular, predominantly red but with some black iron ore; moderate, sub-visible to very fine white mica; sparse, medium to coarse, sub-angular, red and light brown, with some clear, quartz; and sparse, coarse charcoal. The colour is dark greyish brown (10 YR 4/2) with a pinkish grey (7.5YR 6/2) internal surface. No fabric parallels are known. Both sherds seem to have originated from the same hand-made vessel, probably a cooking pot, with fingered surfaces.
81. Two sherds in a fairly hard, soapy to powdery fabric, with irregular fractures. The inclusions are abundant, fine to very coarse (< 2mm) although predominantly medium, flat and irregular limestone; moderate, medium to coarse, irregular, brown iron-ore; sparse, medium, ill-sorted, sub-angular, clear quartz; and sparse, sub-visible, white mica. The colour is dark grey to grey (5YR 4/1-5/1) with very dark grey external surfaces (5YR 3/1) and light brown (7.5YR 6/4) and reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4) internal surfaces. The external surfaces are smoothed and the internal surfaces fingered. The sherds come from a hand-made vessel, probably a cooking pot. No exact fabric parallels are known, although London fabrics with moderate to abundant inclusions of both iron and limestone seem to be either Roman or mid to late Saxon, and as these sherds seem to be from a hand-made cooking pot they probably belong to the latter date range.
82. Small sherd from a wheel-thrown storage jar. The fabric is hard, rough and has an irregular fracture. The inclusions are bimodal (abundant, well-sorted, fine, sub-angular and sparse, ill-sorted, very coarse, sub-angular) clear and light brown quartz; moderate, very fine (with some moderate to coarse) rounded black iron-ore and moderate, very fine, white mica. The core is pale reddish grey (10R 7/1) although the surfaces are dark grey (N4). This fabric belongs to a group of fabrics, reasonably common in late Saxon London, which, although probably not from Thetford or Ipswich (pers. comm. Caroline Dallas and J. Cherry), are undoubtedly in the Thetford tradition.

The sherd comes from near the top of the vessel (now missing) and consists mainly of part of a thumbled strip which was applied under the edge of the rim. This diagnostic feature indicates that it comes from a distinctive type of storage jar of the Thetford tradition, see Hurst (1957, Fig. 4, Nos. 2-6 and p. 50, dated 9-11th century) and West (1963, P.3, L.4, No. 11, 251 and Fig. 43; P.3, L.4, Nos. 11-13, 253 and Fig. 43; P.7, No. 6, 254 and Fig. 44; P.13, L.1, No. 17, 264 and Fig. 48). Two sherds of similar form are known from London. They come from a medieval pit at Billingsgate (E.R. 1329) which included a considerable number of late Saxon sherds, and from a deposit on the New Fresh Wharf excavations of 1975 (SM 75, Context 150) which has been dated using C14 analysis to AD 870±60 (uncalibrated), see Miller (1977, 48). With this evidence in mind, a 9th or 10th-century date seems likely.

This group also contains 39 residual Roman sherds.

Pit 13; E.R. 4093

83. Sherd from the shoulder of a small cooking pot. The fabric is fairly hard, harsh to the touch and has irregular fractures. The inclusions are abundant, moderate to very coarse (1.5mm) but predominantly moderate, sub-angular, white, grey and clear quartz; sparse, moderate, rounded, red and black iron ore; and sparse, very fine and fine, white mica. The colour is grey to light grey (5YR 6/1), with a dark grey (N4) to grey (5YR 6/1) internal margin, a reddish yellow (7.5YR 5/2) external surface with some brown (5YR 6/6) and a reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) internal surface. The vessel is hand-made with wiped surfaces. The sherd is very light-weight and has a rather spongy appearance, suggesting that it could be a waster. A sherd of the same fabric comes from a medieval deposit containing residual Saxon sherds on the New Fresh Wharf excavations already mentioned (SM 75, Context 37). To judge by the inclusions, both may be wasters of *Early Medieval Sandy 1*, see Orton and Miller (forthcoming) and if this is the case it is not likely to be earlier than the 11th century (C. R. Orton, pers. comm.). There is, however, no reason why both this sherd and its New Fresh Wharf equivalent should not belong to a less common type, possibly dating to before the Conquest. At c. 8-9mm, both sherds are rather thicker than is usual for *Early Medieval Sandy 1* (C. R. Orton, pers. comm.), suggesting that this could well be the case. This deposit also contained 6 residual Roman sherds.
- Pit 2; E.R. 4110*
84. Four sherds from the base of a red-painted ware spouted pitcher. The fabric is very hard, finely rough and finely irregular (hackley at 20x). The inclusions are abundant, very fine to medium, but predominantly fine, sub-angular, clear quartz; moderate, very fine to medium, predominantly very fine, irregular black and red iron ore and sparse, very fine, white mica. The colour is yellow (2.5Y 8/6), with a greyish brown (10YR 5/2) external margin and surface, and a greyish brown (2.5Y 5/2) internal surface. The vessel is hand-made and there are smoothing marks on the inside and outside of the sherd. A fragment of pottery in an identical fabric but with red paint (none is present on this example) comes from the C14-dated deposit at New Fresh Wharf to which reference has already been made (see No. 82).

The form of the base with its thumbled foot-ring is typical of the smaller Pingsdorf-type spouted-pitchers, sometimes called wine-amphorae, commonly found in London, see Dunning (1959, Fig. 28, Nos. 1-10 and pp. 55-56). Their date has been given as 10th and 11th century (*ibid.*, 56) although Pingsdorf-type ware of mid-9th-century date is known (Dunning, 1956, 226) and there seems to be no particular reason why this sherd should not be ascribed to the late 9th century as suggested by its parallel from New Fresh Wharf (illustrated).

Unstratified; E.R. 4086

85. Sherd from the rim of a cooking pot. The fabric is fairly hard, powdery and has an irregular fracture. The inclusions are abundant, very fine to very coarse (< 3mm) but predominantly coarse fossil shell; moderate to abundant, fine to very coarse (< 2mm) but predominantly fine to medium charcoal; moderate, very fine to very coarse (< 4mm) flat, white limestone; moderate, very fine to very coarse (< 1.5mm) but predominantly medium, irregular, brown iron ore; moderate, very fine, white mica and sparse, moderate to very coarse, red, light brown and light grey quartz. The colour is grey (5Y 5/1) with mostly pink (7.5YR 7/4) surfaces although there is some black (N2) on the external surface. The vessel was hand-made and the surfaces were wiped prior to firing. No exact parallel to the form or fabric is known. A late Saxon date is suggested (illustrated).
86. Sherd from the rim of a cooking pot. The fabric is hard and smooth, with an irregular fracture. The inclusions are abundant, very fine to very coarse (< 2mm) although predominantly medium to coarse, flat limestone; moderate, fine to very coarse although predominantly medium, light brown and red quartz; moderate, fine to very coarse (< 2mm) although predominantly fine, irregular charcoal and moderate, very fine with some fine, white mica. The colour is grey (5YR 5/1) with very dark grey (N3) surfaces. The vessel is hand-made with a fingered external surface. Both internal and external surfaces were wiped prior to firing. A closely similar though not identical fabric came from the Billingsgate Buildings excavations of 1974 (Rhodes 1980, No. 718). The form, with its squarish sharply-everted rim, occurs in *Saxon Shelly I* fabrics which seem to have been most common in the late 9th century (*ibid.* and Rhodes, forthcoming), (illustrated).

87. The spout of a spouted pitcher. The fabric is extremely unusual. It is hard, rough with an irregular fracture and has the following inclusions: abundant, medium to very coarse (< 3mm) although predominantly coarse, rounded brown grog; bimodal (abundant, well-sorted, very fine rounded and moderate, ill-sorted, medium, irregular) black iron ore; moderate, medium to very coarse (< 1.2mm) although predominantly medium, angular light brown, grey and white quartz; moderate, very coarse (< 2mm) angular flint; moderate, medium to very coarse (< 2mm) although predominantly coarse irregular limestone; moderate (abundant on surfaces), very fine (some fine), white and yellow mica; sparse, well-sorted, coarse, irregular feldspar and sparse very coarse (< 3mm) fossil shell. The colour is grey (6N with some 4N) with a light brown (7.5YR 6/4) external surface and a light brownish grey (2.5Y 6/2) internal surface. The vessel was hand-made and the external surface at least was wiped prior to firing. No fabric parallels are known.

The short spout is as unusual as the fabric because, unlike the majority of spouts, it was not formed around the potter's finger. It seems instead to have been made by rolling a piece of clay around a smooth more-or-less circular pin of wood or bone, c. 8mm in dia., inserting this into a pre-cut hole on the shoulder of the pot and fixing it in position by smoothing the clay on both sides. It was not until this stage that the pin was extracted (from the outside) which is demonstrated by the regularity of the hole and ridges of clay around the inside opening which formed as it was pulled out. The end of the spout, which is flattened, is decorated by a ring of small (c. 1mm) roughly circular stab marks. In London spouts do not seem to occur in coarse fabrics after the 10th century.

Below the spout, around the girth, are traces of wide (c. 3mm), lightly incised wavy lines. This feature is also unusual on Saxon vessels although it may be found on examples of *Langhale-Thetford ware* (see Hurst, 1976, 321, Fig. 17.7, Nos. 1 and 5), and on one or two 11th-century cooking pots from London (see Clark, 1973, No. 3 and Orton and Miller, forthcoming). The characteristics of this sherd are best accommodated in the late Saxon period, although its unusual nature suggests that it is not of local origin (illustrated).

LOOM-WEIGHT

By Michael Rhodes

(Fig. 19, No. 88)

88. (4086/7) Loom-weight of baked clay, domed on top with a saucer-shaped underside. It falls into the 'bun-shaped' class according to Hurst's tripartite classification (Hurst, 1959, 23). The central hole is irregular and appears to have been pierced from both sides. The clay is soft-baked, dirty and full of

organic inclusions as well as pieces of limestone, iron ore and quartz sand visible with a hand-lens, and one or two small flints. It also contains a small freshwater gastropod suggesting that it may be riverine silt. The upper surface was smoothed prior to baking which, to judge from the uneven pattern of oxidation and reduction, was probably undertaken in a bonfire. As usual there are some slight traces of wear on the inside edges of the centre hole at the point of suspension.

Bun-shaped loom-weights are fairly common in the City and inner London with at least nineteen other known examples in the Museum of London. The only locally-found Saxon loom-weights not of this type are four examples of the 'intermediate' variety from the Strand (*ibid.*, 24). This particular example is remarkable for its small diameter of c. 95mm. Most of the other bun-shaped loom-weights have diameters between c. 110 and 140mm, with an average of c. 125mm; the only exception is a loom-weight of c. 100mm dia. from the Strand (Haslam, 1975, 22 and Fig. 6, No 4). London loom-weights of this type are also generally flatter and less well-formed. As with this example they are all of coarse clay, although nearly half are definitely of brickearth. The smoothed upper surface is typical.

Hurst (1959, 23) gives the date of this variety as late Saxon, although it may have continued in use as late as the 12th century (*ibid.*, 25). They were used in warp-weighted looms which seem to have been increasingly replaced by beam-tensioned looms towards the end of the Saxon period (Wilson, 1976, 271). Unstratified (illustrated).

MEDIEVAL

POTTERY

By Clive Orton

The medieval pottery from this site came from isolated features and therefore cannot be discussed in terms of a sequence. Initially about 30% of it was unstratified although as much as possible has now been related to stratified groups by finding stratified sherds to which it could be joined. Of the rest, the more interesting pieces are described and discussed.

Early Medieval Features:

(Fig. 15, Nos. 89-93)

Pit 18; E.R. 4109

89. Rim sherd of cooking pot with everted rim, expanded by thumb impressions on top edge. Very hard fabric with irregular fracture and fairly smooth feel. The main inclusions are abundant colourless and brownish (sub) angular quartz, up to medium size with a few coarser grains, and moderate angular red iron ore, up to coarse size. There are also sparse, white and pinkish quartz, and organic inclusions. The fabric is grey (N6), with dark grey (N4) to light brownish grey (10YR 6/2) surfaces. Wheel-thrown, with traces of wiping on the exterior (illustrated).

90. Profile sherd of shallow cooking pot with straight, everted rim and sagging base. Hard fabric with irregular fracture (tending to laminar) and fairly smooth but 'lumpy' feel. Inclusions are moderate, colourless and brownish, sub-angular or rounded quartz and moderate, angular, red and black iron ore, both up to very coarse size. Light grey (N6) to greyish brown (10YR 5/2) fabric with grey (N5), dark grey (N4) and/or pale brown (10YR 6/3) surfaces. Probably hand-built, but extensive wiping and smoothing make it difficult to be certain (illustrated).

91. Rim sherd of cooking pot, everted and expanded. Fabric as No. 90. Burnt (illustrated).

Also two sherds of 'early medieval sandyware plus shell' (see Orton and Miller, forthcoming).

Expanded rims as Nos. 89 and 91 are conventionally dated to the later 11th or 12th century (see, for example, Clark (1973) Nos. 6, 7). At New Fresh Wharf, they first occur in coarse fabrics alongside 'early medieval ware' in contexts that seem to have an 11th-century date. An 11th or possibly early 12th-century date is therefore suggested for this group.

Pit 17; E.R. 4114

92. Rim sherd of bowl with slight internal thickening, possibly for a lid. Hard fabric with irregular fracture (smooth between inclusions) and finely rough feel. Abundant, medium sub-angular quartz, mostly clear or colourless but some white or brownish. No other inclusions. Grey (N5) core with dark grey (N3 to 4) interior margin and surface, very pale brown (10YR 3/3) exterior margin, dark grey patches on exterior surface. Wheel-thrown. Burnt (illustrated).

Also one sherd as No. 90, one of *blue-grey ware* (Orton, 1980, No. 725) and two micaceous sherds.

The form of the rim sherd is unfamiliar, but the fabric seems similar to the 'early medieval ware' group at New Fresh Wharf. A late 11th or early 12th-century date is again suggested.

Pit 19; E.R. 4125

93. Rim, base and body sherds of cooking pot with everted rim, expanded by thumb impressions on top edge (cf. Nos. 89 and 91). Hard fabric with hackly fracture and rough feel. The main inclusions are abundant, medium to very coarse, colourless and greyish, sub-angular quartz; there are also sparse inclusions of black iron ore and flint. The fabric is light grey (N7 to 8) with dark grey (N4) surfaces. Hand-built, with smoothed surfaces. The fabric is very similar to the *Limpsfield ware* (see e.g. No. 99), but the form is earlier than those found at Limpsfield; an 11th or early 12th-century date is likely (see discussion of pottery from Pit 18) (illustrated).

Medieval Features:

(Fig. 15, No. 94)

Context 8; E.R. 4092

One sherd of *London-type slipped jug* (see Orton and Miller, forthcoming) and one of an undiagnostic sandy fabric. Probably 13th century.

Pit 4; E.R. 4103

94. Body sherds of 'Surrey' ware with applied decoration. Hard fabric with irregular fracture (smooth between inclusions) and slightly rough feel. Abundant, reddish/brownish, sub-angular quartz inclusions, up to medium size, with sparse clear quartz, black iron ore and white mica. Reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) fabric with yellow (10YR 8/5) interior surface. Wheel-thrown. Clear glossy glaze on exterior, coloured green over applied strips of 'white' clay (upper part) and dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) over strips of 'red' clay (lower part). Spots of clear glaze on interior (illustrated).

Also one sherd of *London-type slipped jug* and one of 'West Kent' ware (see Orton, 1977c, 82). An examination of specimens from the Mill Green kilns (Hurst, 1968, 207), supplied by Mrs. E. Sellers, and comparison of them with examples in the Department's Fabric Type Series, strongly suggests that at least some of the so-called 'West Kent' fabrics are from the Mill Green kilns in Essex. The Mill Green site lies on Claygate beds (Mrs. E. Sellers, pers. comm.), and since these beds do not occur in west Kent it is difficult to envisage that the sources of similar fabrics could be located there. A fuller discussion will be included in the New Fresh Wharf pottery report (Orton and Miller, forthcoming). Overall, a late 13th or early 14th century date is indicated.

Late Medieval Features:

(Fig. 15, Nos. 95-97 and Fig. 16, Nos. 98-107)

Pit 15; E.R. 4089

95. Base and most of rim of small dish. The fabric is hard but rather 'crumbly' with a finely irregular fracture and a slightly rough feel. The main inclusions are abundant, very fine and fine (and some medium), clear, colourless and greyish, sub-angular quartz. Sparse, black iron ore, white mica and organic (grass?) inclusions are also present. The core is partially light grey (N6) with reddish yellow (5YR 6/8) margins and surfaces. Wheel-thrown. There are areas, patches and spots of pitted clear glaze ('splash-glaze') on the interior, and spots on the exterior. The rim is very twisted (but drawn as straight) and the vessel may be a waster (illustrated).

Also rim sherd of almost identical vessel with copper mottling in the glaze.

96. Profile and handle of skillet or shallow pipkin. Fabric as No. 95. The base is flat and it is unlikely that there were any feet. Burnt (illustrated).

97. Rim and body sherds of large pipkin. Fabric similar to that of No. 95, but the black iron ore is moderate. Core colour is light red (2.5YR 6/8) and the margins are reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). There are irregular zones of a micaceous 'white' slip on both surfaces, and spots and patches of clear glaze, with copper mottling, mainly on the interior. The general finish has an 'untidy' appearance. The base appears to be rounded from the curve to the lower profile, and it has therefore been reconstructed with three applied feet. Burnt. The shape is reminiscent of that of a bronze jug in the Museum of London (Acc. No. A4587) dated c. 1400 (Perkins 1940, 199-200 and Pl. 41) (illustrated).

These vessels, possibly with others in similar fabrics, from New Fresh Wharf (see Orton and Miller, forthcoming), seem to form a distinct group, for which the term '*late medieval splash-glazed ware*' is suggested. It seems to represent the continuation of the local tradition of splash-glazed pottery, which supplied many of the jugs found in London from the 12th and 13th centuries. Here, however (and in the later medieval phases of New Fresh Wharf) jugs are exclusively in '*Surrey wares*' (see below), but the 'splash-glaze' tradition continues in a range of 'kitchen' forms. The general standard of finish is poor, although the vessels are well made in a technical sense. It seems likely that while the Surrey kilns supplied the finer 'table' wares, more local kilns met the need for cheap, rough, pottery for kitchen use.

A cooking-pot rim of this fabric, found at the Custom House site (Thorn, 1975, Fig. 16, No. 259) has been identified as *Aardenburg ware* (Dunning, 1976: 191). The form matches the typical *Aardenburg* cooking pot (Burger, 1962-3, Afb. 51), but as this form is also known in '*Surrey ware*' (Orton, forthcoming), this match cannot be taken as a sure indication of source. The fabric does not match that of a jug base (Thorn, 1975, Fig. 15, No. 242) also attributed to *Aardenburg* (Dunning, *op cit.*). *Late medieval splash-glazed ware* appears to constitute about 5% of the 14th-century pottery at the New Fresh Wharf site (Orton and Miller, forthcoming). A percentage as high as this is unlikely if it is to be attributed to *Aardenburg*, especially as the proportion of imports from other sources is small. A local source for '*late medieval splash glazed ware*' is therefore maintained.

98. An almost complete jug in '*Surrey ware*', similar to *Cheam* fabric but probably not identical (see Orton, 1977C, 82 for description: a further discussion by Orton and Miller is forthcoming). There are three pronounced corrugations between shoulder and girth, suggesting imitation of a metal prototype. The base is slightly sagging with six pulled feet.

There is a small pinched spout and the handle has been stabbed (illustrated).

Also in this fabric is the base of a jug with constriction, also imitating a metal prototype, comparable with Perkins (1940, 227, No. 2).

99. About half of a bowl with drooping flanged rim and deeply sagging base. Hard fabric with laminar fracture (smooth between inclusions) and rough feel. The main inclusions are abundant moderate to coarse, colourless, greyish (and brownish) subangular quartz. Sparse, black iron ore and white mica are also present. The fabric is light grey (N6 to 7) with grey (N5) surfaces. Wheel-thrown, with wiping marks on exterior. Incised wavy lines on top surface of flange. This fabric is similar to that produced at *Limpsfield* (examples supplied by Mr. B. Wright: see Prendergast, 1974), and the form is similar to a bowl (No. 62) from the *Scearn Bank* site (*ibid.*, 73) but smaller (illustrated). Also base sherds of a large pitcher, possibly of 'bung-hole' type (see No. 100). Fabric very similar to No. 99, but has dark grey (N3 to 4) exterior and light grey (N7) interior surfaces.

Also one more sherd of '*Surrey ware*' and one of '*West Kent ware*'.

The predominance of '*Surrey ware*' suggests a 14th or 15th-century date for this context, as does the presence of metallic skeudomorphs (Nos. 97 and 98), although evidence from Trig Lane (Orton, forthcoming) suggests an earlier starting date for some 'metallic' forms, probably in the late 13th century. At that date, or in the early 14th century, however, one would expect a much higher proportion of other wares. The absence of late 14th/15th-century forms (e.g. biconical or barrel-shaped jugs) or fabrics (e.g. *Farnborough Hill*) indicates a mid-14th-century date as most likely for this group.

Fill 343; E.R. 4123

100. About one quarter of base of 'bung-hole' pitcher in *Cheam/Kingston ware*. Probably from *Cheam*, where such vessels are known to have been made (Marshall, 1924, 12-15) (illustrated).

Also base sherd of jug in same fabric (shape as at New Fresh Wharf).

101. Most of rim, base and lower body, and complete handle, of a jug. Very hard fabric (almost vitrified) with smooth fracture and rough feel. Abundant clear, colourless and greyish quartz, most very fine and some medium-sized grains, with moderate inclusions of white and gold mica, up to medium size, and sparse black iron ore. Grey (N5) fabric with brown (7.5 YR 5/3) exterior margin and surface. Wheel-thrown, with some knife-trimming at the base. No glaze or slip. Burnt. This jug appears to belong to the general category of '*Tudor brown wares*', which were produced from the late 15th century onwards (Turner, 1971, 105). It is not, however, a product of the 1969 *Cheam* kiln (Orton, forthcoming), which is one local source of this type of vessel (illustrated).

Overall, a date in the second half of the 15th century seems most likely.

Unstratified; E.R. 4086

Unstratified sherds were found to join with Nos. 95 and 99 from Pit 15, and Nos. 100 and 101 from Fill 343. It therefore seems possible that other of the unstratified vessels may have the same date range as these groups, i.e., 14th or 15th century. The following vessels fall into this category:

Late medieval splash-glazed ware (see No. 97)

102. About one third of profile of skillet with strap handle. Slightly sagging base and simple rim. This extends the range of forms recorded in these fabrics (illustrated).

Surrey ware, probably Kingston

103. Half of base and lower body of jug with 'scale' decoration. There are similar examples in the Museum of London collection, e.g., Acc. No. A20308.
104. Rim sherd of shallow dish with simple rim. A less complete example was found at Angel Court (Orton, 1977C, No. 594) (illustrated).
105. Complete dish or lid. Heavily burnt. There are many such vessels in the Museum of London collection, e.g. Acc. No. A5193 (illustrated).
Also rim of jug of form as at New Fresh Wharf (Note: this rim has been used in the reconstruction of the detail of that form).

Imports - Stoneware

106. Almost complete beaker of *Siegburg stoneware*. Very hard fabric with smooth fracture and slightly harsh feel, light grey (N7) in colour. No visible inclusions. Reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6 to 8) patches on exterior. A similar, but larger and decorated, example from Siegburg (Bock, 1971, No. 136) is dated late 14th or 15th century.
Also base sherd of *Raeren stoneware* with 'frilled' foot-ring.

Imports - Other

107. Rim/handle sherd of large jug or pitcher. Hard fabric with finely irregular fracture and fairly smooth feel. Abundant

very fine greyish sub-angular quartz inclusions, with some fine or medium-sized grains, and sparse white mica and black iron ore. Light grey (N7) core with yellow (10YR 7/6) interior margin and reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/8) interior surface. Wheel-thrown. Thick glossy olive-green glaze, with darker mottling, covers most of exterior and upper zone of interior. The fabric is similar to that of a handle found at New Fresh Wharf which matches closely examples from Scarborough in the British Museum reference collection. However, this form is not known from the Scarborough kiln (P. Farmer, pers. comm.) (illustrated).

CRUCIBLE

(Fig. 16, No. 108 and Figs. 17 and 18)

108. (4086/68) Crucible, wheel-thrown, roughly spheroid with a flattened zone just above the girth. The rim is slightly thickened on the interior and has a pinched and raised spout. Clive Orton describes the fabric as: 'very hard, pale grey with a finely irregular fracture, laminar in places. Although it has started to vitrify, abundant inclusions of fine (0.1 to 0.2 mm) quartz and sparse pieces of black ironstone may be distinguished. Both surfaces show flash glazing'.

The specimen was submitted to John Evans who scraped samples from the bottom of the inside surface for analysis. An examination was made by emission spectroscopy and the results are summarised in Fig. 17. Appropriate quantities were also digested with mixed concentrated acids and the solutions obtained, after suitable dilution, were analysed by atomic absorption and flame photometry (for sodium and potassium). The data obtained from these analyses is shown in Fig. 18. John Evans comments that the results do not, unfortunately, give a clear indication of the crucible's function, but it could have been used in enamelling processes of some description. The relatively high levels of sodium, potassium and phosphorus would seem to favour a wood-burning process. Unstratified, but probably medieval (illustrated).

Element

Fe	CA	Cr	Pb	Na	K	Mn	Al	Ni	Co	Ag	Zn	Ti	Cu	Si	Mg	Sn
T	S	-	P	S	P	T	S	T	-	T	T	-	T	S	S	-

S lines suggest concentration greater than 1%

P lines suggest concentration less than 1%

T lines suggest concentration less than 0.1%

- indicates element not detectable

Fig. 17. Cannon Street 1975: Emission spectroscopy analysis of a sample from crucible No. 108.

Percentage composition*									
Fe ₂ O ₃	CaO	MgO	Ma ₂ O	K ₂ O	CuO	PbO	Ag ₂ O	M ₂ O ₃	P ₂ O ₅
1.19	33.33	11.90	5.95	1.19	14.29	10.71	0.28	1.45	1.07

* Remaining material, insoluble silicates, etc.

Fig. 18. Cannon Street 1975: Quantitative analysis of a sample from crucible No. 108.

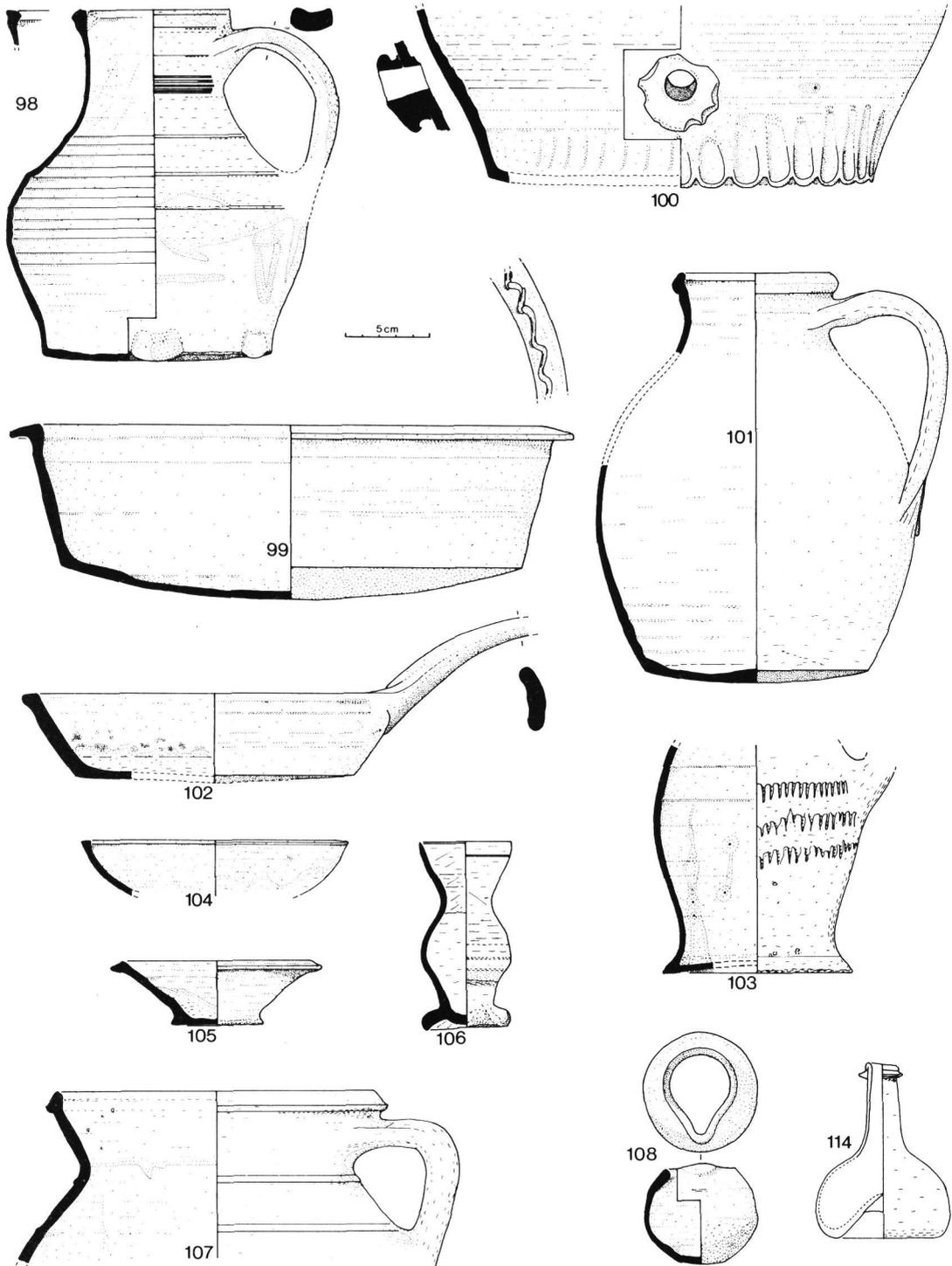


Fig. 16. Cannon Street 1975: Medieval pottery Nos. 98-107 (¼); Medieval(?) crucible No. 108 (¼); post-medieval glass bottle No. 114 (¼).

STONE

(Fig. 19, No. 109)

109. (4123/9) Hone, worn on all four sides and seemingly well-used. The top end is broken off although the lower has rounded edges which, despite a roughly-broken area in the

centre, suggest that this end may be original. D. T. Moore identifies the rock as Norwegian ragstone: Ellis Type IA 1 (see Ellis, 1969, 137-143). From Fill 343 and therefore probably dating from the second half of the 15th century (illustrated).

FLOOR TILES

From comments by Elizabeth Eames

(Fig. 19, Nos. 110 and 111)

Four floor tiles were recovered, of which two (Nos. 110 and 111) are of Penn type, although their fabrics differ suggesting that they were manufactured of clays from two separate sources. The tiles probably came originally from the nearby church of St. Thomas Apostle, although one was later put to a secondary use in a fireplace. Penn tiles are known from a number of other City of London churches, notably St. Brides, Holy Trinity Priory (see Eames, 1978, No. 89357) and St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. Penn tiles are dated to about the middle third of the 14th century. Details of the fabrics of all these tiles are available on request.

110. (4086/67) Penn tile, cf. Hohler (1942, 58). Unstratified (illustrated).
 111. (4086/75) Penn tile, cf. Hohler (1942,76). Unstratified (illustrated).
 112. (4086/76) Plain red tile, 115 x 112mm with a thickness of 26-29mm and chamfered sides. Source unknown. The core

is reduced suggesting a 13th or 14th-century date; most 15th-century tiles are fully oxidised. Unstratified.

113. (4086/77) Plain, yellowish-red tile, 137 x 133mm with a thickness of c. 24mm and chamfered sides. Worn and put to secondary use in a fireplace with the result that the surfaces are now obscured. Source unknown. From Fill 343 and therefore not later than about the second half of the 15th century.

POST-MEDIEVAL

GLASS WINE-BOTTLE

By Clive Orton

(Fig. 16, No. 114)

114. A complete small wine-bottle in very good condition. It is

thin-walled and made of a slightly yellowish green glass with a large prunt in the hollow of the base. A similar example bears a seal dated to 1704 (Hume, 1969, 63) and it is broadly similar to bottles in the range 1700-1730 so an early 18th century date seems likely. Its volume is $\frac{1}{4}$ pint, suggesting that it was used as an individual 'carafe' rather than for storage or transportation. Unstratified; E.R. 4086 (illustrated).

APPENDIX I

NOTE ON THE MAMMALIAN REMAINS FROM THE ROMAN, SAXON AND MEDIEVAL LEVELS

By Caroline Bird and P. L. Armitage

Bones of domestic horse, ox, sheep, pig, dog and cat, together with those of roe deer and hare were recovered from the series of Roman drainage channels and from the Roman, Saxon and medieval rubbish pits. No detailed analysis of the material was carried out owing to the small size of the sample (188 bone elements). A full list and description of the identified bones in the form of a level III archival report is available on request from the British Museum (Natural History) and from the Department of Urban Archaeology. Under the computer based catalogue scheme of the BM(NH) the specimens have been assigned the following registration numbers: ARC 1977 R5196 to R5290

APPENDIX II

HUMAN BONES

From notes by Merry Morgan

Following the archaeological excavations, building contractors found a few unstratified human remains which were subsequently donated to the Museum. These probably found their way onto this site as the result of disturbances to the once-neighbouring churchyard of St. Thomas Apostle, which was mostly destroyed by road-widening in the 19th century (Huelin, 1968, Item 35) although a portion survived as late as 1940 (Cobb, 1942, 110). The church itself was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 (Jenkinson, 1917, 171) and it is unlikely that its graveyard would have been used for burials after this date.

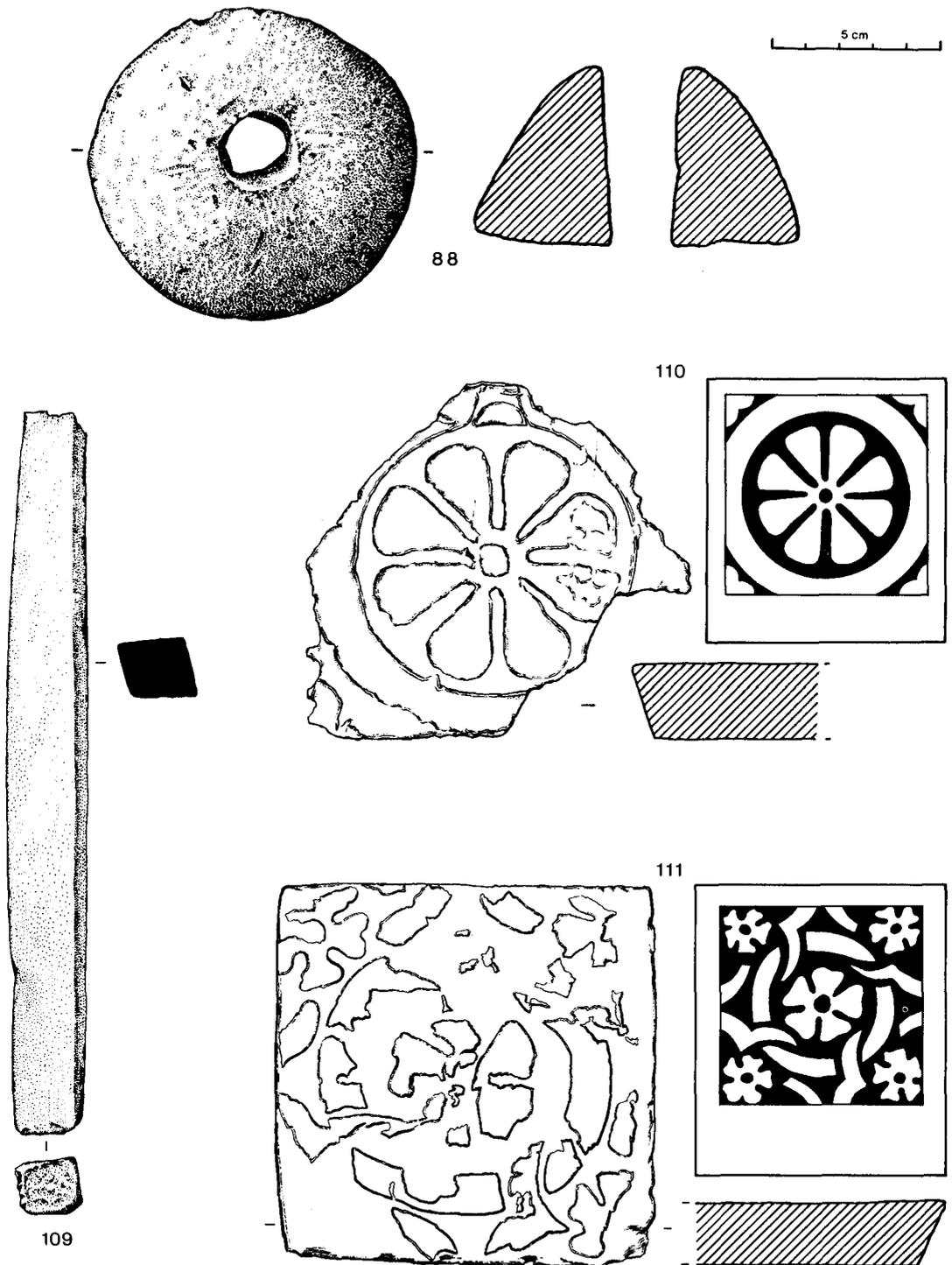


Fig. 19. Cannon Street 1975: Saxon loom-weight No. 88 (½); Medieval hone No. 109 (½); Medieval floor-tiles Nos. 110-111 (½; insets ¼).

The bones, which come from at least three individuals, consist of the calvaria of a child aged about 5-7 years, the calvaria of an adult of indeterminate sex, aged about 40-45 years and the proximal end of a right adult male (?) femur. Full details of these specimens are available on application to the Museum of London.

One further item is of particular interest: the major portion of the vertex of a skull, probably over 50 years (estimate based on the obliteration of most of the cranial sutures through fusion, see Vallois, 1937) has been pierced by a neat circular hole, made from the outside, precisely at the bregma. This tapers from 7.5mm on the outside to 3.5mm on the inside and appears to have been made with a pointed metal blade since the internal surface of the hole has scrape marks and shallow vertical grooves and none of the regular horizontal marks left by a drill. No sign of healing or osteitis is present.

The practice of making holes in human skulls occurred in Britain in prehistoric times, see Parry (1921); continuing through the middle ages (see Lisowski 1967, 653-4) and even into the 20th century (Margetts, 1967, 677). Because there is no sign of healing around this example it may represent an unsuccessful attempt at surgery (trepanation). This explanation is, however, not entirely satisfactory as earlier examples tend to be very much larger and to avoid the sutures, especially the suture junctions, presumably because of the compactness of the bone in these places and the many important arteries lying directly underneath. The position of the hole suggests two further possibilities. Firstly, at the point of balance of the skull, it lies at the ideal place at which to attach a cord in order to suspend the skull as a trophy. This follows a suggestion by Parry (1921, 10-11) concerning two British Iron Age skulls which have an equilateral triangle of three small round holes near this point. Secondly, its place in the centre of the top of the cranium may have had some symbolic significance, although the nature of the beliefs which might be represented are open to speculation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

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The illustrations are by Barbara Garfi (Nos. 62, 66, 68, 88 and 109), Chris Green (Figs. 11-12), Clive Orton (Nos. 89-108 and 114), Dave Parfitt (Nos. 61, 110 and 111), Jacqui Perry (Nos. 79 and 84-87) and Pamela White (Figs. 8-10 and Nos. 72-78).

Special thanks go to those who provided the reports. They are Dr. Philip Armitage, Caroline Bird, Dr. Hugh Chapman, Chris Green, Merry Morgan and Clive Orton of the Museum of London; Joanna Bird; Elizabeth Eames; John Evans of the North-east London Polytechnic; Dr. D. B. Harden; Joan Liversidge of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; Catherine Johns of the British Museum, and Don Mackreth of the Nene Valley Research Committee.

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EXCAVATIONS AT OLD FORD, 1972-1975

Wendy McIsaac, Irene Schwab and Harvey Sheldon

INTRODUCTION

Rescue excavations at Old Ford began late in 1969 at Lefevre Road where the Roman London-Colchester Road and a late Roman settlement alongside it were discovered. The work continued in 1971 with the examination of sites at Parnell and Appian roads. Here further evidence of the road and settlement was obtained together with traces of inhumation burials to the north of the highway. Other burials, also north of the Road, were located in Armagh Road and just west of it in 1972.

This article contains reports on the most recent excavations in Old Ford, at Morville Street (1972-73) and Usher Road (1974-75). At Morville Street, c. 300m south of the Roman Road, part of a field system in use during the late 1st and 2nd centuries was found, while at Usher Road, between c. 25 and 65m north of the highway, pits and ditches of mid 3rd- to late 4th-century date likewise suggested agricultural activity.

There is also an account of the cremation burial, probably of mid 2nd-century date, found early in 1969 by the contractors during the Lefevre Road redevelopment prior to the commencement of archaeological work. In an appendix, brief summaries of three trial excavations carried out in 1971-72 at Maverton Road, Old Ford Road and Autumn Street are given.

The excavations reported on here were carried out for the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society and were supported by grants from the Department of the Environment.

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EXCAVATIONS AT MORVILLE STREET, E3

Irene Schwab

INTRODUCTION

Excavations at Morville Street, E3, were carried out in 1972 and 1973 on behalf of the Department of the Environment and the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. Although somewhat to the south of the known Roman settlement at Old Ford, evidence of Roman burials had been recorded when the houses were constructed in the late 1860s.¹ It was hoped to investigate the burial area in order to determine whether these were isolated graves or part of a cemetery.

An initial season of excavation took place in February 1972 on a bomb site where Nos. 14-20 Morville Street had once stood (TQ 3715 8320) (Fig. 1). Three trial trenches were excavated by hand and a feature of late Roman date (7) was uncovered. However the top 0.50m of deposits had been badly disturbed by post-medieval ploughing and so when a further area (94.5 sq. m) was excavated, it was first stripped by machine to the level of the surviving undisturbed deposits, c. 10.50m O.D.

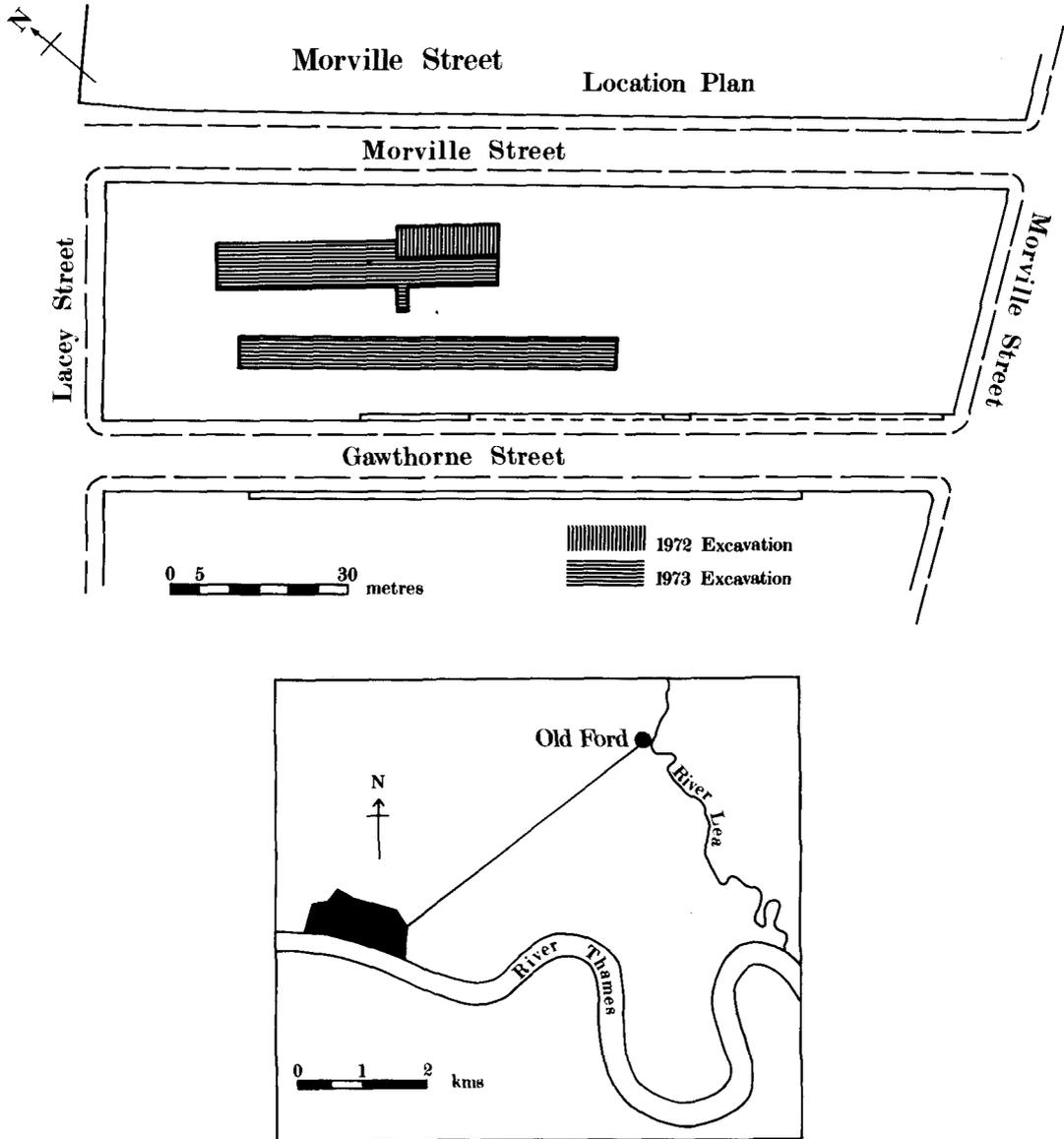


Fig. 1 Morville Street : Site Location Plan.
Inset shows Old Ford in relation to the Roman city of London.

In June 1973 a second season of excavation was begun after most of the houses in Morville Street and the adjacent Gawthorne Street had been demolished prior to redevelopment. Two large trenches covering a total area of 767 sq. m were mechanically excavated to a depth of c. 10.50m O.D., i.e. to the top of the undisturbed levels. The trenches were placed in those areas least likely to have been disturbed by cellars and air-raid shelters, although much modern disturbance was still encountered, particularly in the northern trench (Fig. 2).

The site lies on the Higher Flood Plain gravel terrace which is capped, over much of the site, by patches of brickearth. The Roman features were all cut into the brickearth, but the Roman ground surface had been destroyed by later activity and only the bottom parts of cut features such as pits and ditches remained.

DESCRIPTION OF FEATURES

Features uncovered in the excavations have been divided into three phases of activity, Phase I early Roman, Phase II late Roman and Phase III post-Roman.

The features in Phases I and III consisted exclusively of ditches and a description of these, together with the details of the pit from Phase II, have been presented in Table I with a summary of the dating evidence and the other finds. Information additional to that presented in the table is included in the text below.

Most of the cut features contained a homogeneous brown sandy clay fill sometimes intermixed with pebbles. The similarity of the fills, together with the truncation of all the deposits, probably by ploughing, meant that in most cases it was not possible to determine stratigraphic relationships between features.

Only ten fragments of animal bone were recovered from the site, none of which could be identified.²

PHASE I – EARLY ROMAN

DESCRIPTION

Four ditches (1, 2, 3, 4) all aligned east-west can be assigned with some certainty to this period. Two further ditches (5, 6) lay to the north of 4. They were on a different alignment (Fig. 2) and contained only a small amount of undiagnostic Roman pottery, although 5 also contained a sherd of Flavian samian (see samian report). Although they are not closely datable, they may be associated with an early Roman field system and are therefore described within this phase.

With the exception of 1, all the ditches in Phase I had "U" shaped profiles (Fig. 3). Ditch 1 had a slightly stepped profile. Ditches 2 and 3 converged as they ran westwards (Fig. 2) but because of their identical fills it was not possible to determine their stratigraphic relationship. It is at least a possibility that they were contemporary and designed to merge and continue as one ditch. Ditches 3a and 3b, which were on the same line (Fig. 2), have been described as one although there was no physical connection between the two parts and no dating evidence was obtained from 3b.

DISCUSSION

Ditches 1, 2, 3 and 4 and possibly 6 and 7 were likely to have been part of one or more early Roman field systems, originating in the late 1st/early 2nd century and continuing in use through the 2nd century. The ditches probably represent field boundaries although 1 and 2, which had distinct gradients, may also have been for drainage.

Ditches 1, 2 and 3 are too close together to delineate separate fields and many indicate slight changes in a boundary line. Ditches 1, 2 and 3 were all roughly parallel to ditch 4, but it was not possible to determine which, if any, of these were contemporary with 4. The ditch most likely to have been part of the same system as 4 is 3, both in terms of date and of alignment. Ditch 6, which lay roughly at right-angles to 4, might well have been part of the same system, but the alignment of 5 is closer to that of the post-Roman ditches. None of the ditches in this phase are aligned on the Roman London-Colchester Road (Fig. 29).

MORVILLE STREET site plan

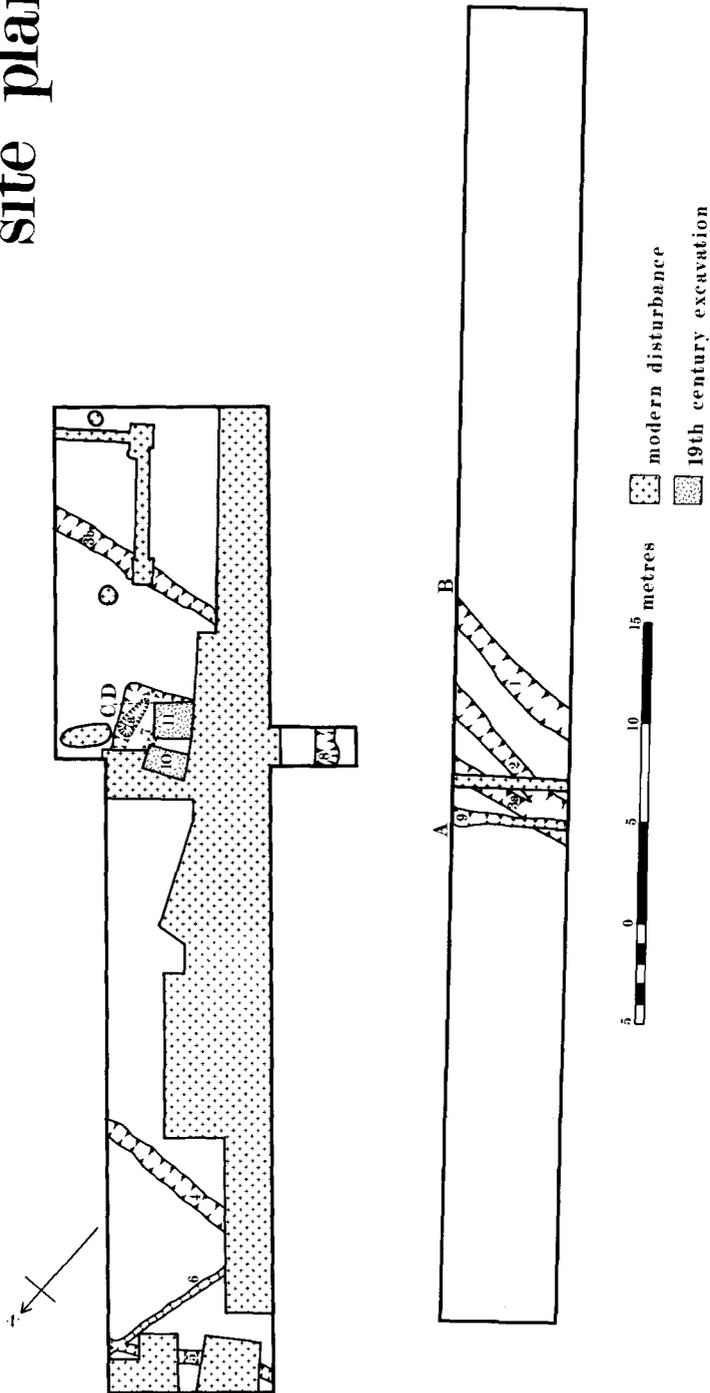


Fig. 2 Morville Street : Site Plan.

PHASE II

DESCRIPTION

A single feature or group of features (7, 7a) was found during the 1972 excavations (Figs. 2, 3 and Table I). It took the form of a shallow rectangular pit (7), the only undisturbed area of which had straight sides and a rounded corner. As with the other features on the site, the top of this pit had been lost, but it retained a depth of 0.25m and had a flat base except in three areas where it had been cut somewhat deeper, to a depth of c. 0.35m. These depressions appeared to be only unevennesses in the base of the pit rather than separate features. Within the easternmost of these depressions was a still deeper cut (7a) which in contrast to the other depressions, had steep, almost vertical sides. It was of sub-rectangular shape, tapering slightly towards the south. It had been cut through the brickearth down into the natural gravel and contained two layers of fill (Table I). In Layer 1 there were no finds apart from four iron nails at the base of the layer. Towards the top of Layer 2 were found two crushed pots (No. 31 and Fig. 5, No. 33). The upper fill of 7a (Layer 2) was identical to that which filled the whole of Feature 7. It was thus not possible to determine the relationship of the deep cut to the shallower surrounding pit. It seems quite possible that they were all part of a single feature.

DISCUSSION

The pottery from this feature dates to the late 3rd-4th century. It is the only late Roman feature on the site with the exception of the burials discovered in 1868 whilst building the houses at Nos. 12 and 14 Morville Street.³ At that time two oolitic limestone coffins and a truncated amphora were found containing a total of six skeletons.

The northern trench included the sites of Nos. 12 and 14 Morville Street, and although this area was heavily disturbed, two features (10, 11) containing Victorian material could be isolated from the surrounding modern disturbance (Fig. 2). It is likely to have been from these that the burials were removed in 1868 although their position does not precisely tally with the published plan of 1870.⁴ This should not be too surprising however, as J. E. Price, who reported on the finds, was not himself present at the discovery and apparently received the plan at second or third hand.⁵

These two Victorian pits (10, 11) cut 7 and if these were the sites of the original burials, they would have lain within the perimeter of 7. Seen within the context of the other burials, it is possible that 7a was also a grave pit. No trace of skeleton or coffin survived except for four nails at the base of the feature. However, the pit is the right size and shape for a grave and the lack of bones is not surprising considering the extremely fragmentary nature of the animal bone from the site. Moreover, the two crushed pots found near the top of 7a are strongly suggestive of grave offerings.

If this were to have been a grave, the shallow pit (7) in which all the burials seem to have lain, would have delineated the burial area. It is just possible that the depressions at the base of 7 may have held marker posts or a timber monument or mausoleum.

There is no evidence to say whether all the burials were deposited at one time or at different stages. J. E. Price reported⁶ that in one coffin, which contained three skeletons, the third body had been interred at a later date than the others. The two skeletons in the amphora, moreover, could only have been placed in that receptacle after decomposition had taken place. If, however, this burial plot was in use for any period of time, there was no stratigraphic evidence in the 1972-3 excavations to indicate separate depositions.

PHASE III

DESCRIPTION

Ditch 8 was found in a small trench excavated between the two main trenches. It was aligned north-west-south-east and a bulge in its south-western edge suggests it might have cut or been cut by a posthole or small pit. If so, it was not possible to isolate this feature in plan.

Ditch 9 was aligned north-east-south-west and it cut Ditch 3.

DISCUSSION

Ditch 8 is the first recorded medieval feature from excavations at Old Ford. The nearest medieval settlement centre was at Bow, c. 900m to the south of Old Ford. It grew up around Bow Bridge, which was constructed in the 12th century to replace the ford crossing of the River Lea. The earliest detailed maps of the district show it as fields.⁷ Morville Street appears to lie within an area of one or more fields, bounded on the north by Barebinder Lane, now Tredegar Road, and on the east by a track, which later became Fairfield Road. When this parcel of land was sold off for building in the 19th century, it seems probable that the street lines would have been laid out along the former property boundaries. The fragments of medieval and

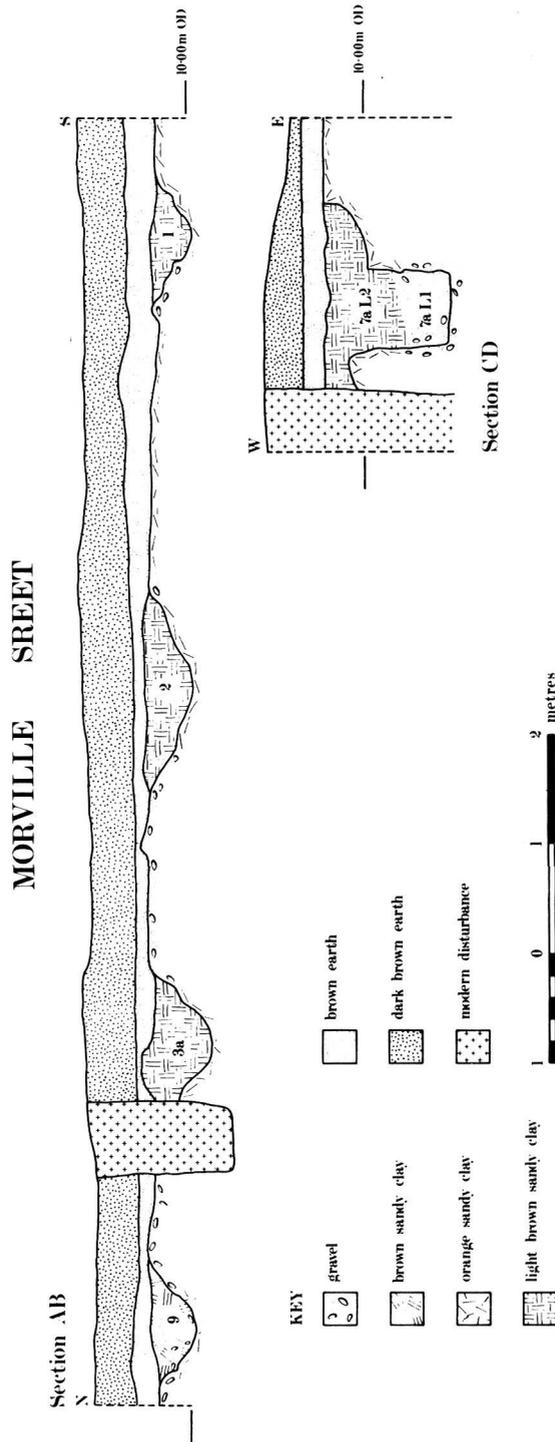


Fig. 3 Morville Street : Sections AB and CD.

post-medieval ditches found at Morville Street align with the 19th-century street pattern and were probably subdivisions of a field.

CONCLUSIONS

The Morville Street ditches of Phase I represent a period of activity stretching from perhaps the late 1st century through the 2nd century, and, with the exception of two 2nd-century features at Lefevre Road⁸ and the cremation from the Lefevre Road development site (see below), they are the clearest evidence of early Roman activity in Old Ford after the building of the road. Indeed, virtually all the evidence from the 1969-1975 excavations belongs to the mid 3rd century and later and suggests a late date for the Old Ford settlement.

However, an early settlement would not necessarily have been located in exactly the same place as the later settlement and as the archaeological work has been geographically restricted, it may not have been carried out within the area affected by early Roman occupation. The Morville Street site lies c. 300m south of the Roman Road and none of the ditches appear to be aligned on it (Fig. 29).

Only one other find of Roman date⁹ has been recorded this far south of the Road. It is not possible to say whether the fields belonged to those living at a roadside settlement to the north of Morville Street or to a farmstead located south of the Road, or perhaps near to the River Lea.

At Usher Road (see below) the fields furthest from the road seemed to be the largest ones. The lack of any late Roman ditches at Morville Street might similarly suggest the use of larger fields.

The possible burial complex may have belonged to some of the wealthier late Roman inhabitants of the area, particularly if a mausoleum had been erected.

NOTES

1. J. E. Price "Notes on Roman remains recently discovered in London and Middlesex" *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 3 (1870) 208-212 and Plate 6.
2. The animal bones were examined by Alison Locker.
3. Price *op. cit.* in note 1, 208.
4. Price *idem.*
5. Price *idem.*
6. Price *ibid.* 211.
7. Gascoyne 1703; Cardwell, survey of the Parish of St. Mary

- Stratford, Bow 1768; Horwood 1819 edition, published by W. Faden.
8. H. L. Sheldon "Excavations at Lefevre Road, Old Ford, E.3" *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 23 part i (1971) 64.
 9. W. J. Owen, I. Schwab and H. L. Sheldon "Roman burials from Old Ford, E.3" *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 145 Appendix, No. 12. The Lacey Street burial (Appendix, No. 5) is probably a duplicate reference to one of the Morville Street coffins.

Table I

Feature No.	Length (in metres)	Breadth (in metres)	Depth (in metres)	Fill Description	Finds	Pottery dating
Phase I						
1	8.00+	1.00 at east 1.40 at west	0.36 at east 0.50 at west	Light brown sandy clay.	Bone, BM, SF 2	L.1st-E.2nd C.
2	6.50+	1.20 at east 0.70 at west	0.42 at east 0.28 at west	Light brown sandy clay containing some pebbles.		2nd C.
3	29.60+			Light brown sandy clay containing some pebbles.		First half of 2nd C.
3a	6.60	0.90	0.50			
3b	9.40	1.10 at east 0.60 at west	0.50 at east 0.30 at west			
4	7.50+	1.00	uneven 0.26-0.50	Brown sandy clay.	Bone, BM, SF 1	Mid 2nd C. Samian : Hadrianic - E. Antonine
5	8.30+	0.55	0.17	Brown sandy clay.		Samian : Flavian
6	7.00+	0.30	0.20	Brown sandy clay.		Roman

Feature No.	Length (in metres)	Breadth (in metres)	Depth (in metres)	Fill Description	Finds	Pottery dating
Phase II						
7	3.80+	3.50+	uneven 0.25-0.35	Light brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal.	BM	L.3rd-4th C.
7a	2.30	0.75	1.12	Orange gravelly sand.	4 iron nails	L.3rd-4th C.
L1				Light brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal.		
L2						
Phase III						
8	1.90+	0.95	0.35	Grey-brown sandy clay with a thin layer of gravel on the SW slope.	BM	13th-14th C.
9	5.40+	0.80 at NW 0.40 at SW	0.20	Brown sandy clay.	Bone, BM	L.16th/E.17th C.

Table I Morville Street : Description of features and dating. (+ after a figure indicates that the full measurement was not obtainable. BM refers to building material; MD to modern disturbance; SF to small finds; the numbers refer to objects in finds reports).

THE FINDS

SAMIAN POTTERY

by Joanna Bird

1. Dr 37, Central Gaul, Trajanic – Hadrianic (From 4).

2. Dr 18R, South Gaul, Flavian, slightly burnt (From 4).
3. Dr 18/31, Central Gaul, Hadrianic-early Antonine, some sherds burnt (From 4).
4. Decorated fragment, South Gaul, Flavian (From 4).
5. Dr 18, South Gaul, Flavian (From 5).

ROMAN POTTERY

by Wendy McIsaac

The pottery from the Roman features on the site has been illustrated and described below. The surfaces of all the sherds had been badly affected by weathering and while they indicate the date of the features, the groups of pottery are too small to provide a basis for any discussion of the pottery industry or trade.

Ditch 1. Late 1st-early 2nd century (Fig. 4)

Jars

1. Dark grey with red surfaces; very soft fine sandy vesicular fabric, grogged.
2. Black; fairly soft grogged vesicular fabric; burnished rim; handmade.
3. Light grey with red surfaces; very soft sandy fabric.
4. Grey; fairly soft grogged fabric.
5. Grey with brownish grey surfaces; very soft grogged fabric; burnished.
6. Black; soft vesicular fabric.
7. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; very soft fine sandy fabric; burnished.
8. Reddish brown with grey exterior; very soft fine sandy fabric; rim and shoulder slipped and burnished. May have been a poppy beaker but only a few possible traces of barbotine dot decoration remain.
9. Brown with grey surfaces; soft sandy fabric.

Bowls and Dishes

10. Grey with red-brown surfaces; fairly soft fine sandy fabric, grogged. Possible traces of burnishing.
11. Black with red to black surfaces; very soft fine sandy fabric, grogged.
12. Brownish grey core, red margins and brown surfaces; soft fine sandy fabric; burnished, rouletted decoration.

Ditch 3. First half of 2nd century (Fig. 4)

Jars

13. Grey with red surfaces; soft fine sandy fabric, grogged.
14. Black core with red margins and grey-brown surfaces; fairly soft fine sandy fabric; burnished.
15. Grey; soft fine sandy fabric; light grey slip.

Mortarium

16. Grey; fairly hard sandy fabric, grogged; burnt.

Ditch 4. Mid 2nd century (Fig. 4, Nos. 17-20; Fig. 5, Nos. 21-30)

Flagons

17. White to buff; slightly soft granulated fabric. Verulamium region.
18. Red; soft sandy fabric; cream slip on surfaces.

Jars

19. Red; soft grogged vesicular fabric.
20. Light grey with brown surfaces; soft fine sandy fabric; rim and exterior slipped and burnished dark grey with barbotine dot decoration.
21. Grey with slightly darker surfaces; soft grogged fabric.
22. Pinkish orange with buff surfaces; soft sandy fabric.
23. Grey; soft fine sandy fabric, grogged.
24. Buff; slightly soft sandy fabric.
25. Grey; soft fine sandy fabric.

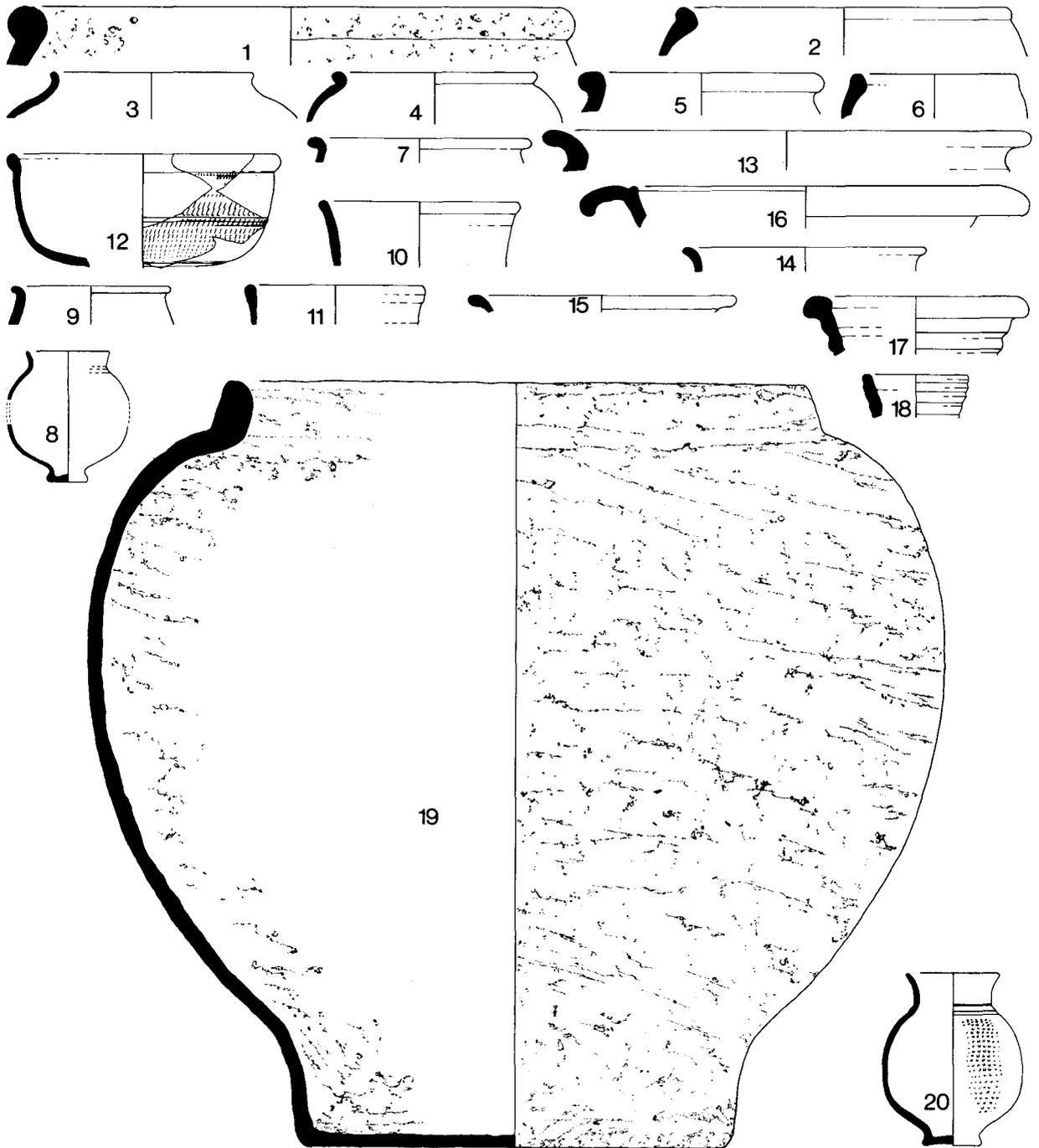


Fig. 4 Morville Street : Roman pottery Nos. 1-20 Phase I. (4)

26. Black; soft fine sandy fabric.
 27. Grey; fairly soft fine sandy fabric, grogged.
 28. Grey; fine sandy fabric.
 29. Brown with grey surfaces; fairly soft sandy fabric; burnished.
Lid
 30. Grey with red surfaces; fairly soft sandy fabric, grogged; white slip on exterior.

Bowl

34. Grey; fairly hard fine sandy fabric; traces of burnishing. Features 7 and 7a. Late 3rd-4th century (Fig. 5)

Jars

31. Red with grey exterior surface; slightly soft sandy fabric (Not illustrated).
 32. Grey with greyish brown surfaces; fairly hard sandy fabric.
 33. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; fairly hard sandy fabric.

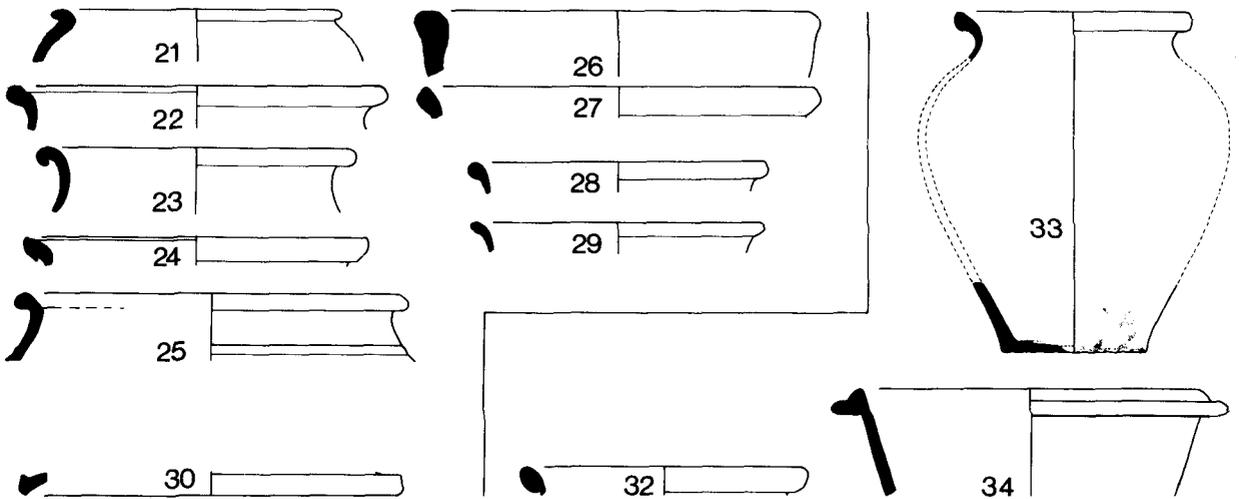


Fig. 5 Morville Street : Roman pottery Nos. 21-30 Phase I; 32-34 Phase II (4)

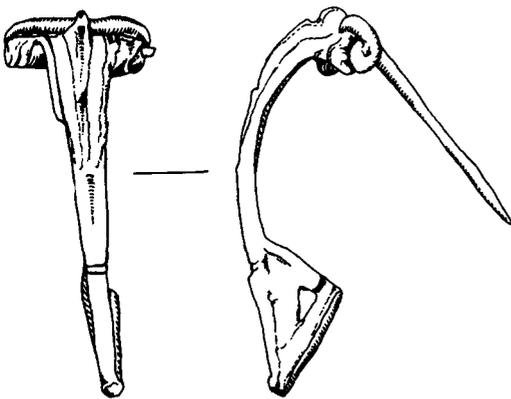


Fig. 6 Morville Street : Bronze brooch. (1/1)

SMALL FINDS

1. Bronze brooch. Camulodunum type IV. Partially covered spring and pierced catchplate. Late 1st - early 2nd century. Illustrated (Fig. 6) (From 4).
2. Fragment of quern or mill. Very worn. 135mm x 92mm. Thickness 118mm. Niedermendig lava (basalt) from the Mayen area of Germany. This stone is common in the London area, see Chapman (1976, 127). (From 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapman (1976) in K. Crouch "The Archaeology of Staines and the Excavation at Elmsleigh House" *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 127.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, and in particular Andrew Kelt, Deputy Borough Planning Officer, for permission to excavate the site.

Many people helped with the excavation particularly Pete Daniels, Robin Densem, John Earp, Lesley Edwards, Win Exley, Eric Ferretti, Eddie Jeffreys, Bernard Johnson, Richard Lock, Doreen Millard, Judith Plouviez and John Warbis.

The pottery and brooch were drawn by Doreen Millard; the plans and sections by Dorrie Orchard and Nigel Swift. The quern was examined by Hugh Chapman and Martyn Owen; Geoff Marsh, Tony MacKenna and Harvey Sheldon commented on the Roman pottery. The medieval and later pottery was identified by Elizabeth Platts. Alison Locker examined the animal bones and Bernard Nurse provided help with the documentary evidence. The brooch was conserved by Margaret Garlake. The report was typed by Alison Bristow.

EXCAVATIONS AT USHER ROAD, E.3.

Wendy McIsaac and Irene Schwab

INTRODUCTION

The site (grid ref: TQ 3690 8357) was situated in the Old Ford area of Tower Hamlets (Figs. 1, 7). It was bounded on the north by Old Ford Road, on the south by Roman Road, and lay between Usher Road and Parnell Road. Excavation took place between the summer of 1974 and the spring of the following year.

The aim of the excavation was to investigate further the Roman settlement at Old Ford prior to the redevelopment of the site which covered a total area of *c.* 7200 sq. m. However, it was decided to concentrate on the southern portion which lay closer to the Roman London to Colchester Road¹ as this seemed the best way of locating associated settlement.

The excavation began after most of the houses fronting on to Parnell and Usher roads had been demolished, and involved the rear parts of these houses and their back gardens. The front parts of the houses were not excavated because they were basemented. Within the excavated area (*c.* 900 sq. m.), some modern disturbance was encountered, particularly in the gardens where air-raid shelters had been erected. Initially two trenches were dug, one (33.5m x 8.25m) on the eastern and one (20.5m x 8.25m) on the western side of the site. Subsequently the area between these two trenches was excavated and the eastern trench was also extended to the north. The top *c.* 0.75m was removed by machine as the stratigraphy here had been subjected to post-medieval disturbance.

The site lies on the Higher Flood Plain gravel which, in this area, is overlain by layers of natural sand and brickearth. The features recorded had been cut into the brickearth and some were also dug through into the underlying sand.

DESCRIPTION OF FEATURES

The basic information concerning features on the site has been set out below in two tables. Table II contains a description of the fill, dimensions and OD heights of features. Table III indicates stratigraphic relationships, dating evidence and material including that described in specialist reports. In each table the individual contexts have been grouped under the main types of feature found on the site, *i.e.* ditches, pits and dark earth. Where information additional to that presented in the two tables is necessary it has been included in the text below.

The truncation of deposits, apparently by ploughing, the recutting of features – particularly ditches, the concentration of features in certain areas, and the similarity in

the colour and texture of their fills made some of the stratigraphic relationships difficult to determine.

The features, consisting mainly of pits and ditches, were concentrated in the southern part of the excavated area (Fig. 8). The ditches had been dug on two alignments at right angles to each other, north-south and east-west.

The total quantity of material recovered from the site was not large, the bulk of it

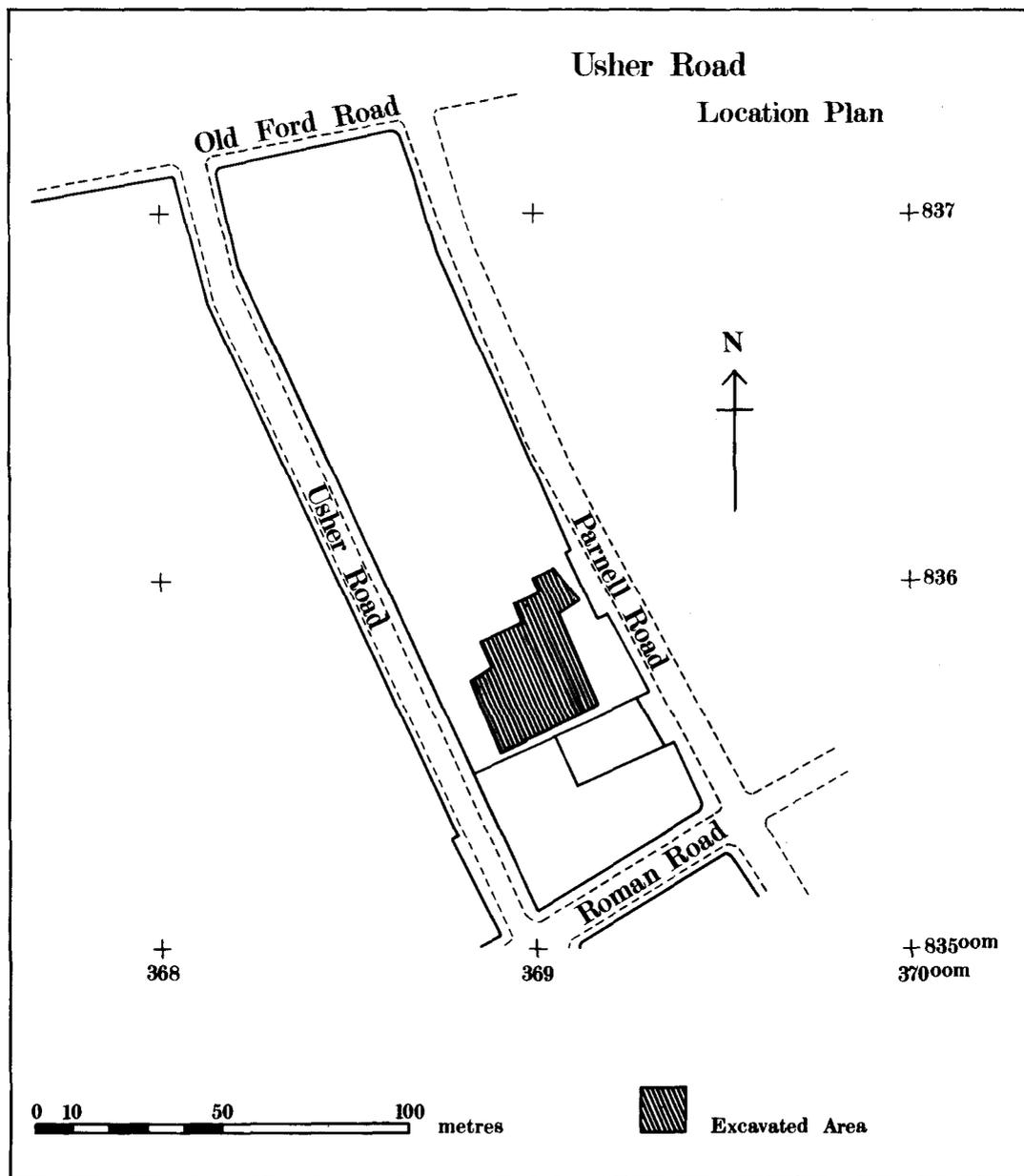


Fig. 7 Usher Road : Site Location Plan.

coming from the ditches. The pottery tended to be fragmentary and abraded. Building material was found in most features, although there was no other evidence of structures. Iron slag was also present in many contexts, but there was no indication that metal working had taken place on the site. Bone was not well preserved, and shell rarely survived (for contexts see Table III).

(The ditches are numbered in Roman numerical sequence, the other features with Arabic numerals).

DITCHES

(Figs. 8, 9)

DESCRIPTION

The profile of most of the ditches on the site was 'U'-shaped, although probably this had been emphasised by weathering. Their dimensions varied; most had widths of one to two metres. A few, particularly the north-south ditches, had been dug through the brickearth into the top of the underlying sand. Their gradients were also variable and no drainage pattern could be discerned.

East-West Ditches

Ditch II probably ran into III which had been cut at right angles to it. The junction of the two had been removed by a later north-south ditch, XIV.

Ditch VI. Modern disturbance precluded the excavation of more than a small portion of this feature although its elongated shape suggests that it was more likely to have been a ditch than a pit.

Ditch VIII had a stepped profile and although it appears in the table as one ditch containing two layers it is possible that Layer 2 could have been a recut.

Ditches IX and X. From the central part of the site, IX and X are listed in the tables as two separate ditches; however it is possible that they were both part of the same ditch. An oolitic limestone statue, probably of Mercury, was discovered lying at the base of IX (see specialist report, Fig. 26 and Plates 1, 2). While east-west ditches VII, IX, X and XVI appeared to run into north-south ditches XII, XIII and XVII, the relationships had been obscured by recutting.

North-South Ditches

Ditches III and XIV appeared to continue in the north-east part of the site, but towards the north it became increasingly difficult to differentiate between their fills.

Ditch XIII. On removal of a modern feature in the north of the site, the western edge of a ditch running north-south was seen in section. This may have been a continuation of XIII as it lay on the same alignment. An area of modern disturbance made it impossible to trace a physical connection between the two.

Ditch XX. Evidence for a ditch was found when a basement was removed to the north of the excavated area on the Usher Road frontage. Only the western edge of the ditch was seen in the section, but it appeared to run north-south and its upper portion had been truncated by ploughing.

43 Dark Earth. A deposit of dark earth filled the hollows left in the top of ditches XVI, XVII and immediately adjacent features (Fig. 13).

DISCUSSION

The quantity of material recovered from the ditches was greater than that from most of the pits, although the earliest ditches contained very little. In general the finds from the ditches in the western part of the site appear to be less abraded than those from the east. The date of the material from the ditches covers the period from mid/late 3rd century-4th century+.

The ditches, which appeared to belong to the same system, were laid out along two main alignments, north-south and east-west. They lay at an angle to the postulated line of the London-Colchester Road which ran 20-28m to the south of the site (Fig. 29). Their primary function was probably to demarcate field boundaries. They may also have served as drainage channels, particularly those dug into the top of the sand, although the level base of some ditches and the inconsistent slope of others suggests this may have been a secondary consideration.

The fields defined by the ditches were rectangular, but it was not possible to excavate a large enough undisturbed area to obtain their full dimensions. It appears that the fields nearer to the road tended to be smaller than those further north. Ditches found in 1976 during trial trenching to the west of Usher Road (Fig. 29) seem to fit this pattern².

PITS

(Figs. 8, 9)

DESCRIPTION

The pits, which varied in size and shape, were concentrated in the southern part of the excavated area. Most pits had their bases in the natural brickearth but 25, 28 and 29 had been dug through this level well into the underlying natural sand.

Most of the pit fills were fairly similar i.e. a brown sandy clay containing flecks of charcoal and burnt clay, with little associated material. Those with unusual characteristics are described below.

Pit 3 had four layers of backfill including one, Layer 3, of structural debris, consisting of fist-sized lumps of burnt clay with stick and grass impressions. Sherds from the same vessel were found scattered throughout the layers and were less abraded than much of the pottery from the site.

Pits 25, 28, 29. The relationship between 25, 28 and 29, situated in the central part of the site, was unclear. They could be separate pits or possibly part of the same feature. Pit 25 contained the skeleton of a dog (see bone report).

DISCUSSION

The undifferentiated fills of most pits, the absence of any apparent silting and the small amount of material they contained suggests that they were backfilled fairly quickly. Where pits and ditches coincide the former are usually stratigraphically earlier. The material contained in the pits ranges in date from the mid 3rd-late 4th century +; most belongs to the late 3rd-mid 4th century. As with the ditches, the bone, pottery and building material recovered from the pits was in an abraded condition, particularly on the eastern part of the site, with the exception of that from 42.

There is little evidence to indicate the function of most of the pits. Pits 21 and 22 which seemed to be associated although there was no stratigraphic relationship, were situated in the north-west part of the site. Pit 22 was very shallow and although it contained no skeleton, its size (1.85m x 0.65m) and shape suggest a possible grave. Pit 21, located immediately east of 22, may have been a post hole for a grave marker. If this feature were a grave, it would conform to the usual pattern of burials in the Old Ford area which are generally found on agricultural land, singly or in small groups³.

Pit 42 was located on the eastern part of the site. This feature contained a thin layer of charcoal representing burning which probably had occurred *in situ* as the underlying earth had been baked. The burnt area and the shape of 42 suggest it may originally have been an oven, but it was subsequently used as a rubbish pit.

Most of the pits seem to respect some sort of boundary c. 37m north of the postulated northern edge of the London-Colchester Road. Only 7% of the pits lay to the north of this 'line'. The pits may have been dug for the extraction of brickearth, although this would have had to have been on a very small scale and in an *ad hoc* manner. It is possible that they had some agricultural function. The quantity of material from Pits 3, 20, 30 and 42 suggests that whatever their original purpose they had been used for rubbish disposal.

CHRONOLOGY

It is clear that not all the features on the site were in use at the same time. To clarify the sequence of activity the features have been divided into four phases.

Phase I (Fig. 10). Mid-late 3rd century (Nos. I-III, 1-3). This is the earliest phase of activity on the site. Pit 3 can be dated to the mid 3rd century, but ditches in this phase are probably slightly later. Only a few pits date to this period.

Phase II (Fig. 11). Late 3rd-mid 4th century (Nos. IV-XV, 4-39). The early ditches went out of use. A new system incorporating VII, IX, XII, XIV and probably IV and VI was laid out. Ditch XIV was dug along the same alignment as III (Phase I). During the phase some of these ditches were recut; IV was cut by V, VII by VIII, IX by X and XII by XIII.

Most of the pits also date from this period although the paucity of material made some of them difficult to date. However, their general character suggests they belong to this phase.

Phase III (Fig. 12). Mid-late 4th century (Nos. XVI-XVIII, 40). Ditches in the west went out of use but the system was continued in the central and eastern parts of the site; XVII replaced XIII, XVIII replaced XIV, and XVI replaced X. Only one pit, 40, belongs in this phase.

Phase IV (Fig. 13). Late 4th century+ (Nos. XIX, 41-43). By this time all the east-west ditches and the central north-south ditches had been discontinued. However, on the eastern part of the site XVIII was replaced by XIX. Pit 42, a possible oven, was in use and subsequently served as a rubbish dump. In the central part of the excavated area a dark earth, 43, filled in the hollows left in the top of the Phase III ditches.

USHER ROAD ROAD site plan

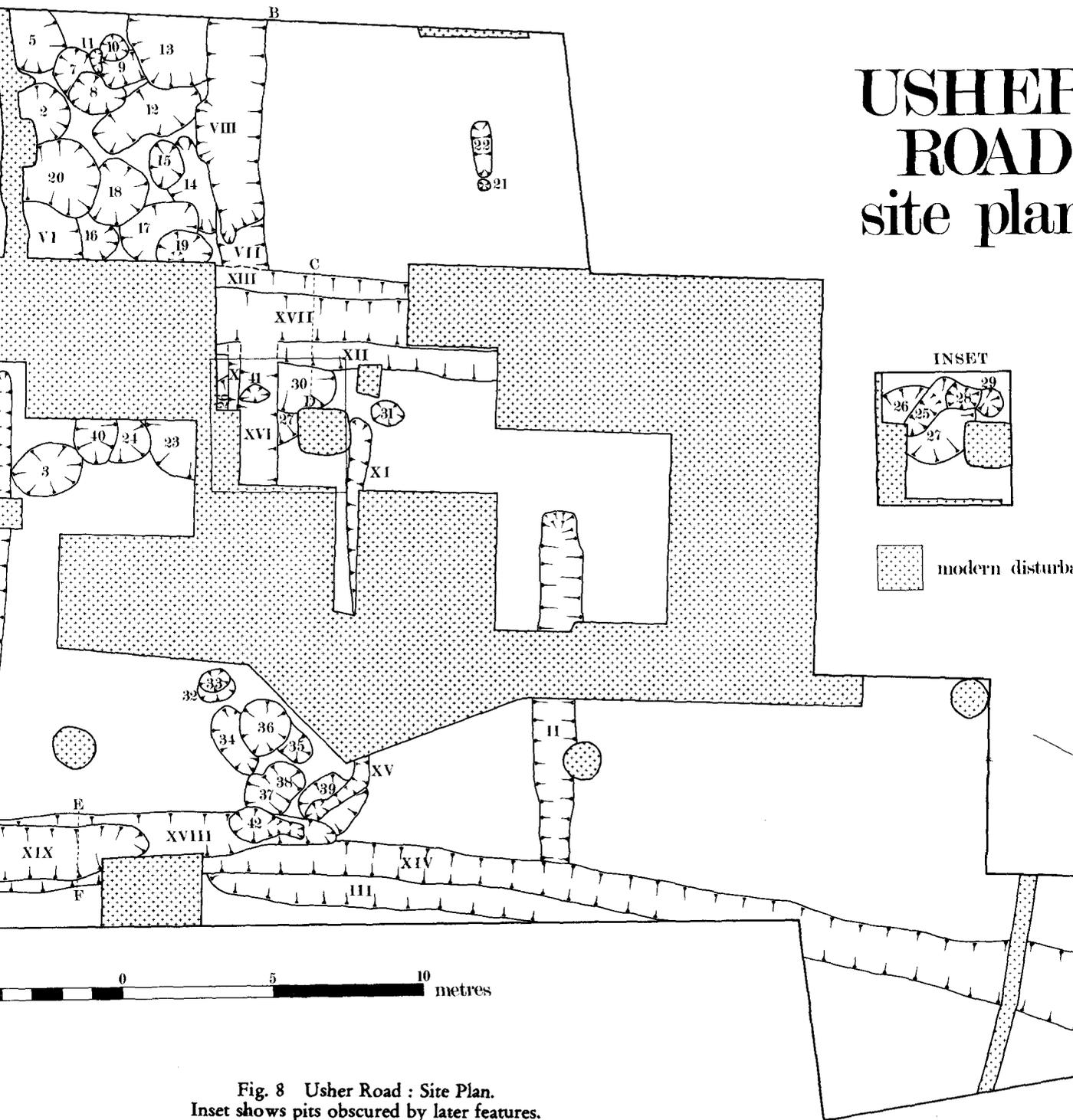
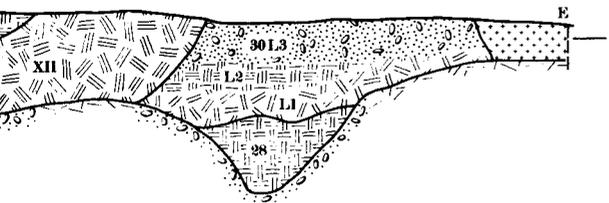
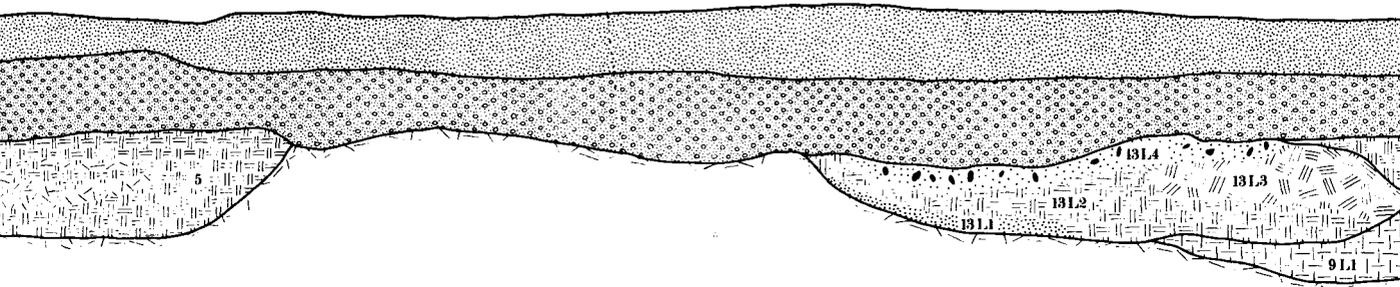


Fig. 8 Usher Road : Site Plan.
Inset shows pits obscured by later features.

USHER ROAD



KEY

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|------------------------------|
|  | brown sandy clay |  | gravel |
|  | dark brown sandy clay |  | charcoal |
|  | light brown sandy clay |  | burnt clay |
|  | pinkish grey sandy clay |  | modern disturbance |
|  | orange yellow sandy clay |  | dark brown earth |
|  | greenish brown sandy clay |  | light brown earth and stones |

w S

Fig. 9 Usher Road : Sections AB, CD and

CONCLUSIONS

At Usher Road a large area, c. 900 sq. m., was examined and as at other sites in Old Ford⁴, the top c.0.75m of deposits had suffered from plough damage and the Roman ground surface had been lost. However enough survived of the features to indicate that in the later Roman period the site was utilised for fields and not for settlement. The ditches were almost certainly field boundaries although they may also have had other functions.

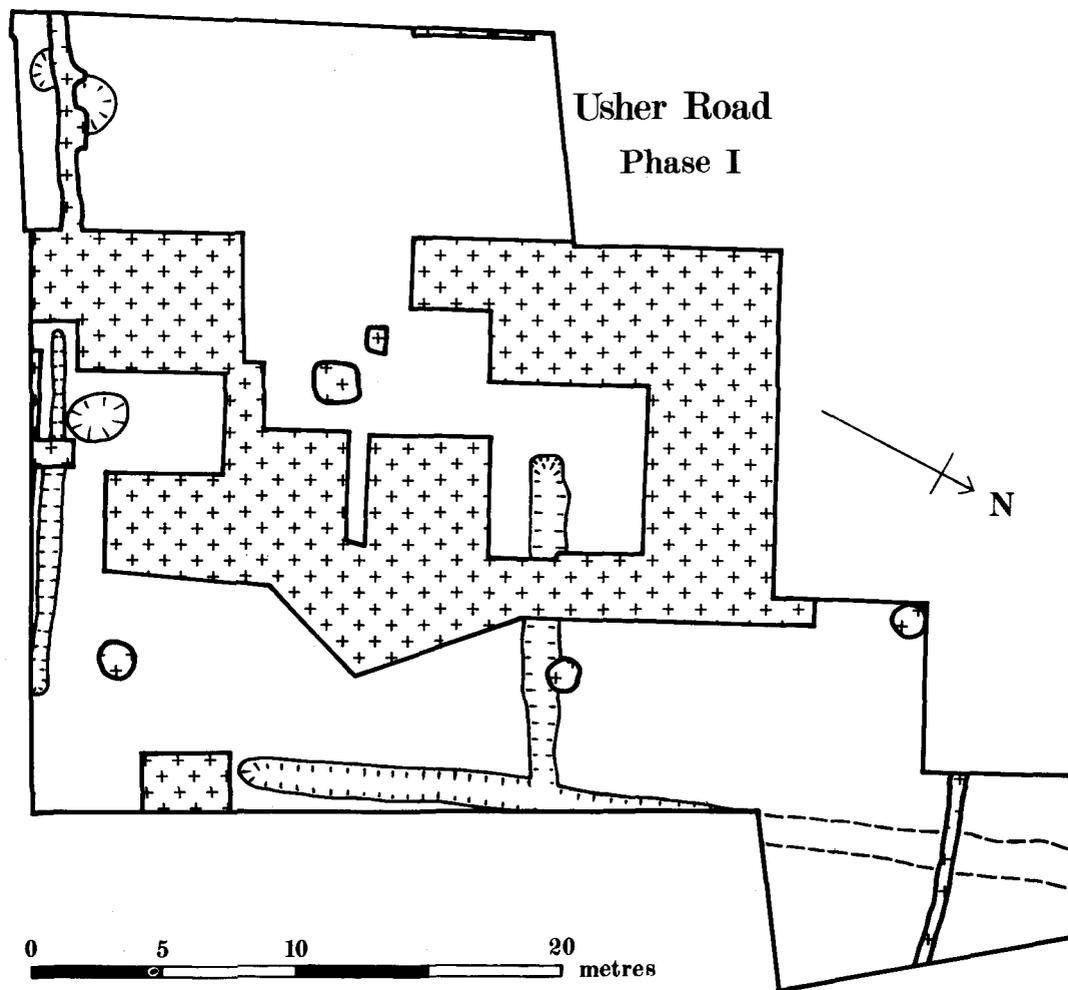


Fig. 10 Usher Road : Plan of features in Phase I.

Within the excavated area 19 ditches were recorded, covering a date range of c.150 years. The system was first laid out in the mid-late 3rd century and was renewed at least four times, apparently once every generation. Throughout the period the fields to the north appeared to be larger than those to the south, although it was not possible to obtain the exact dimensions of any one field.

The earliest system (Phase I) was replaced in the late 3rd-mid 4th century (Phase II) by

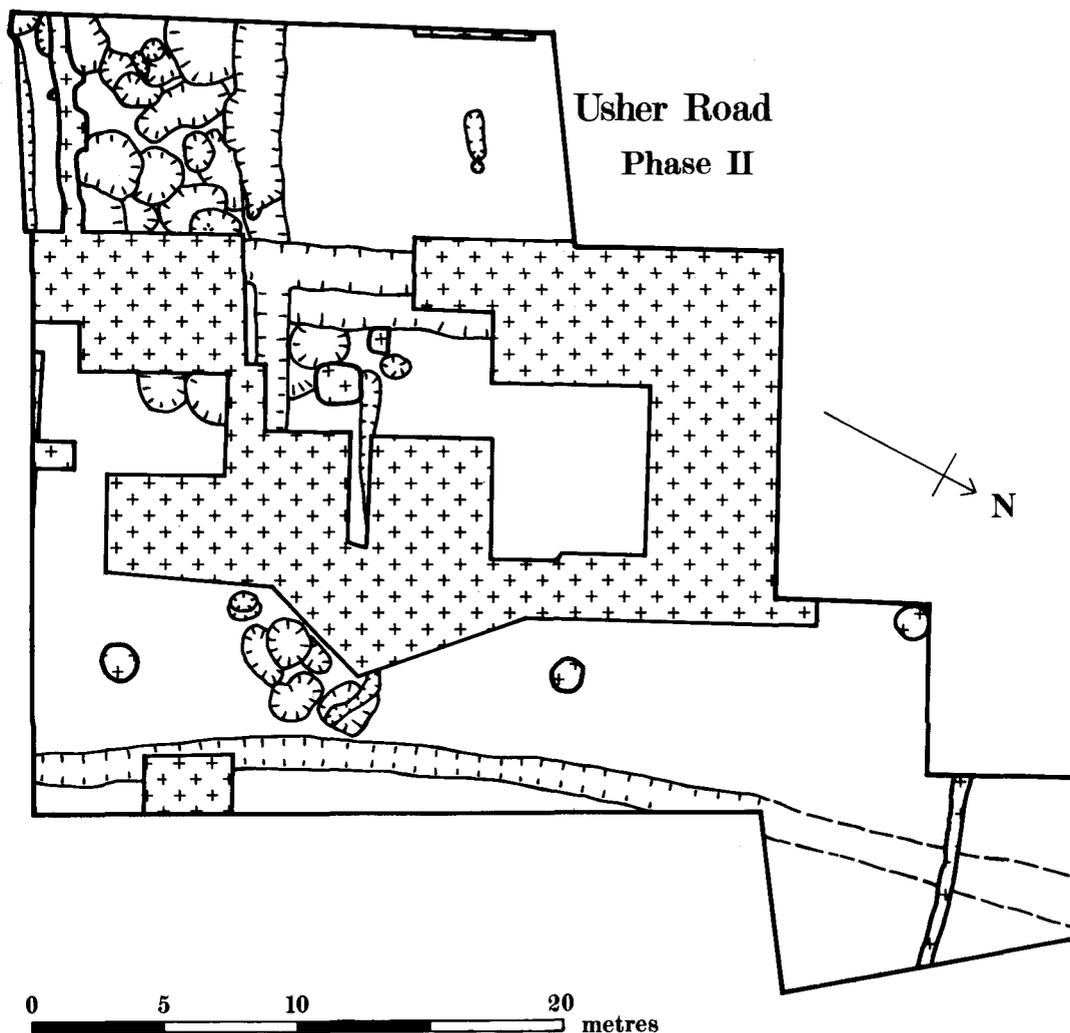


Fig. 11 Usher Road : Plan of features in Phase II.

one involving more ditches, which, at least in some cases, seemed to enclose smaller areas. After the mid 4th century there were again fewer divisions and activity on the western part of the site ceased. Features dating to phases III and IV were only found towards the east of the excavated area. This might imply a return to larger fields or that the settlement contracted or moved further to the east. The latter might also be suggested by the coin distributions (see coin report p. 77).

Only one ditch alignment remained in use through all four phases and it seemed to indicate the continuity of a boundary running north-south along the eastern edge of the site. From the mid-late 4th century the line did not stretch as far north as previously.

The London-Colchester Road, which lay only 20-28m from the southern edge of the site, was in use throughout the period of Roman occupation⁵. If its proposed line is correct⁶, the fields do not appear to have been aligned on it (Fig. 29).

Unlike the ditches, the rough boundary that the pits seemed to respect, 37m north of the highway, appears to have been parallel to the road line.

The majority of the pits (90%) were backfilled between the late 3rd and the mid 4th century, averaging out at about one pit every two years. The function of some pits can be identified, i.e. rubbish pits, oven, grave pit, but for most it remains obscure.

Soil samples from both pits and ditches were examined⁷ but, apart from unidentifiable flecks of charcoal, the only surviving environmental remains were animal bones. The small quantity of bone recovered from the site provides little evidence on which to base detailed conclusions about the economy of the area.

Apart from a few residual sherds and coins, there is no evidence for activity at Usher Road before the mid 3rd century. The most substantial use of the site appears to have been in the late 3rd-mid 4th century and there was very little evidence of activity after the late 4th century. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that any feature continued in use after the beginning of the 5th century.

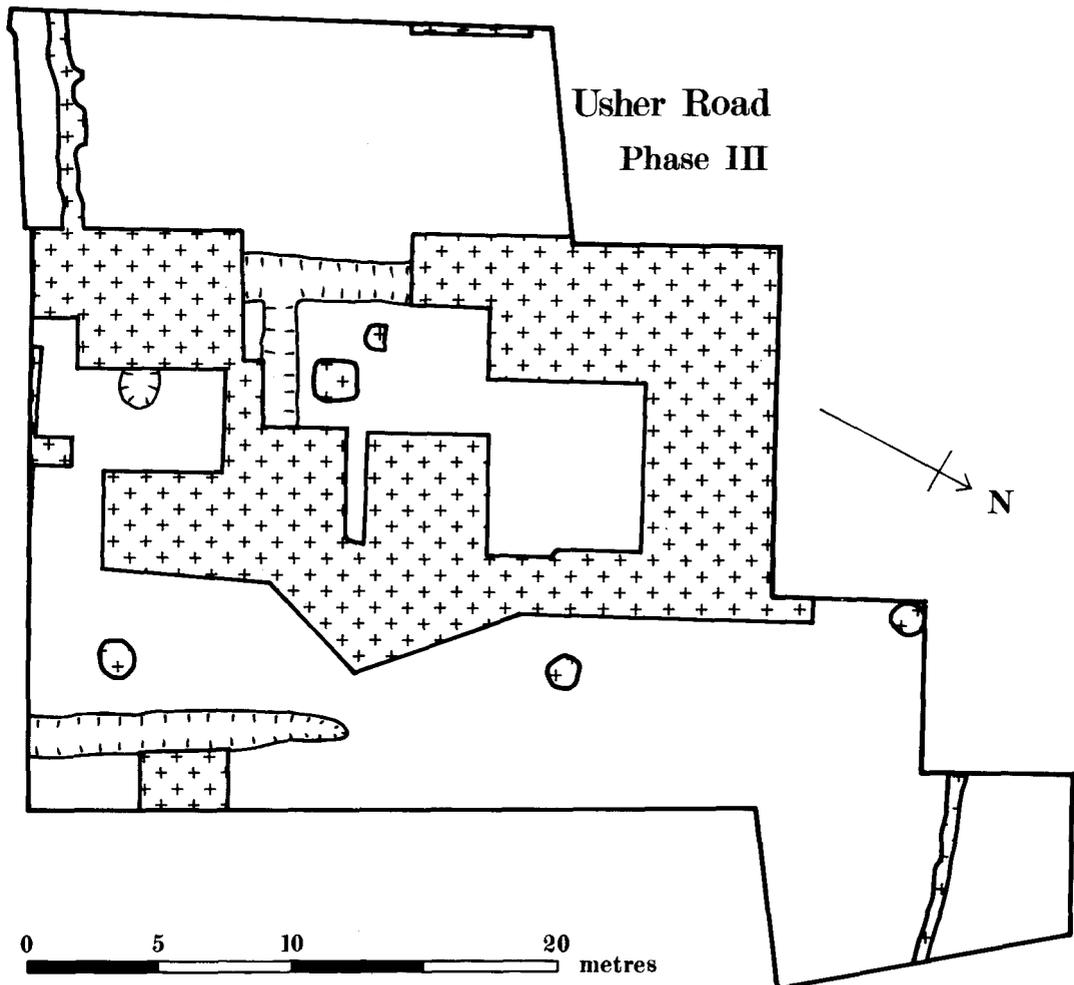


Fig. 12 Usher Road : Plan of features in Phase III.

NOTES

1. The most recent alignment of the road is that published in Owen *et al* 'Roman burials from Old Ford, E3' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 135, Fig. 1.
2. Inner London Archaeological Unit 'Sites investigated by the Inner London Archaeological Unit 1974-1976' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 28 (1977) 256.
3. Owen *op. cit.* in note 1. 135-145; see also p.44 present volume.
4. H. L. Sheldon 'Excavations at Parnell Road and Appian Road, Old Ford, E3' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 23, part ii (1972) 106, Fig. 4.
5. *Op. cit.* in note 2 'Parnell Road/Usher Road, Old Ford, E3', 255 and 'Usher Road/Armagh Road, Old Ford, E3', 256.
6. I. Schwab 'Excavations at Morville St, E3' present volume p.40.
7. H. L. Sheldon 'Excavations at Lefevre Road, Old Ford, E3' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 23, part i (1971) 42.
8. See note 1.
9. The examinations were carried out by Alison Locker and Penny Spencer.

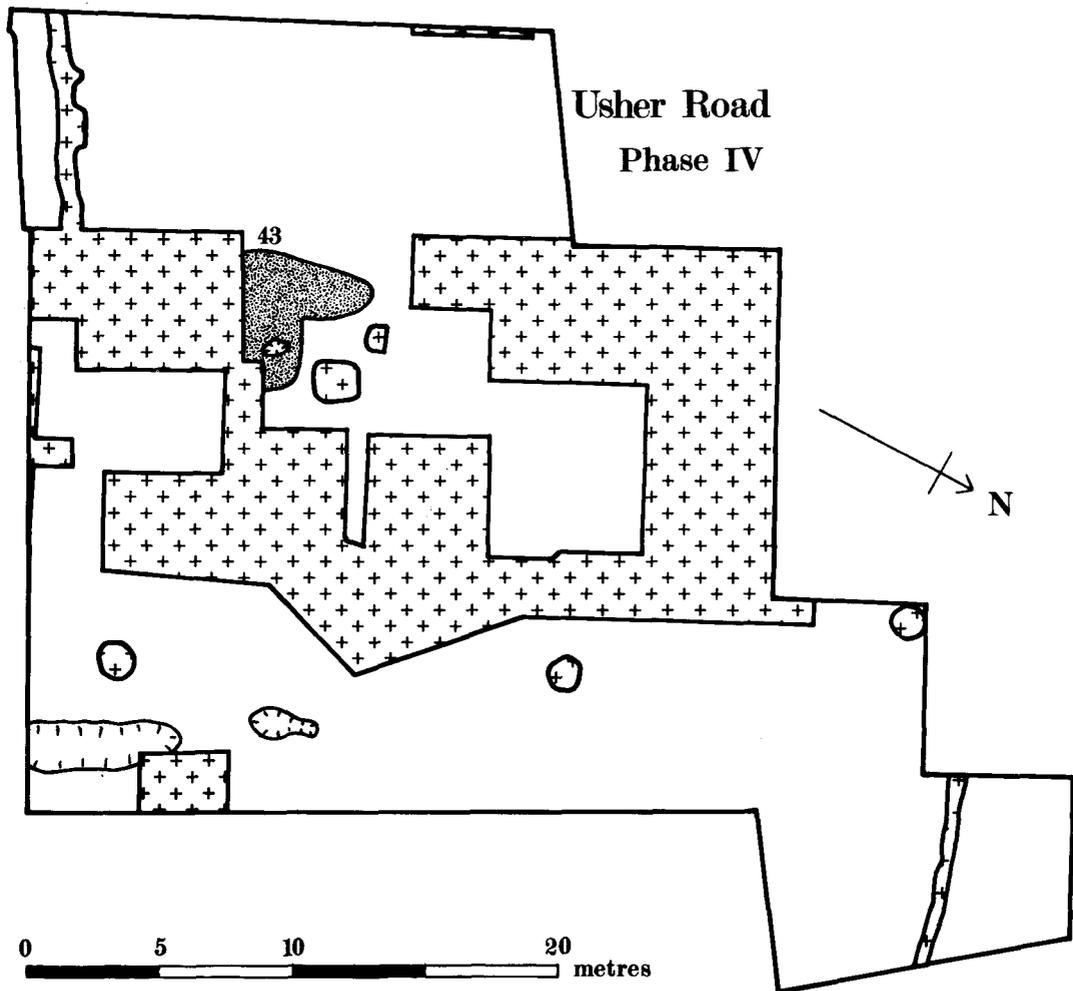


Fig. 13 Usher Road : Plan of features in Phase IV.

Table II Usher Road. Description of Features

(For abbreviations see Table I)

Context	Fill Description	Length (in metres)	Breadth (in metres)	Depth (in metres)	Height of base +O.D. (in metres)
Ditches					
I		14.00	0.60	0.35	10.55
Layer 1	Light pink orange sandy clay with flecks of charcoal, separated from Layer 2 by a spread of charcoal in one area.				
Layer 2	Light brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal.				
II	Orange-light brown clay, lenses of grey silty clay with burnt material and flecks of charcoal.	12.00	1.40	0.50	10.40
III	Light brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	37.50+	1.30	0.50	10.30-10.60
IV		5.30+	0.60+	0.40	10.12
Layer 1	Yellowish green sandy clay				
Layer 2	Grey-green sandy clay with flecks of charcoal.				
V		7.60+	0.60+	0.80	10.48
Layer 1	Orange sandy gravel.				
Layer 2	Brown sandy clay with flecks of burnt clay and charcoal.				
Layer 3	Patch of grey-brown sandy clay at east end.				
Layer 4	Patch of yellow clay with flecks of burnt clay and charcoal at east end.				
Layer 5	Patch of brown earth with flecks of burnt clay at east end.				
Layer 6	Small patch of yellow clay with flecks of burnt clay and charcoal.				
Layer 7	Dark grey-brown earth.	3.45+	1.85+	0.77	10.40
VI					
Layer 1	Mixture of dark grey and pinkish sandy clay.				
Layer 2	Pinkish grey sandy clay.				
Layer 3	Pinkish clay with grey streaks.				
Layer 4	Orange sandy gravel.				
Layer 5	Yellow clay with flecks of burnt clay and charcoal.				
VII	Pinkish grey sandy clay.	8.30+	1.50+	0.58	10.50
VIII		7.50+	1.85	0.63	10.53
Layer 1	Light greyish brown sandy clay with flecks of burnt clay.				
Layer 2	Dark brown sandy clay.				
IX	Grey sandy clay with gravel patches, also lumps of yellow clay towards the top, flecks of charcoal.	3.50+	0.80+	0.50	10.34

Context	Fill Description	Length (in metres)	Breadth (in metres)	Depth (in metres)	Height of base + O.D. (in metres)
X	Brown-grey sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and iron staining.	3.50+	0.85+	0.40	10.50
XI	Brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal.	6.60+	0.70	0.25	10.70
XII	Mottled light brown sandy clay with charcoal flecks.	9.75+	0.80+	0.55	10.30-10.48
XIII	Light brown to brown soft sandy clay with charcoal flecks.	9.75+	1.00+	0.70	10.25-10.50
XIV	Light brown to brown sandy clay with charcoal flecks.	39.50+	1.20	0.50	10.40-10.70
XV	Mottled brown soft sandy clay with a green tinge.	3.00+	0.45	0.40	10.40
XVI	Brown fairly loose sandy clay with fragments of burnt clay and charcoal flecks. Towards the top of the feature patches of yellow clay became common.	4.75+	1.25	0.40	10.50
XVII	Dark brown sandy clay with charcoal flecks.	9.75+	1.60	0.65	10.25-10.48
XVIII	Brown sandy clay with charcoal flecks.	12.00+	1.50	0.60	10.40-10.60
XIX		5.75+	1.80	0.50	10.57-10.74
Layer 1	Dark brown fairly loose sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.				
Layer 2	Dark brown-black sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay. Patches of orange clay are common at the base of this layer.				
XX	Brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	5.00+	0.55+	0.50	
Pits					
1	Grey sandy clay with streaks of yellow clay.	1.55	0.75+	0.24	10.78
2		2.20	1.65+	1.00	9.99
Layer 1	Dark grey silt with flecks of charcoal.				
Layer 2	Light brown sandy clay.				
3		2.40	1.55	0.65	10.35
Layer 1	Light brown sand with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.				
Layer 2	Brown-black sandy clay with a few lumps of burnt clay.				
Layer 3	Sandy clay matrix containing charcoal and numerous fist-sized lumps of burnt clay.				
Layer 4	Black sandy clay with small lumps of burnt clay and flecks of charcoal.				
4	Grey earth.	0.40	0.30+	0.10	10.89
5	Light brown sandy clay with streaks of yellow clay.	3.00	2.30	0.30	10.72

Context	Fill Description	Length (in metres)	Breadth (in metres)	Depth (in metres)	Height of base + O.D. (in metres)
6	Very dark brown earth.	1.25+	0.80+	0.45	10.88
7	Blue-grey sandy clay.	1.40	1.00+	0.16	10.68
8	Grey-brown sandy clay.	1.65	1.30	0.45	10.44
9		3.20	1.05	0.45	10.50
Layer 1	Light pinkish grey sandy clay.				
Layer 2	Light brown sandy clay with a patch of darker clay in the middle.				
10	Mottled yellow and grey sandy clay.	0.90	0.90	0.35	10.57
11	Grey-brown sandy clay.	0.80	0.35	0.07	10.79
12		3.65	1.85	0.57	10.41
Layer 1	Pinkish grey sandy clay.				
Layer 2	Grey-brown sandy clay.				
13		2.60+	2.40+	0.49	10.70
Layer 1	Dark brown earth with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.				
Layer 2	Light brown sandy clay.				
Layer 3	Brown sandy clay with streaks of yellow clay.				
Layer 4	Dark brown earth containing fragments of burnt clay and charcoal.				
14		3.35	1.45+	0.40	10.50
Layer 1	Pinkish grey sandy clay.				
Layer 2	Gravel in an orange clay matrix.				
15	Light brown sandy clay.	1.60	1.10	0.25	10.82
16	Pinkish grey sandy clay containing lenses of gravel.	1.60+	1.35+	0.30	10.47
17	Brown sandy clay.	2.65	1.85+	0.35	10.64
18	Light brown sandy clay.	2.20	1.90	0.50	10.49
19	Grey sandy clay with patches of yellow clay.	1.80	1.05+	0.40	10.56
20	Dark brown clayey earth.	2.55+	2.60	0.15	10.76
21	Brown earth.	0.40	0.40	0.10	10.89
22	Brown sandy clay.	1.85	0.65	0.06	10.93
23	Light brown sandy clay with patches of yellow clay, flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.80+	1.70+	0.40	10.50
24	Light brown to brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.70	1.50+	0.30	10.53
25	Lenses of sand and clay varying from yellow to mottled grey with iron staining and flecks of charcoal. The deposit immediately surrounding the dog skeleton was green.	2.50	0.85	0.83	9.65
26	Mottled orange and grey sandy clay with numerous charcoal flecks and some burnt clay.	1.20+	1.10+	0.40	10.60
27	Light brown-orange sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	2.50	1.30+	0.55	10.29

Context	Fill Description	Length (in metres)	Breadth (in metres)	Depth (in metres)	Height of base + O.D. (in metres)
28	Very light brown sandy clay.	0.90+	0.50+	0.90	9.70
29	Light brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.00	0.90+	0.60	10.44
30		2.50	1.60	0.50	10.55
Layer 1	Greenish brown sandy clay with numerous charcoal flecks.				
Layer 2	Dark brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.				
Layer 3	Dark brown, gravelly earth with numerous charcoal flecks.				
31	Very light brown, sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.05	0.85	0.32	10.71
32	Light brown-pinkish grey sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.25	0.55	0.50	10.35
33	Dark brown-black sandy clay containing patches of clay.	1.00	0.55	0.40	10.44
34	Brown fairly sandy clay containing patches of orange clay, flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	2.45	1.25	0.40	10.43
35	Brown sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.00+	1.00	0.35	10.45
36	Brown, soft sandy clay with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.90	1.60	0.40	10.43
37	Brown clay with a few flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.70	1.00+	0.50	10.50
38	Brown clay with a few flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.30	1.00+	0.50	10.50
39	Light brown sandy clay with flecks of burnt clay.	2.35	2.10	0.40	10.40
40	Light brown to brown sandy clay with patches of yellow clay, flecks of charcoal and burnt clay.	1.55+	1.40	0.30	10.53
41	Black, loose fine grained earth with charcoal flecks.	1.00	0.50	0.30	10.85
42	Dark brown sandy clay with a thin layer of charcoal just above the bottom. The sandy clay immediately underlying the charcoal had been burnt.	2.50	1.20	0.28	10.54
Dark earth 43	Dark brown-black fairly clayey earth with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay. The bottom of this layer at its northern end consisted of a spread of charcoal.	irregular - see Fig. 13	irregular - see Fig. 13	0.20	10.95

Table III Usher Road. Stratigraphic relationships and dating.
(For abbreviations see Table I. Only the latest coin in each feature is given.)

Context	Cuts	Cut by	Pottery dating	Coin dating	Other finds
Ditches					
I		MD	Possibly pre L. 3rd C.		BM, slag, glass 1
II		XIV, MD	Possibly pre L. 3rd C.		Bone, BM, SF 1
III		XIV, MD	Possibly pre L. 3rd C.		Bone, BM
IV		V, MD	Probably L. 3rd C.		Bone, BM, slag
V	IV	6, MD	L. 3rd-E. 4th C.	270s-80s	Bone, BM, slag, SF 2, 18, 19
VI	2, 16	20, MD	L. 3rd C.		Bone, BM, SF 3
VII	12, 13, 14	VIII, XIII	L. 3rd-E. 4th C.		Bone, BM
VIII	VII, 12, 13, 14		First half of 4th C.	330-335	Bone, BM, slag, SF 4, 30
IX	25, 26	X, MD	L. 3rd-4th C.	259-68	Bone, BM, sculpture
X	IX, XII, 27	XVI, XVII, MD	Up to mid 4th C.		Bone, BM, glass 10, SF 23
XI		MD	320-50		Bone, BM
XII	30	X, XIII, XVI, XVII, MD	Early 4th C.		Bone, BM
XIII	VII, XII	XVII, MD	E.-mid 4th C.		Bone, BM, SF 9, 26
XIV	II, III	XVIII, XIX, MD	L. 3rd-E. 4th C.	318	Bone, BM, slag, SF 21
XV	39	XVIII, MD			BM, slag
XVI	X, XII, 25, 27, 30	41, underlies 43; MD	Mid 4th C.	350s-360s	Bone, BM, slag, SF 25
XVII	IX, X, XII, XIII	underlies 43; MD	Mid-L. 4th C.	388-402	Bone, BM, SF 10, 11
XVIII	XIV, XV, 37, 39	XIX, 42, MD	Mid-L. 4th C.		Bone, BM
XIX	XIV, XVIII	MD	L. 4th C. +	367-78	Bone, BM, slag, glass 7, 8, SF 7, 17
XX					
Pits					
1		4, 5, MD	Up to L. 3rd C.		BM
2		VI, 20, MD	Up to L. 3rd C.		Bone, BM, slag, SF 20
3		40	Mid 3rd C.		Bone, BM
4	1	MD			
5	1	6, 7, MD			Bone, BM, slag, glass 9
6	V, 5		Late Roman		Bone
7	5	8, 11			Bone, BM
8	7, 12	9	Late Roman		BM, slag
9	8	10, 11, 12, 13	L. 3rd-4th C.		Bone, BM, slag, glass 2
10	9	11	Late Roman		
11	7, 9, 10				SF 5
12	9	VIII, 8, 13	L. 3rd-4th C.		Bone, BM, slag
13	9, 12	VII, VIII	First half of 4th C.	270s-80s	Bone, BM, slag, glass 3, 4, SF 16
14		VII, VIII, 15, 17	L. 3rd-4th C.		Bone, BM
15	14		Mid 4th C.	293-296	BM
16		VI, 18, 20, MD	L. 3rd-4th C.		Bone, BM, SF 27
17	14	18, 19, MD	L. 3rd-4th C.		Bone, BM, glass 5, SF 31
18	16, 17	20	L. 3rd-4th C.		Bone, BM, slag
19	17	MD	Late Roman	287-90	
20	VI, 2, 16, 18	MD	Probably 320-360	270s-80s	Bone, BM, glass 6, 11, 12, SF 14, 24, 28
21			Roman		
22			Roman		
23		24, MD	L. 3rd-E. 4th C.	111	Bone, BM, slag
24	23	40, MD	E.-mid 4th C.		Bone, BM
25	26, 27 (relationship to 28 is ambiguous)	IX, XVI, 30, MD	4th C. probably 300-60	c. 250-90	Bone (dog skeleton), BM, slag
26		IX, 25, MD	300-50		Bone, BM
27		X, XVI, 25, 28, 30, MD	4th C. probably 300-60E.	3rd C.	Bone, BM
28	27 (relationship to 25 and 29 is ambiguous)	30	4th C.		BM
29	(relationship to 28 is ambiguous)	30	4th C.		BM
30	25, 27, 28, 29	XII, XVI, MD	320-70 4th C.	287-90	Bone, BM, SF 15
31					BM
32		33	L. 3rd-E. 4th C.		BM
33	32		300-360		BM
34		36	Roman		BM
35		36	Late Roman		BM

Table III *continued*

Context	Cuts	Cut by	Pottery dating	Coin dating	Other finds
36	34, 35		Late Roman		BM
37	(relationship to 38 is ambiguous)	XVIII, 42	Late Roman		BM
38	(relationship to 37 is ambiguous)		Late Roman		BM, SF 6
39		XV, XVIII			
40	3, 24	MD	Mid 4th C.	287-90	Bone, BM
41	XVI, 43		L. 4th C.	270s-80s	BM
42	XVIII, 37		L. 4th C.	388-402	Bone, BM, SF 8, 12, 29
Dark Earth					
43	overlies XII, XIII, XVIII	41, MD	L. 4th C.	388-402	Bone, BM, SF 13

THE FINDS STAMPED SAMIAN

by B. R. Hartley and Brenda Dickinson

MITY II B (11) in the mould of form 37. Die 2a, Libertus iii of Lezoux. This is a good example of the ovolo used by this rare potter; the rosette is also characteristic. Stamp 2a was also used

on forms 79 and 80, and occurs at Malton and Castlecary, so c. AD 155-185 is a likely date (*Fig. 14*).
(From XIV).



Fig. 14 Usher Road : Stamped samian. (½)

ROMAN POTTERY

by Wendy McIsaac

INTRODUCTION

The late Roman pottery described and illustrated below has been set out in the four phases mentioned in the text of the excavation report above. The material has been presented by feature within each phase.

The samian from features which were dated on the basis of the coarseware to the mid-late 3rd century was examined by Geoff Marsh. It was fragmentary and of 2nd-century date and therefore with the exception of one unusual stamp reported above, it has not been published. Possible residual coarseware has not been removed as its inclusion was considered less likely to perpetuate misconceptions concerning the occurrence of certain vessel types than its omission. A large number of vessels has been included in this report. This is because the evidence for the correlation of features across the site is based largely on the pottery dating.

Joanna Bird dated the pottery. The Alice Holt material was identified by Malcolm Lyne; Chris Young commented on the Oxfordshire and Much Hadham products and Geoff Marsh looked at the Black Burnished ware. The numbers following the Oxfordshire vessels refer to types defined by Young (1977).

DISCUSSION

The sherds recovered from the excavation were in an abraded condition as would be expected from an agricultural site and no complete vessels were found. The assemblages presented below appear to be fairly representative of the number and type of vessel from the site, although everted rim jars are probably slightly underrepresented due to the manner in which they break. The Mayen ware and several Oxfordshire forms have not been illustrated (see below).

The place of manufacture of the bulk of the Roman coarsewares from Usher Road cannot be identified. However, the site's location on the London-Colchester Road and the pottery itself suggests much of it came from the Essex sites (e.g.: *cf. material from Mucking, Rodwell (1973, 19-47)*).

Black Burnished ware has not been designated in the pottery descriptions because of the difficulties involved in identifying it with any certainty. Possible BB1 vessels include Nos. 1, 3, 6, 46, 47, 48, 86. There are others which are similar to BB1 types, but it is possible that these are local copies. Most of the Black Burnished ware and its derivatives were found in Phases I and II. Other identifiable sources include the Much Hadham kilns. The number of these sherds, found in Phases II, III and IV is not large, but its contribution to the total amount of pottery is greater than that from the Alice Holt industry. The latter is confined mainly to Phase IV. Vessels of the so called "Romano-Saxon" type occur only in the early-mid 4th century on the site.

Almost all the colour-coated wares come from either the Oxfordshire or Nene Valley kilns (although it is possible that some of the vessels designated as Nene Valley could be from Colchester). Oxfordshire and Nene Valley products were both introduced in Phase II, but the former were more common. While the majority of the Oxfordshire wares are red colour-coated types, the Parchment ware is well represented in Phases II and III. All the illustrated examples of the latter are open forms, however a few body sherds from closed vessels were recovered. Not illustrated also is an Oxfordshire sherd, form C.75, Young (1977, 164) found in Context 43. It has a white coating unlike most other vessels of this type which are usually coated red. It is not possible to tell if this was intentional or accidental. The only similar example known is from Bath, Young (1977, 316).

Apart from the few sherds of colour-coated beaker which may have come from Germany, Fulford (1977, 303) the only imports consisted of a couple of tiny fragments from central Gaul and two body sherds of Mayen ware found in Phase II and III ditches.

Many of the vessels present at Usher Road have parallels from the Appian Road, Hammerson (1972, 111-127) and Lefevre Road, Sheldon (1971, 54-64) sites in Old Ford. However, the composition of these assemblages reflects their later date (*cf. coin report*). Pit 42, which may have originally been an oven, contained a pottery assemblage which differs from most of the other Usher Road groups in having larger sherds and an unusually large proportion of colour-coated vessels.

Jars 172, 245, 246 and 252 are reminiscent of late Iron Age/early Roman forms and they may be residual. Although Nos. 245 and 246 are very fragmentary, 172 and 252 are not. Indeed the latter two vessels are in better condition than most other examples of early Roman pottery from the Old Ford area and compare favourably with the late Roman material from the site. It is possible that these vessels are contemporary with the deposits in which they were found and that there may have been a revival of earlier "Belgic" forms in the 4th century. A local parallel for 172 at Appian Road, Hammerson (1972, Fig. 11, No. 29) came from a late 4th-century+ context. The shell-tempered bead rim jars at Usher Road (Nos. 245, 246, 252) occur only in its latest phase. Similar vessels were found in a late 4th-century+ context at a nearby site in Lefevre Road, Sheldon (1971, Fig. 9, Nos. 20 and 21).

The mortaria from the site came from the Oxfordshire region with the exception of two from Phase I and one from Phase II. At Usher Road in Phases III and IV the proportion of mortaria to other classes of vessel seems to decline. A brief look at other sites in the London area (e.g. Staines, Crouch (1976); Brentford, Laws (1976); Southwark, Hammerson and Murray (1978); Lefevre Road, Sheldon (1971); Appian Road, Hammerson (1972)) also suggests that the proportion of mortaria is generally lower in the 4th century than earlier in the Roman period, although the percentages vary from site to site. The decrease in mortaria at Usher Road therefore appears to be part of a general trend and is particularly noticeable from the mid 4th century onwards. Young (1977, 239) states that there was little change in the 4th-century pattern of pottery supply from the Oxford region, the centre which supplied most of the London area's mortaria in the late Roman period. London seems to have been an exception to this pattern. It is possible that this decline was due to difficulties in the industry itself and it might be possible to verify this by examining other areas supplied by the Oxfordshire potters. However, the supply of colour-coated wares does not seem to have suffered and apparently no other production centre stepped in to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the Oxfordshire

mortaria. The decline in mortaria may reflect a reduced demand for this type of vessel. If so, the decrease in the proportions of mortaria to other vessels at Usher Road and elsewhere may be indicative of a change in methods used in food preparation in the 4th century.

PHASE I Mid-late 3rd century

(Fig. 15)

Ditch I. Possibly pre late 3rd century

Jars

1. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished rim and shoulder.
2. Grey with lighter surfaces; slightly soft micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished exterior.
3. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished rim and exterior.
4. Grey; hard sandy fabric.

Dish

5. Black with lighter grey surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished.

Ditch II. Possibly pre late 3rd century

Jar

6. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished rim and exterior.

Bowls and Dishes

7. Grey with slightly lighter surfaces; fairly hard sandy fabric; light grey slip on rim and upper half of vessel.
8. Brown with black surfaces; slightly soft micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
9. Grey core, brown margins and dark grey surfaces; slightly soft micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.

Ditch III. Possibly pre late 3rd century

Jars

10. Orange core with buff surfaces; fairly soft sandy fabric.
11. Grey core with orange-buff surfaces; fairly soft sandy fabric, grogged.

Bowl

12. Reddish brown with grey surfaces; fairly hard sandy fabric.

Pit 3. Mid 3rd century

Flagon

13. Orange-buff; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric.

Jars

14. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
15. Grey; fairly hard sandy fabric.
16. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
17. Grey core and surfaces with red margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric; light grey or white slip; burnished; incised wavy line decoration.
18. Black; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
19. Light grey core, brown margins and grey surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.
20. Off-white; hard fine sandy fabric; dark grey colour-coat. Nene Valley/German. There are difficulties in telling some Nene Valley products from those of the Rhineland, Fulford (1977, 303).

Mortaria

21. Orange; hard sandy fabric with inclusions possibly of chalk or limestone; translucent white trituration grits.
22. White; hard fairly fine sandy fabric; mainly translucent white trituration grits.

Bowls and Dishes

23. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard sandy fabric; burnished.
24. Black to red; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished; burnt.

25. Red; hard granular fabric; burnished; burnt.
26. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished surfaces; burnt.
27. Grey with black surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished interior and on exterior to angle below rim.
28. As for 26. Burnished arc decoration.

(Fig. 16)

Pit 1. Up to late 3rd century

Dish

29. Black; fairly hard granular fabric; burnished.

Pit 2. Up to late 3rd century

Jar

30. Grey core and surfaces with orange margins; hard sandy fabric.

PHASE II Late 3rd-mid 4th century

Ditch IV. Probably late 3rd century

Jars

31. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
32. Grey to buff with dark grey exterior; hard fairly coarse sandy fabric.

Bowls and Dishes

33. Dark grey; hard granular fabric; burnished interior, rim and flange.
34. Brown with dark grey surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

Ditch V. Late 3rd-early 4th century

Jars

35. Grey; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished. Mis-shapen probably during firing.
36. Grey; hard fairly fine sandy fabric but with uneven texture and containing inclusions of up to 4 mm.
37. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard fairly fine sandy fabric.
38. Brown with grey surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished.
39. Grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.
40. Buff; hard fine sandy fabric; dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.

Bowls and Dishes

41. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
42. Brown with grey surfaces; hard sandy fabric.
43. Black with brown surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished.
44. Light grey with darker grey/red surfaces; hard fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
45. Grey; hard fairly fine sandy fabric; grogged; burnished. Surface finish has a metallic sheen.
46. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished flange, rim and interior.
47. As for 46.
48. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished interior.
49. "Castor box". Orange-buff; hard fine sandy fabric; orange colour-coat on rim and interior, brown exterior below shoulder; rouletted decoration. Mis-shapen during firing. Nene Valley.

Ditch VI. Late 3rd century

Jars

50. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard sandy fabric.
51. Grey; hard fairly fine sandy vesicular fabric.

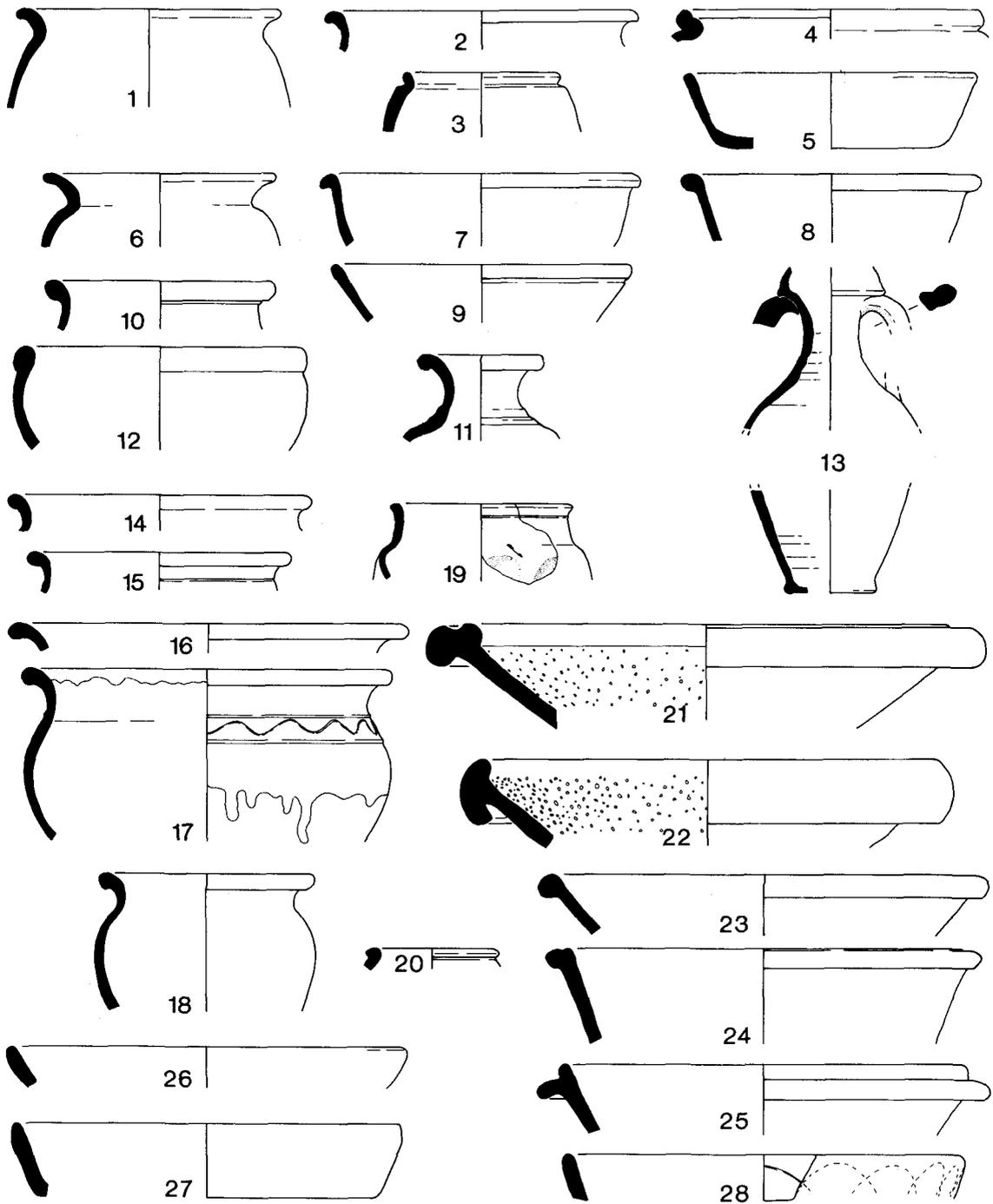


Fig. 15 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 1-28 Phase I. (4)

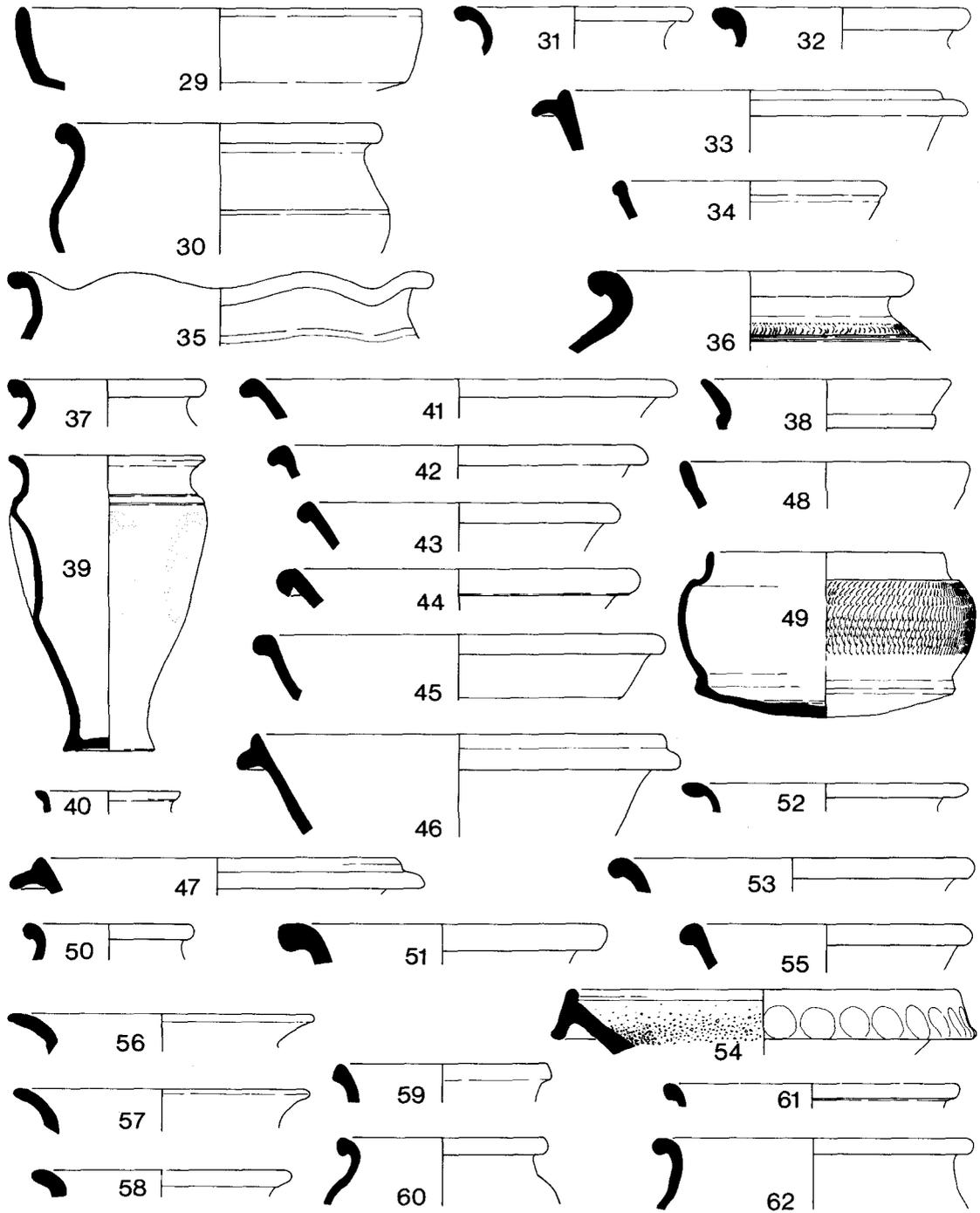


Fig. 16 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 29-30 Phase I; 31-62 Phase II. (4)

52. As for 50. Burnished neck and rim.
 53. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric, black slip and burnishing on top of rim and exterior.

Mortarium

54. White; fine paste; red painted circles on rim; ironstone trituration grits. Nene Valley.

Bowl

55. Black; hard granular fabric.

Ditch VIII. First half of 4th century

Jars

56. Grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished rim.
 57. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished rim.
 58. Grey; fairly hard sandy fabric; surfaces slipped white or light grey; burnished interior of rim.
 59. Grey; hard gritty fabric.
 60. Grey; hard sandy fabric.
 61. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric. Much Hadham.
 62. Grey with slightly darker surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished on interior of rim.

(Fig. 17)

63. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished rim and exterior. Much Hadham.
 64. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric, grogged; burnished. Much Hadham.
 65. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric, grogged. Much Hadham.
 66. Grey core with orange surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished neck and rim. Much Hadham.
 67. Dark grey with lighter surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 68. Off-white; hard fine sandy fabric; dark grey colour-coat. Nene Valley/German. For some vessels it is difficult to distinguish between the two sources, Fulford (1977, 303).
 69. Off-white, hard fine sandy fabric; dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.
 70. Buff; hard fine sandy fabric; dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.
 71. Orange; hard fine sandy fabric; dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.
 72. Grey core with buff surfaces; hard fine sandy fabric; dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.
 73. As for 70.

Bowls and Dishes

74. Grey with darker surfaces; hard sandy fabric.
 75. White with grey surfaces; fairly hard, fairly sandy fabric.
 76. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric, grogged; interior and exterior above flange burnished.
 77. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished interior.

Mortarium

78. Red to orange, fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat with white dot decoration. Oxfordshire, C.98.

Lid

79. Lid of "castor box". Reddish buff; hard fine sandy fabric; brown colour-coat; rouletted decoration. Nene Valley.

Ditch IX. Late 3rd-4th century

Bowls and Dishes

80. Grey; hard sandy fabric; burnished interior, rim and flange.
 81. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished interior.
 82. Pinkish; hard fine sandy fabric; red painted bands. Oxfordshire Parchment ware, P.24.

Ditch X. Up to mid 4th century

Jars

83. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; slip and burnishing on rim.
 84. Grey; hard sandy fabric.

Bowls and Dishes

85. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 86. Brown to black; hard sandy fabric; burnished.
 87. Red with black surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished interior.
 88. White; hard fine sandy fabric; red painted bands. Oxfordshire Parchment ware, P.24.

Ditch XI.A.D.320-50

Jar

89. Grey; hard fine sandy fabric.

Bowl

90. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished interior and flange.

Ditch XII. Early 4th century

Jar

91. Grey with lighter surfaces; hard sandy fabric; black slip.

Dish

92. Grey-brown with grey surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; interior and upper half of exterior burnished.

Ditch XIII. Early-mid 4th century

Jar

93. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; modelled decoration - possibly an animal. Much Hadham.

Bowls and Dishes

94. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; burnished.
 95. Grey core with red surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat. Oxfordshire, C.51

(Fig. 18)

Ditch XIV. Late 3rd-early 4th century

Jars

96. Grey core with brown margins and black surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished.
 97. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.
 98. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard sandy fabric; burnished bands on neck and rim.
 99. Grey core and surfaces; fairly hard sandy fabric.
 100. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 101. Orange; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished exterior, unburnished bands.
 102. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 103. Light grey core with pale orange surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished rim and exterior.

Mortaria

104. White; hard fine sandy fabric; grey trituration grits. Probably Oxfordshire.
 105. White with off-white surfaces; hard fine sandy fabric; pink, red, grey trituration grits. Oxfordshire, M.22.

Bowl

106. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished rim and flange.

Pit 9. Late 3rd-4th century

Jar

107. Grey; fairly hard fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.

Pit 12. Late 3rd-4th century

Jar

108. Black; hard sandy fabric.

Pit 13. First half of 4th century

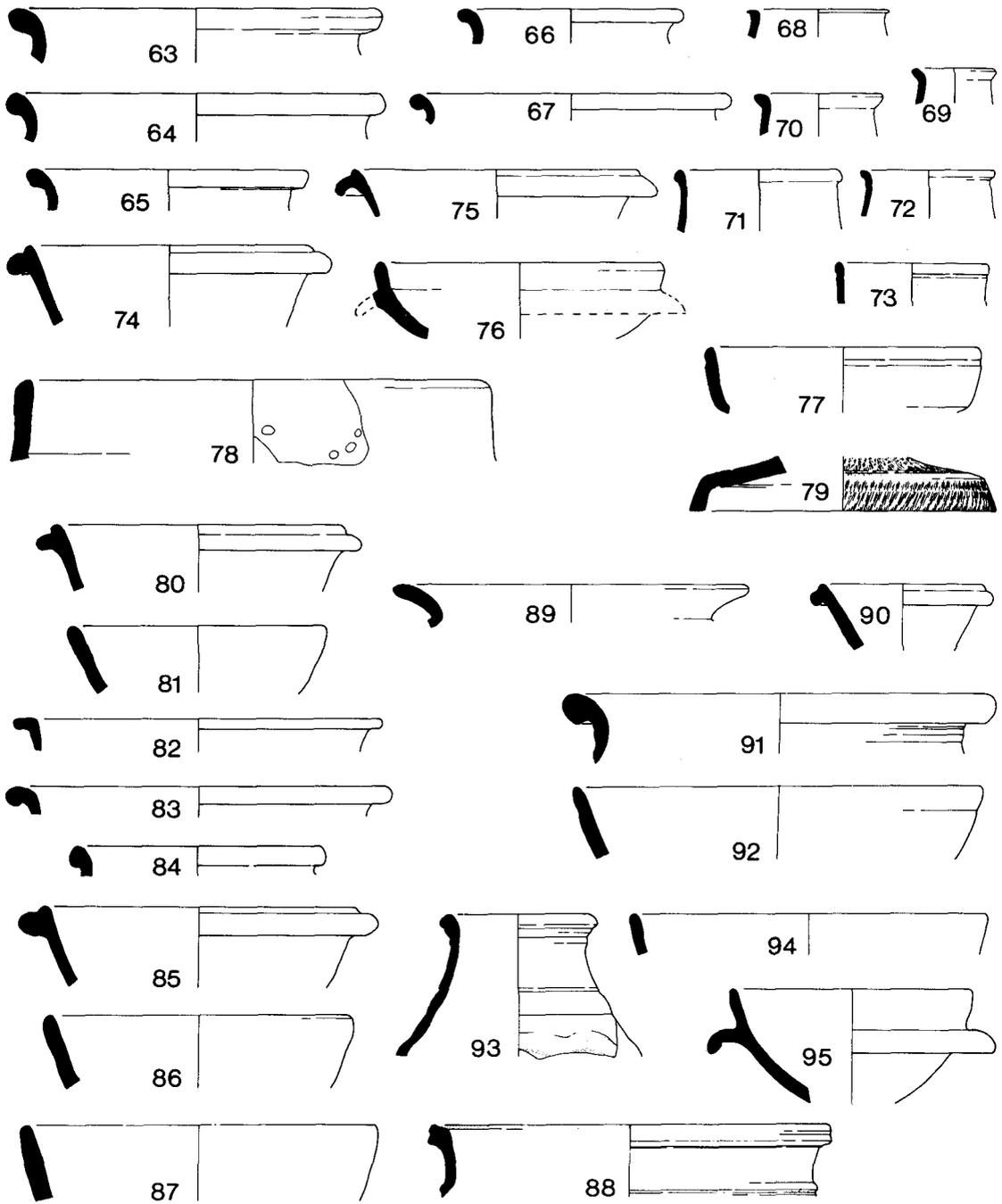


Fig. 17 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 63-95 Phase II. (4)

Jars

109. Grey; fairly hard sandy fabric; burnished.
 110. Light grey with darker surfaces; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 111. Grey; hard sandy fabric.
 112. Grey with buff surfaces; fairly hard shell-tempered fabric.

Mortaria

113. White; hard fine sandy fabric; red, pink, grey and white trituration grits; burnt. Oxfordshire, M.17.
 114. White-buff; hard fine sandy fabric; pink and grey trituration grits. Oxfordshire, M.17.

Bowls and Dishes

115. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 116. Grey core, orange-red margins and surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat; rouletted decoration. Oxfordshire, C.41-50.

Pit 15. Mid 4th century

Jar

117. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

Dishes

118. Brown with black surfaces; slightly soft micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 119. Black; hard granular fabric; interior burnished.

Pit 14. Late 3rd-4th century

Jar

120. Grey core and surfaces with orange margins; hard sandy fabric.

Pit 17. Late 3rd-4th century

Bowl

121. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished interior, rim and flange.

Pit 18. Late 3rd-4th century

Jar

122. Light grey with slightly darker surfaces; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished band on rim.

(Fig. 19)

Pit 20. Probably A.D.320-60

Jars

123. Brown with black surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished rim and shoulder.
 124. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished neck and rim.
 125. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 126. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished rim and decoration.
 127. Brown with grey surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 128. Orange; hard micaceous sandy fabric. Much Hadham.
 129. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 130. Brown with grey surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.
 131. Brown with greyish surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 132. Grey core with buff surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; brown colour-coat. Oxfordshire, C.23.
 133. Red; hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; reddish colour-coat.

Mortaria

134. Buff with white surfaces; hard fine sandy fabric. Oxfordshire, M.17.
 135. Red; hard fine micaceous sandy fabric; red colour-coat; red, pink and white trituration grits. Oxfordshire, C.97.
 136. Red with grey core in places; hard micaceous fine fabric; red colour-coat; pink and red trituration grits. Oxfordshire, C.97.

Bowls and Dishes

137. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard granular fabric.
 138. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished interior and upper part of exterior.
 139. Grey with black surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 140. Grey with a brown interior and black exterior surface; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 141. Grey with black surfaces; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 142. Light grey with black surfaces; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 143. Black; hard granular fabric; interior burnished.
 144. Black; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 145. Red; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat; rouletted decoration. Oxfordshire, C.55.
 146. Buff with white surfaces; hard fine sandy fabric; red painted bands. Oxfordshire Parchment ware, P.24.

Pit 25. Probably A.D.300-60

Dish

147. Black; hard sandy fabric; burnished, burnished arc decoration.

Pit 26. A.D.300-50

Jars

148. Light grey; hard sandy fabric.
 149. Brown with grey surfaces; hard sandy fabric.

Pit 27. Probably A.D.300-60

Jar

150. Grey with brown surfaces; hard fairly coarse sandy fabric.

Pit 28. 4th century

Jar

151. Grey; hard sandy fabric.

Dish

152. Grey with darker surfaces; hard sandy fabric.

Pit 30. A.D.320-70

Jars

153. Brown with grey surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 154. Light grey core with darker surfaces and brown margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 155. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 156. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 157. Grey; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.

(Fig. 20)

158. Reddish brown with dark grey surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 159. Brown with grey surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 160. Grey; hard sandy fabric.
 161. Light grey with dark grey surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 162. Grey; hard sandy fabric.
 163. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 164. Light grey core with darker surfaces and brown margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 165. As for 164.
 166. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 167. Brown with grey surfaces; hard granular fabric.
 168. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard sandy fabric.
 169. Orange with red surfaces; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric. Possibly Much Hadham.
 170. Grey; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.

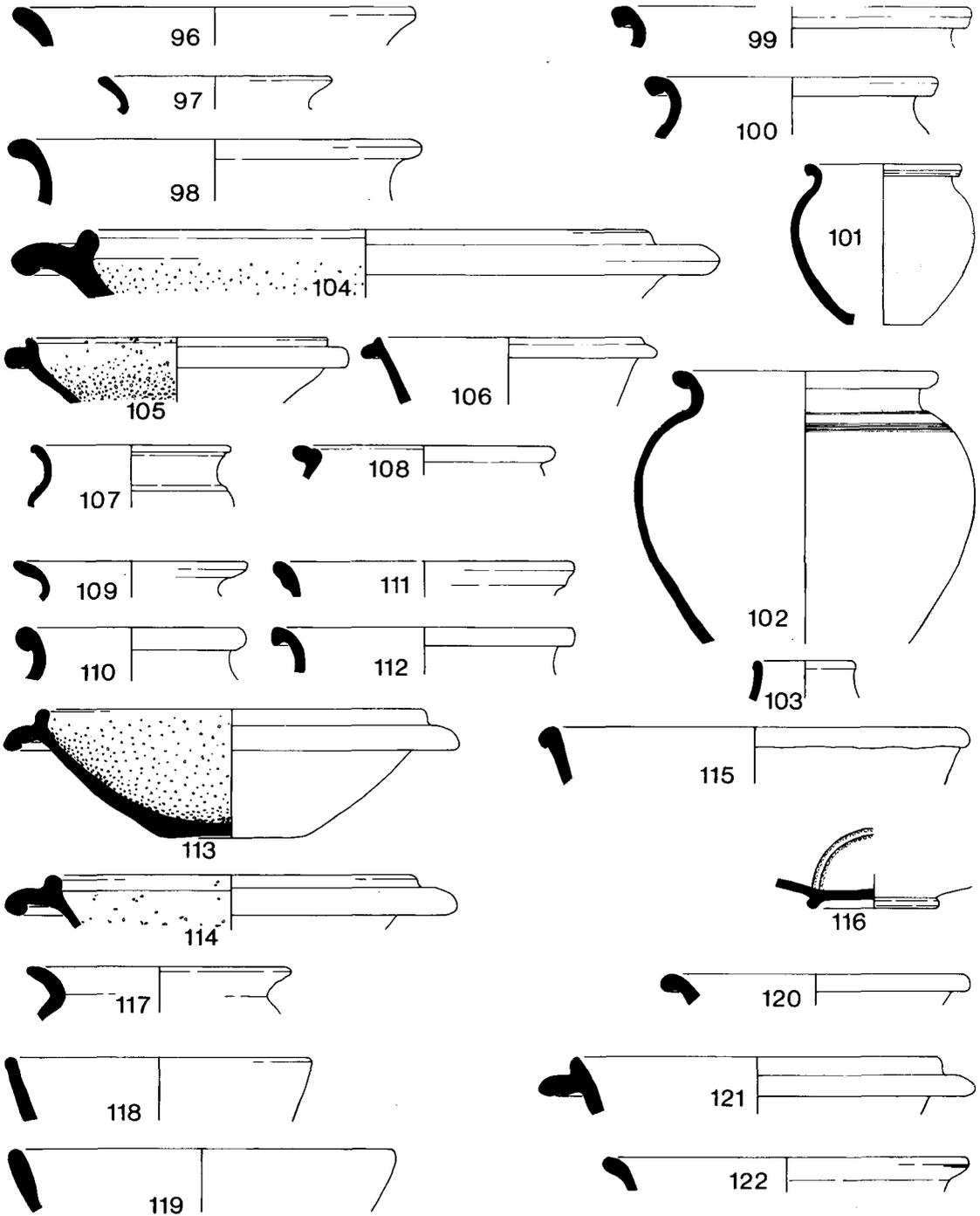


Fig. 18 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 96-122 Phase II. (†)

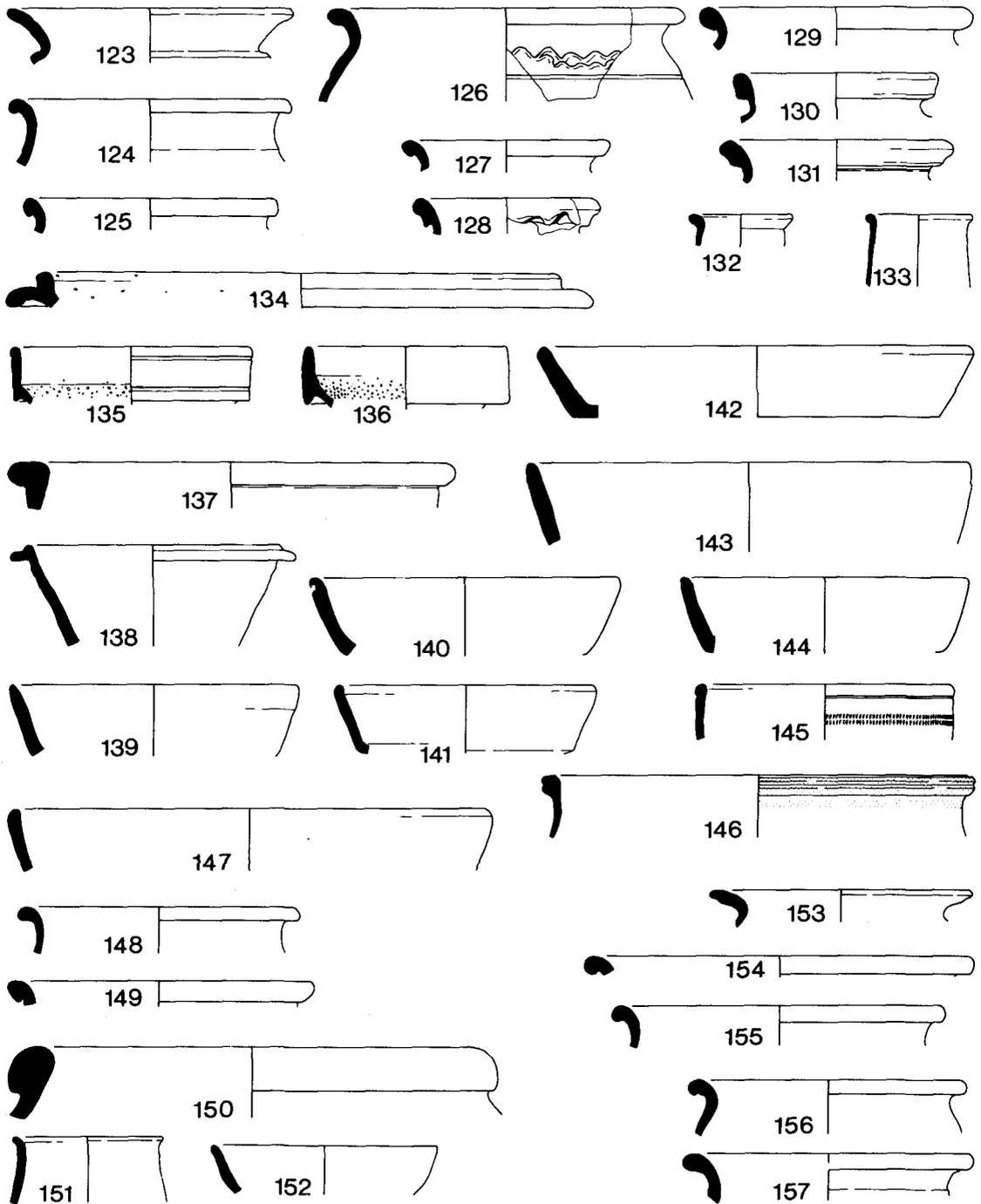


Fig. 19 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 123-157 Phase II. (4)

171. Light grey with darker grey surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 172. Brown with black surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 173. Light greyish buff with dark grey surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; burnished with burnished line decoration and bosses.
 174. Red with brown surfaces; fairly hard grogged fabric; burnished neck.
 175. Buff; fine sandy fabric; brown colour-coat. Probably Nene Valley.

Mortaria

176. Grey; hard fine sandy fabric; burnt. Oxfordshire, M.22.
 177. Off-white; hard fine sandy fabric; white and pink trituration grits. Oxfordshire, M.22.

Bowls and Dishes

178. Grey with black surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 179. Light grey with black surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 180. As for 179.
 181. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished rim.
 182. Black with red surfaces; hard granular fabric; white slip and burnishing on rim, flange and interior; burnt.
 183. Light grey with darker surfaces; fairly hard, fairly fine sandy fabric.
 184. Brown with black surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 185. Reddish brown with grey surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished interior.
 186. Grey core with brown margins and black surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 187. Black with brown interior surface; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 188. Brownish grey with black surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 189. Black; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 190. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished interior.

(Fig. 21)

191. Grey core with brown margins and black surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished interior.
 192. White; hard fine sandy fabric; reddish brown painted bands. Oxfordshire Parchment ware, P.24.

PHASE III Mid-late 4th century

Ditch XVI. Mid 4th century

Jars

193. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.
 194. Light grey with black surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 195. Light grey core with brown margins and black surfaces; hard sandy fabric.
 196. Light grey; hard sandy fabric.
 197. As for 196. Burnished.
 198. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished rim. Unclear if dip in rim was intentional or accidental.
 199. Light grey with darker surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 200. Brown with black surfaces; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.

Bowls and Dishes

201. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

202. Light grey with brownish surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; notches on rim and flange.
 203. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 204. Grey with black surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished.
 205. Grey with black surfaces; hard granular fabric; burnished.
 206. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; brown colour-coat and rouletted decoration. Oxfordshire, C.97.
 207. White; hard fine sandy fabric; red painted bands. Oxfordshire Parchment ware, P.24.

Ditch XVII. Mid-late 4th century

Jars

208. Grey; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; white slip, burnished. Possibly Alice Holt.
 209. Orange; fairly hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric. Possibly Much Hadham.
 210. Grey core and surfaces with orange margins; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.
 211. Grey; hard sandy fabric.
 212. Orange with brown core and grey surfaces; hard fairly coarse sandy fabric.
 213. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric.
 214. Buff with grey surfaces; hard shell-tempered fabric.
 215. Orange-buff; hard fine sandy fabric; dark brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.

Mortarium

216. Red; slightly soft micaceous fine sandy fabric; traces of white slip on surfaces; pink and red trituration grits. Oxfordshire, WC.7.

Bowls and Dishes

217. Grey with black surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished rim, flange and interior.
 218. Light grey with brownish grey surfaces; hard sandy fabric.
 219. Black; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished.
 220. As for 219.
 221. Grey core with orange surfaces; slightly soft micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat with traces of white painted decoration on rim, rouletted base. Oxfordshire, C.48.
 222. White; hard fine sandy fabric; reddish brown colour-coat with white painted decoration. Nene Valley.

Ditch XVIII. Mid-late 4th century

Jars

223. Red with grey surfaces; fairly hard micaceous sandy fabric, grogged; burnished.
 224. Grey core with red margins and brown surfaces; hard fairly coarse sandy fabric.
 225. Grey; hard granular fabric.

Bowls and Dishes

226. Brown; fairly hard fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished notched decoration.
 227. Off-white; hard granular fabric; black slip on surfaces, interior burnished.

(Fig. 22)

228. Buff core with white surfaces; hard fine sandy fabric; red painted bands. Oxfordshire Parchment ware, P.24.

Pit 40. Mid 4th century

Jars

229. Light grey with slightly darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; interior burnished.
 230. Grey; hard sandy fabric.
 231. Light grey; hard sandy fabric with chalk or limestone inclusions.
 232. Reddish brown with grey surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.

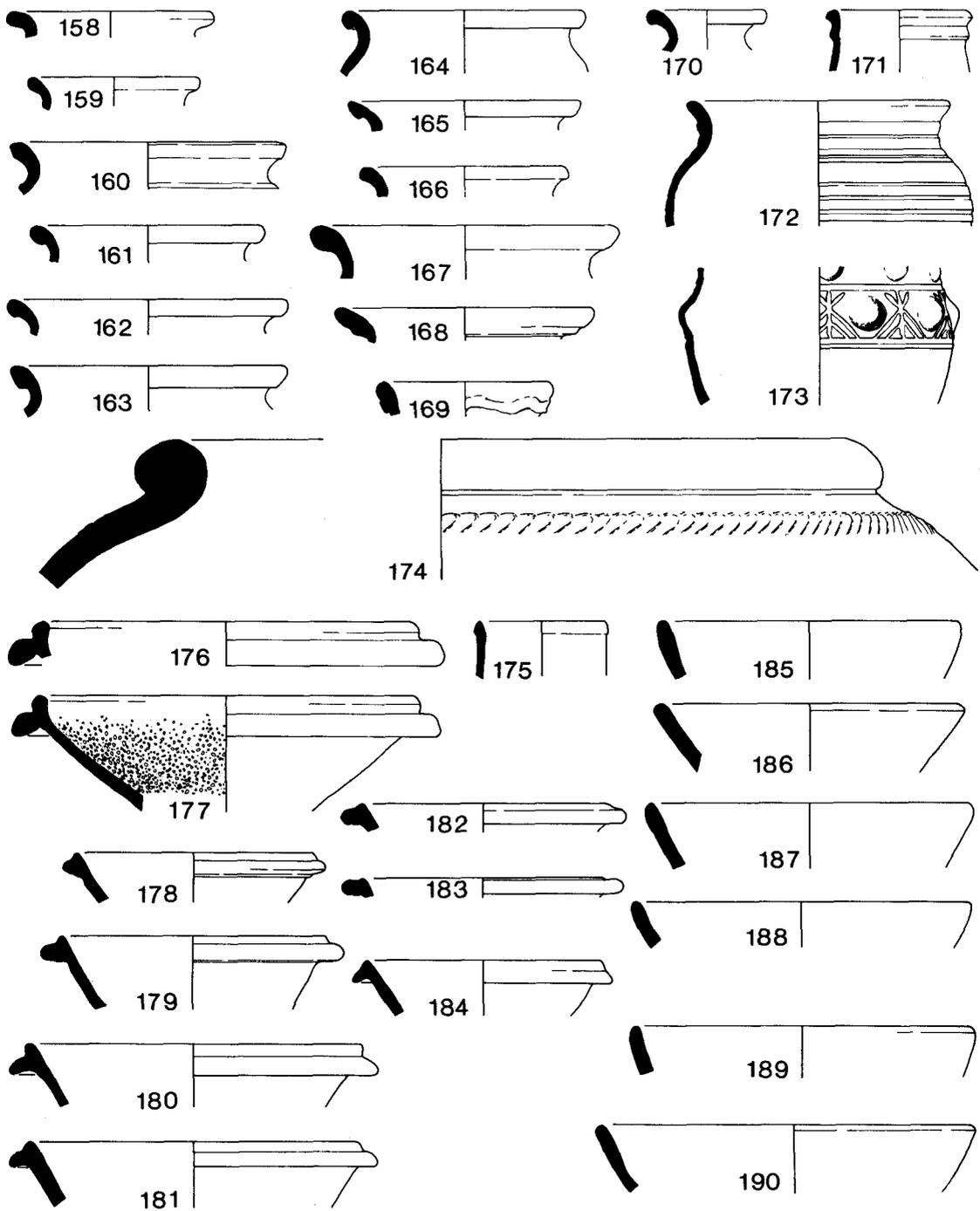


Fig. 20 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 158-190 Phase II. (4)

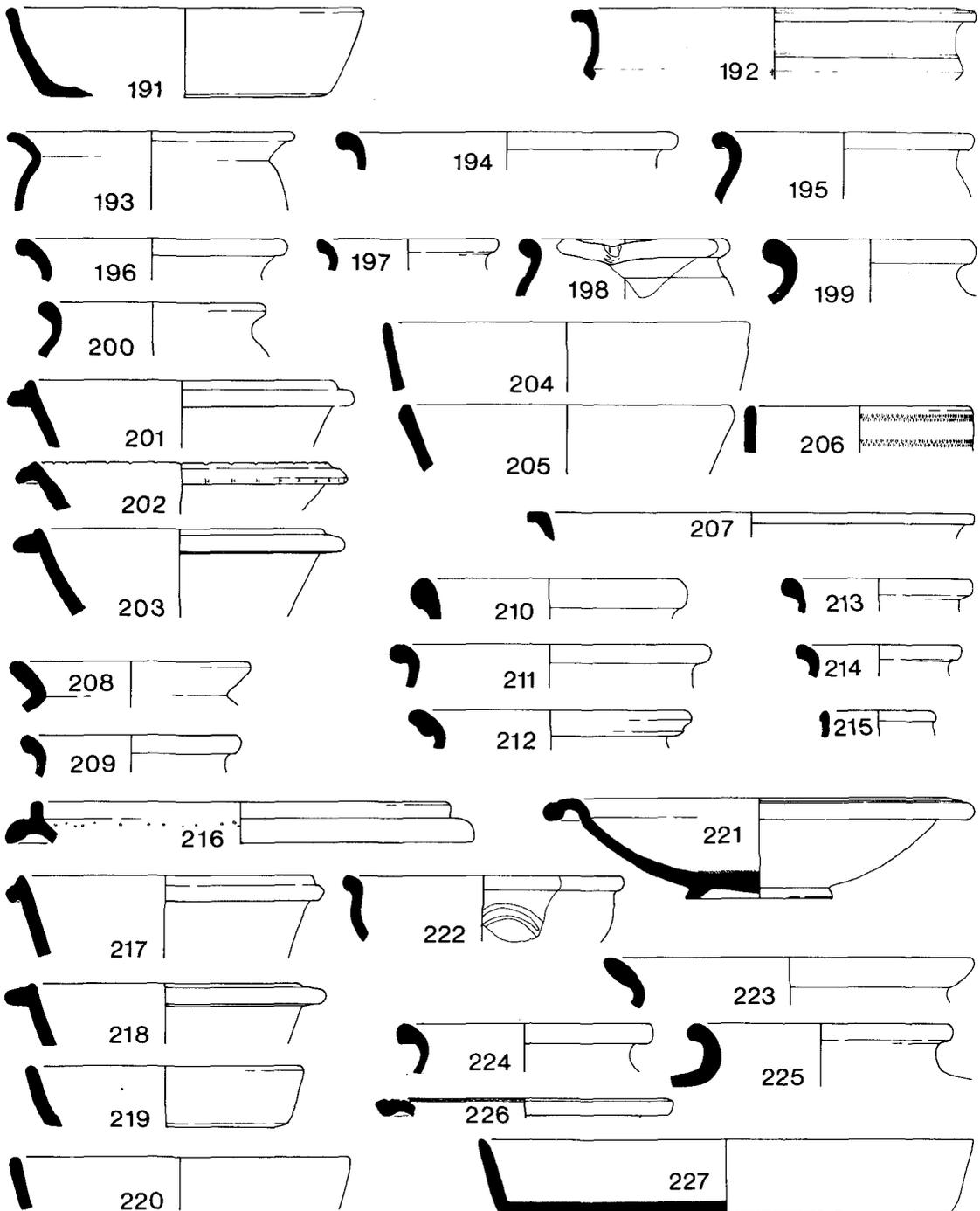


Fig. 21 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 191-192 Phase II; 193-227 Phase III. (¼)

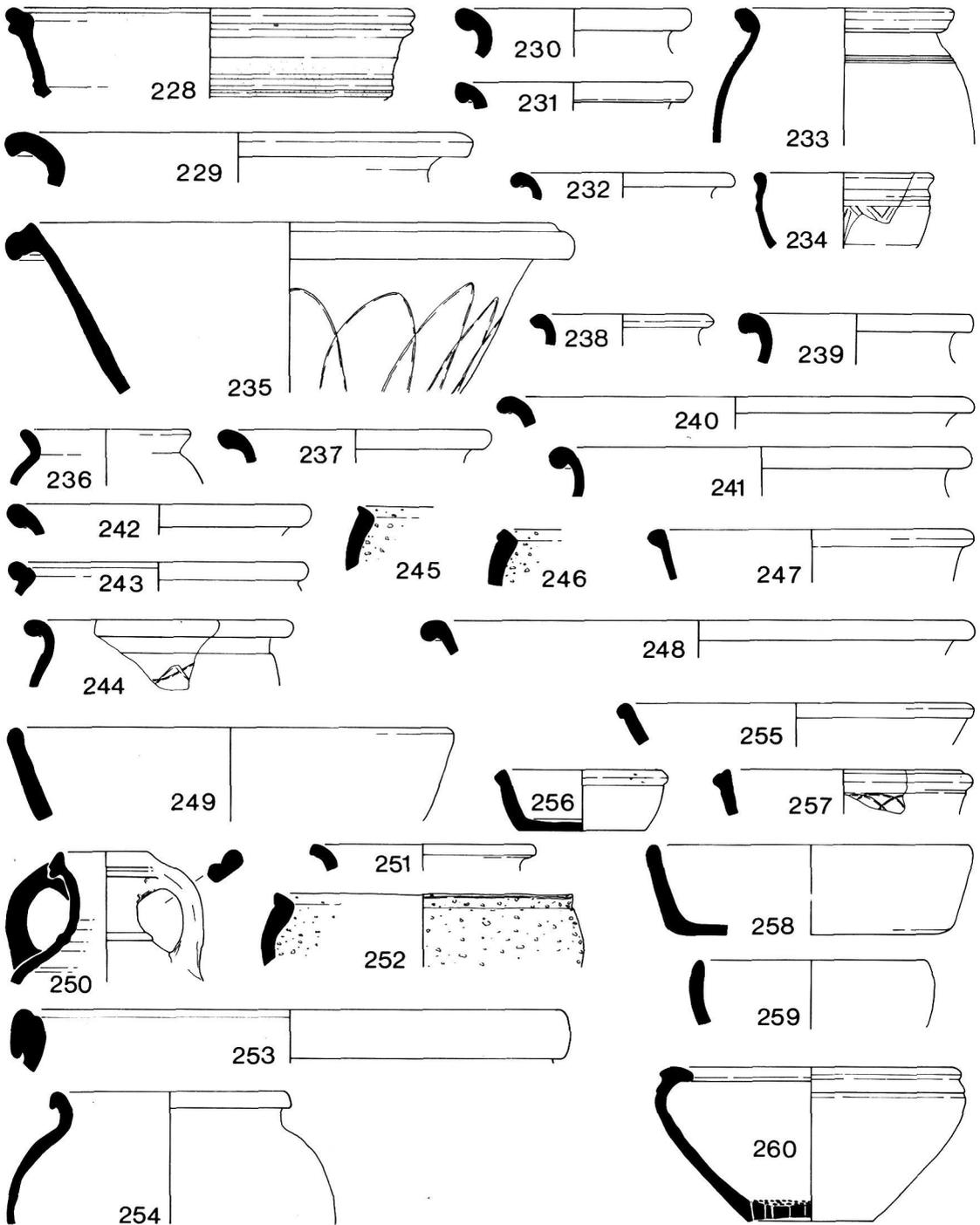


Fig. 22 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 228-235 Phase III; 236-260 Phase IV. (4)

233. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

Bowls

234. Light grey with slightly darker surfaces; hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; burnished rim and decoration.

235. Grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard granular fabric; burnished interior, rim and flange; burnished arc decoration.

PHASE IV Late 4th century plus

Ditch XIX. Late 4th century plus

Jars

236. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; lighter grey slip; burnished.

237. Brown-grey; hard micaceous shell-tempered fabric.

238. Orange; hard micaceous sandy fabric. Much Hadham.

239. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric.

240. Grey with brown surfaces; hard sandy fabric; burnished.

241. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

242. Red; hard sandy fabric.

243. Brown with grey surfaces; hard sandy fabric.

244. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished with burnished decoration.

245. Black; hard shell-tempered vesicular fabric; handmade.

246. As for 245.

Bowls and Dishes

247. Grey; hard sandy fabric; burnished.

248. Grey with black surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

249. Grey with black surfaces; hard sandy to granular fabric; burnished interior.

Pit 42. Late 4th century

Flagon

250. White; hard fine sandy fabric, grogged; black colour-coat. Nene Valley.

Jars

251. Light grey; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.

252. Black; hard micaceous shell-tempered vesicular fabric; handmade.

253. Grey; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished. Alice Holt.

254. Light grey core and surfaces with brown margins; hard micaceous fairly fine sandy fabric.

Bowls and Dishes

255. Dark red with lighter surfaces; hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat. Oxfordshire, C.45.

256. Light grey with darker surfaces; hard micaceous sandy fabric; burnished.

257. Brown with black surfaces; hard micaceous granular fabric; burnished.

258. Off-white; hard fine sandy fabric; chocolate brown colour-coat. Nene Valley.

259. Light grey with darker surfaces and brown margins; hard fairly fine sandy fabric; burnished. Alice Holt.

260. "Honey strainer". Grey; hard fairly fine sandy fabric; rim slipped white/light grey, burnished. Alice Holt.

(Fig. 23)

261. Grey core with red surfaces; hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat. Oxfordshire, C.51.

262. Red; hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat. Oxfordshire, C.51.

263. Red; hard micaceous fine sandy fabric; red colour-coat with white painted decoration. Oxfordshire, C.77.



Fig. 23 Usher Road : Roman pottery Nos. 261-263 Phase IV. (¼)

GLASS

by John Shepherd

12 fragments of glass vessel, 11 beads, and one gaming counter were recovered.

- Three fragments from the base of a beaker. Blown; tubular pushed-in base ring, slight kick in centre. Blue-green glass, many strain cracks probably as a result of contact with fire. (From I)
- Small fragment from the base of a bowl or beaker. Blown; pushed-in base ring. Blue-green glass. (From 9)
- Fragment of blue-green glass from the body of a bowl or beaker. (From 13)
- Fragment from the body of a beaker or bowl. Blown; greenish colourless glass. (From 13)
- Fragment from the base of a cylindrical bottle (Isings form 51). Blown; blue-green glass. (From 17)
- Three fragments from the body of a beaker. Blown; decorated with faint wheelcut lines. Thin greenish colourless glass. Late 3rd-4th century. (From 20)
- Small body fragment from a bowl or beaker. Mould-blown; decorated with a random floral (?) pattern. Blue-green glass, slightly dulled through weathering. (From XIX)
- Base of a beaker (Isings form 106c). Blown; centre slightly pushed in with a pointed tool. Dull green glass, pontil mark visible. Late 3rd-4th century. (From XIX)
- Small ring bead of opaque green glass. 3mm diameter. (From 5)
- Small flattened spherical opaque blue glass bead. 2mm diameter. (From X)
- Nine opaque blue glass beads with diamond section. Length 5mm, width 4mm, thickness 2mm. (From 20)
- Opaque pale blue-white glass gaming counter. 15mm diameter. (From 20)

COMMENTS

None of the fragments of glass vessels would be out of place in a late 3rd- to 4th-century context except perhaps No. 5, which is a type of vessel not particularly common after the 2nd century. No. 7 could also be from an earlier context but with so little of the vessel remaining it is not possible to say confidently what type of decorated mould-blown vessel it is. No. 8 is the base of a common type of beaker that is frequently found in later glass assemblages. The nature of the glass metal of Nos. 6 and 8, being greenish colourless with many fine impurities, immediately suggests a late 3rd- to 4th-century date.

COINS

by M. J. Hammerson

All coins are bronze, unless stated otherwise.

Abbreviations: RIC – *Roman Imperial Coinage*, Mattingly and Sydenham etc., various volumes (1925+).

LRB1/2 – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, parts 1 and 2, R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill and J. P. C. Kent (1965).

Probable condition at time of deposition: as a guide to the length of time a coin might have been in circulation, state of wear is indicated by the following categories: A = unworn, B = light wear only, C = average wear, D = fairly heavy wear, E = very heavily worn.

Identification	Coin date	Context	Wear
1. Trajan. AR Denarius, RIC 234	111	23	D
2. Plated bronze copy of Denarius of Caracalla, as RIC 80b but Mars not holding branch	Early 3rd C.	27	A
3. Gallienus. Ant., RIC (Sole) 164, APOLINI CONS AVG	259-268	IX	D
4. Gallienus. Ant., rev. uncertain	253-268	13	B
5. Claudius II. Ant., RIC 25, CONCO EXERC	268-270	40	C
6. Claudius II. Ant., RIC 54, IOVI VICTORI	268-270	XVII	C
7. Claudius II. Ant., rev. illegible	268-270	XVII	C
8. Quintillus, Ant., RIC 33, VICTORIA AVG	270	XVI	C
9. Victorinus, Ant., RIC 40, AEQVITAS AVG	268-270	40	B
10. Victorinus, Ant., RIC 114, INVICTVS	268-270	clearing	B
11. Victorinus, Ant., RIC 118, PAX AVG	268-270	43	C
12. Tetricus I. Ant., RIC 135, SPES PVBLICA	270-273	clearing	C
13. Tetricus I. Ant., RIC 136, SPES PVBLICA	270-273	XVI	B
14. Tetricus I. Ant., RIC 148, VIRTVS AVGG	270-273	40	B
15. Tetricus I. Ant., rev. uncertain	270-273	43	C
16. Tetricus I. Ant., rev. uncertain	270-273	40	B
17. Tetricus I or Victorinus, Ant.	268-273	13	D
18. Tetricus II. Ant., RIC 272, SPES PVBLICA	270-273	40	B
19. Tetricus II. Ant., rev. uncertain	270-273	43	D
20. Tetricus II. Ant., (possibly)	?270-273	clearing	?
21. Gallic Empire. Ant., rev. uncertain	259-273	XIV	C
22. Irregular copy, Claudius II, rev. Eagle type. 17 mm	270s-280s	clearing	C
23. Irregular copy, Tetricus I, rev. uncertain. 17 mm	270s-280s	VIII	B
24. Irregular copy, Tetricus I, rev. uncertain. 17 mm	270s-280s	clearing	B
25. Irregular copy, Tetricus I, rev. uncertain. 11½ mm	270s-280s	clearing	D
26. Irregular copy, probably Tetricus I, rev. uncertain. 15 mm	270s-280s	XIX	C
27. Irregular copy, Tetricus II, type PRINC IVVENT. 17 mm	270s-280s	43	B
28. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 19 mm	270s-280s	XVII	?
29. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 18½ mm	270s-280s	clearing	?
30. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 18 mm	270s-280s	20	?
31. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 15 mm	270s-280s	13	?
32. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 13 mm	270s-280s	V	?
33. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 11½ mm	270s-280s	41	?
34. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 11½ mm	270s-280s	clearing	?
35. Irregular copy, Gallic empire. 10 mm	270s-280s	clearing	?
36. Illegible, probably antoninianus. 17 mm	c.250-290	25	?
37. Illegible, probably irregular radiate. 14 mm	?270s-280s	XIX	E
38. Illegible, probably irregular radiate. 8½ mm	?270s-280s	clearing	E
39. Illegible, probably irregular radiate. 8 mm	?270s-280s	XVI	?
40. Illegible, possibly irregular radiate. 9 mm	?270s-280s	clearing	?
41. Carausius. Ant., RIC 155-7, SALVS AVG (ML)	c.287-290	19	B
42. Possibly Carausius. Rev. uncertain	c.287-290	30	D
43. Possibly Carausius. Rev. uncertain. Clipped	c.287-290	40	C
44. Allectus "Quinarius", RIC 55-59, VIRTVS AVG(QL)	293-296	15	B

Identification	Coin date	Context	Wear
45. Allectus "Quinarius", rev. type VIRTVS AVG	293-296	15	B
46. Constantine I. Follis, RIC(London) 153, COMITI AVGG NN	310-318	clearing	C
47. Constantine I. Follis, rev. type SOLI INVICTO COMITI	313-318	clearing	C
48. Constantine I. Follis, RIC(London) SOLI INVICTO COMITI	318	XIV	B
49. House of Constantine, AE3, rev. type VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP	319-320	43	C
50. Constantine I. AE3, LRB1-62, GLORIA EXERCITVS (2 st.)	330-335	VIII	A
51. Urbs Roma. AE3, LRB1-85	330-335	clearing	C
52. Urbs Roma. AE3. Small flan; may be irregular copy	330-335	XVII	B
53. Constantius II, AE3, GLORIA EXERCITVS (1 standard)	337-341	42	C
54. Constantius II, AE3, LRB1-147, VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	347-348	XIX	A
55. Constans, AE3, LRB1-261 or 263	347-348	XVII	B
56. Constans, AE3, rev. type VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN	347-348	43	C
57. Irregular copy, Constantinopolis	330s-340s	clearing	D
58. Irregular copy, Constantius II, type of Fallen Horseman. 14mm	350s-360s	XIX	A
59. Irregular copy, Constantius II, type of Fallen Horseman. 9mm	350s-360s	XVI	A
60. Irregular copy, Constantius II, type of Fallen Horseman. 8mm	350s-360s	XVI	A
61. Irregular copy, Constantius II, type of Fallen Horseman. 7mm	350s-360s	XVI	B
62. Possible irregular copy, Constantius II, type of Fallen Horseman. 7mm	?350s-360s	43	B
63. Irregular copy, Magnentius, rev. chi-rho monogram	350s-360s	XVI	B
64. Valentinian I. AE3, LRB2-512, GLORIA ROMANORVM	367-378	XIX	B
65. Gratian. AE3, LRB2-349, SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE	367-375	42	C
66. House of Valentinian. AE3, rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM	364-378	clearing	E
67. Theodosius I. AE4, rev. SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-395	43	C
68. Arcadius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	43	D
69. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	clearing	B
70. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	XVII	B
71. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	43	C
72. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	43	C
73. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	43	D
74. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	43	E
75. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	clearing	B
76. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	43	E
77. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. VICTORIA AVGGG	388-402	42	E
78. House of Theodosius. AE4, rev. SALVS REIPVBLICAE	388-402	43	C
79. Probably House of Theodosius. AE4	379-402	XVII	E
80. Illegible. AE 13mm	4th C.	clearing	?
81. Token 1d. FRANCIS HARRIS BAKER/PYE CORNER HIS PENNY	Mid 17th C.	clearing	
82. Victoria, †d	1853	clearing	
83. Victoria, †d	1891	clearing	
84. George V, †d	1920	clearing	

Two totally illegible bronze coins.

A far higher percentage of the Usher Road coins is of the later 3rd century than is the case for Lefevre Road (Hammerson, 1971, 66-72) and Parnell and Appian roads (Hammerson, 1972, 129-136): 55% as compared with 27% and 25%, although all sites relate to the same settlement. The figures for the Constantinian period (310-364) are very similar from all these sites (22.5%, 24% and 25% respectively). Those for the Valentinianic (364-378) and Theodosian (378-402) periods show a lower proportion of late Roman coins from Usher Road and may suggest a local shift in the intensity of occupation during the 4th century within the Old Ford settlement area. It is intended to examine the overall coin evidence in more detail in a forthcoming study of the settlement.

SMALL FINDS

R. Tribbick reported on the metal objects and metallurgical residues.

BRONZE (Fig. 24)

1. Suspension ring. Wear pattern is at an angle to the apparent vertical. Illustrated. (From II)
2. Stud head. Decorated. Illustrated. (From V)
3. Ring. Four facets with crude cross decoration. Illustrated. (From VI)
4. Strap fitting. Wrapped strip 13mm to 15mm wide. Illustrated. (From VIII)
5. Ring. Irregular octagonal form. Undecorated. Illustrated. (From 11)
6. Tweezers. Illustrated. (From 38)
7. Hair-pin. Glass bead head of irregular hexagonal prism form. Illustrated. (From XIX)
8. Vessel foot. Traces of a white metal at the joint suggest that it could have been removed from a vessel possibly for melting. Illustrated. (From 42)

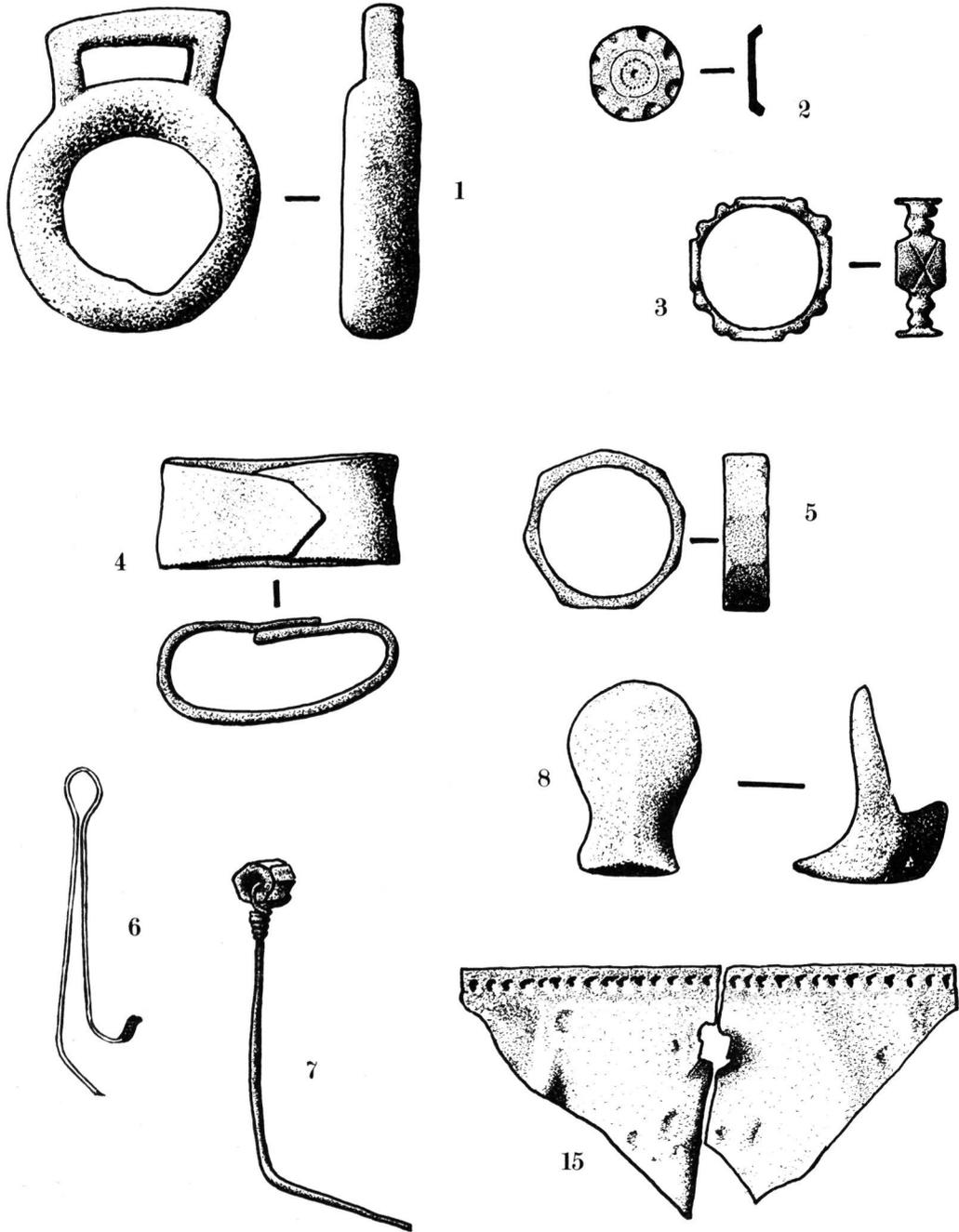


Fig. 24 Usher Road : Roman small finds, bronze. Nos. 1-8 and 15. (1/1)

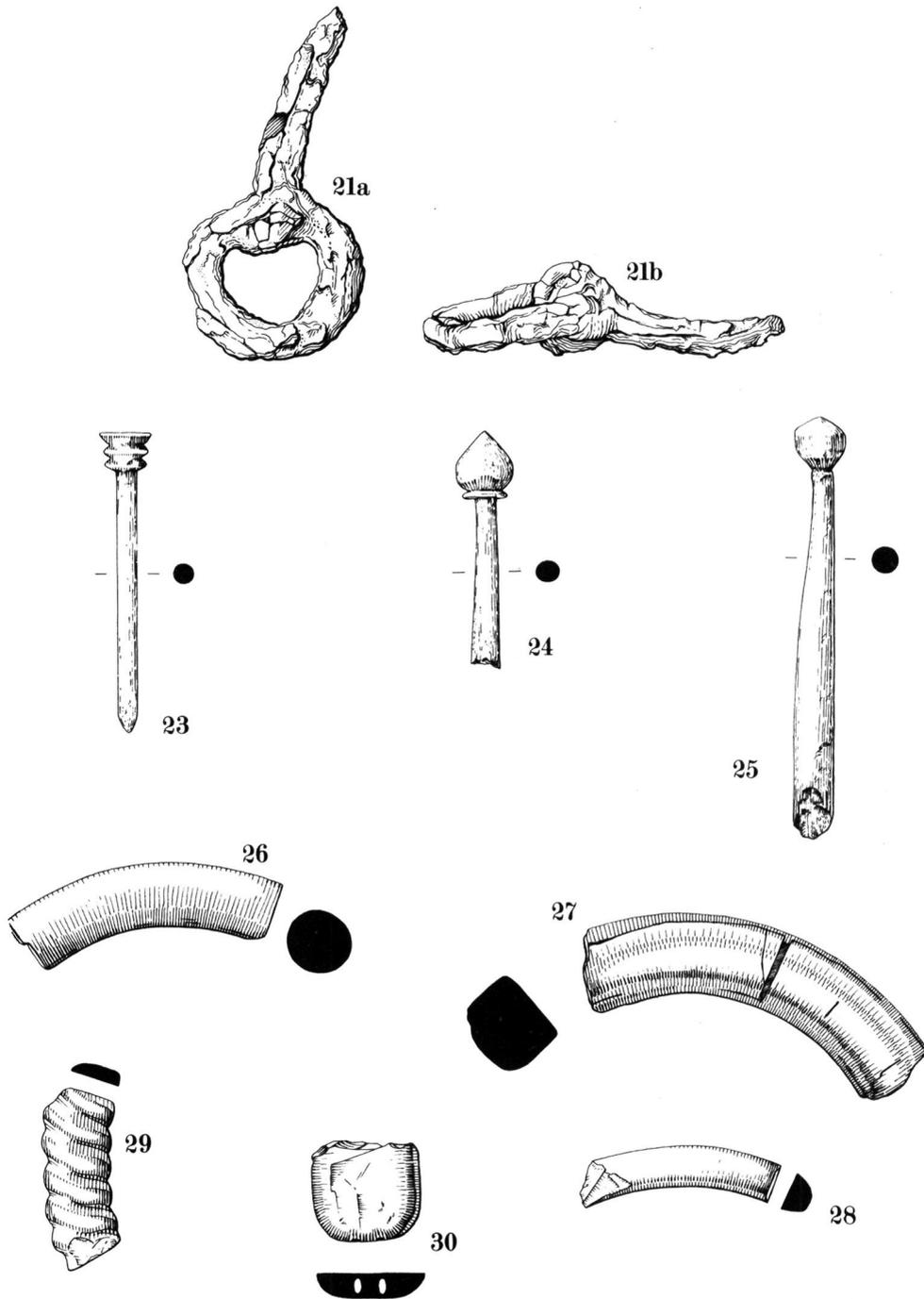


Fig. 25 Usher Road : Roman small finds, iron. No. 21 ($\frac{1}{2}$); bone Nos. 23-25; shale Nos. 26-29; jet No. 30. (1/1)

9. Bracelet fragment. Twisted, 3 strand. Circular form 2.5 mm diameter. (From XIII)
10. Bracelet fragments. 4 strand, plaited. 3 mm diameter. (From XVII)
11. Bracelet fragments. Solid oval section, plain. (From XVII)
12. Bracelet fragments. Twisted, 2 strand and flattened at inside diameter. 4 mm wide. Terminal hook present. (From 42)
13. Bracelet fragments. Twisted, 2 strand terminal hook present. 3 mm diameter, flattened after coiling. (From 43)
14. Finger ring. Fragment. Undecorated. (From 20)
15. Sheet fragment. Decorated at edge. Apparently cut from object, perhaps for melting. Illustrated. (From 30)
16. Nail. Flat head. 18 mm diameter. (From 13)
17. Nail. Dome head. 20 mm diameter. (From XIX)

IRON (Fig. 25)

18. Chain. 34 figure-of-eight links 45 mm long. Proportions suggest this may have been part of a horse bit. (From V)
19. Chisel. Blade 25 mm wide, shank 100 mm long. (From V)
20. Blade fragment. (From 2)
21. Ring and eye-bolt. Ring 50 mm diameter, bolt 70 mm long. Illustrated. (From XIV)

METALLURGICAL RESIDUES

22. A total of 32.3 Kg of iron-working slags were recovered. These showed the typical iron silicate structures resulting from accidental combination at high temperature of iron oxide scale with the hearth lining, or with sand deliberately used to remove the scale during hammer welding. Most of

the slags (62%) came from the western part of the site with the greatest concentration (5.25 Kg) from pit 2.

No evidence of bronze working was obtained from this site.

BONE (Fig. 25)

23. Pin. Head cut into three disks. Handcut. Lightly polished. Illustrated. (From X)
24. Pin. Pear-shaped with disk beneath. Broken shaft. Handcut. Polished. Illustrated. (From 20)
25. Pin. Roughly spherical head. Broken shaft. Handcut. Lightly polished. Illustrated. (From XVI)

SHALE AND JET (Fig. 25)

26. Fragment of shale bracelet. Illustrated. (From XIII)
27. Fragment of shale bracelet. Split longitudinally. Illustrated. (From 16)
28. Fragment of shale bracelet. Split longitudinally. Illustrated. (From 20)
29. Fragment of shale bracelet. Twisted decoration. Split longitudinally. Illustrated. (From 42)
30. Jet bead with two parallel perforations. Broken at one end. Illustrated. (From VIII)

CERAMIC

31. Pottery counter. Fine sandy brown fabric with grey surfaces, one burnished. Cut from vessel. 22 mm diameter, 4 mm thick. (From 17)

THE STONE SCULPTURE

by T. F. C. Blagg

The statue of a male figure, naked except for a cloak which is clasped at the right shoulder and draped over the left shoulder, is carved in a medium-grained cream oolitic limestone. Its surviving height is 465 mm and it is 200 mm wide and 125 mm from front to back. The head has been broken off obliquely below the chin. The right arm is broken at the elbow, the left at the shoulder. The right leg, upon which the weight of the body was poised, is missing below the knee, and the left leg is slightly bent at the knee and broken just above the ankle. The figure is considerably weathered, but details of the drapery and of the musculature of the torso are still visible (Plate 1, 2; Fig. 26).

The figure was intended to be free-standing, though part of it has been executed in deep relief. Although stone has been left between the right arm and the body and along the left side, detail of the drapery has been delineated on the back (Plate 2, Fig. 26), with the cloak gathered round the neck and hanging down in stiff vertical folds from the shoulders to the back of the knees. The fold on the right side, where the cloak is drawn back from the shoulder, has been carved as a raised ridge.

Enough of the right arm survives to show that it was slightly flexed at the elbow, with the forearm continuing downwards in a naturally relaxed attitude, and held away from the body. The fact that part of the background remains by the left side of the neck, whereas the right shoulder stands free, suggests that the left arm was bent upwards and held an object resting on the shoulder. If this was so, the continuation of the background all the way down the left leg suggests the possibility of an adjoining figure, either of human form or an animal. The inside of the leg and the underside of the cloak behind it are fully carved, showing that the lower part of the figure was not wholly set against a relief background. This manner of carving the figure, partly in relief and partly free-standing, has meant that the thickness of the lower left leg from front to back is greater than natural.

The reason for the technique was apparently to avoid the risk of fracture which would follow from cutting out stone where the spaces were narrow. The background surface is smooth and is not the result of the sculptor's failure to finish his work. Indeed the figure is quite competently carved in a classical manner, though the torso is a little large in relation to the limbs. No toolmarks are visible, either from the original

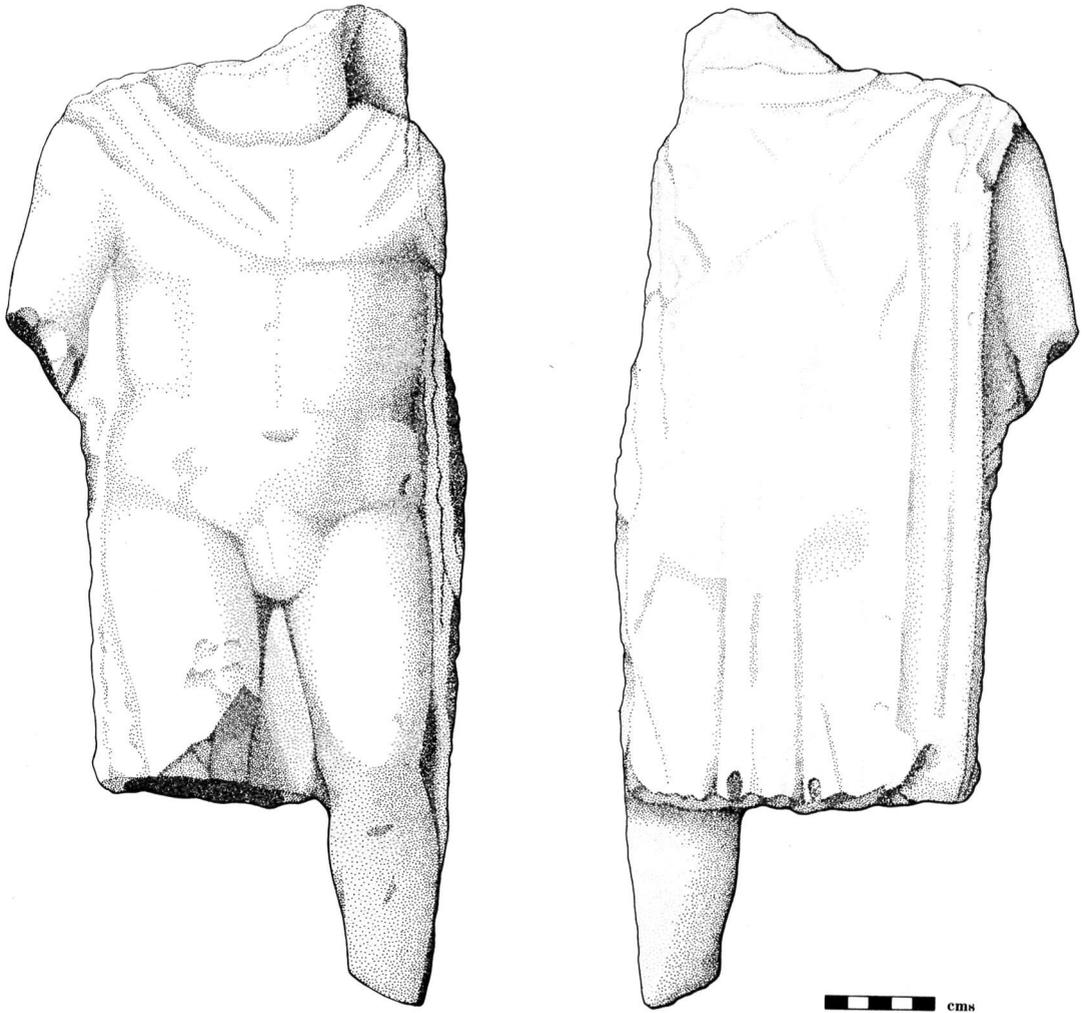


Fig. 26 Usher Road : Roman sculpture. Scale in centimetres.



Plate 1 Usher Road : Roman sculpture, front view. Scale in centimetres and inches.

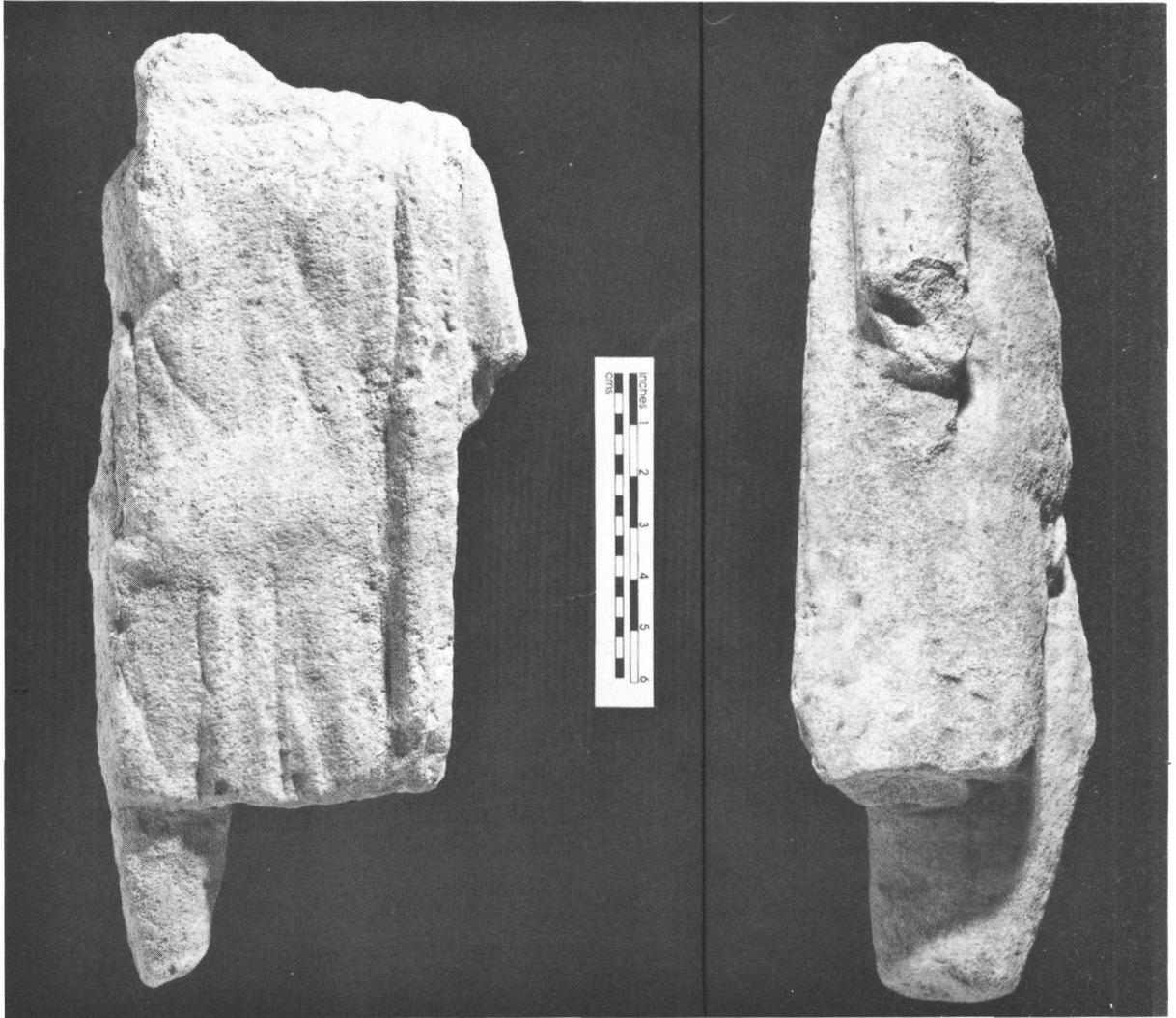


Plate 2 Usher Road : Roman sculpture, back and side views. Scale in centimetres and inches.

carving nor along the fractured surfaces. The nature of the breaks, however, by which almost all of the extremities have been removed, strongly suggests that the damage was caused deliberately and violently.

There is little doubt that the figure is of a god. Since his head and any attributes he once carried are lost, only his dress now serves to identify him. Among major divinities, Apollo, Mars and Mercury may all be represented virtually naked save for a lightly-worn cloak. None of these can be eliminated, though Mars is usually portrayed cuirassed and Apollo might be expected to have a quiver strapped across his right shoulder. Although Mercury may often wear his cloak hanging over one shoulder, as in the fine example from Cirencester, Wilson, (1975, 273 note 162 and Plate XXIB), he is also found with it worn as here, for example on an altar from Carlisle, otherwise dissimilar in its treatment, Wright & Phillips (1975, 69-70, No. 180 and Plate iiiC), and in the bust of the god from the Monumental Arch at London, Blagg (forthcoming). Another Cirencester relief of Mercury, showing the god with caduceus held in his left hand and resting on his shoulder, a purse in his outstretched right hand and accompanied by a cock and a ram, Toynbee (1964, 156 and Plate XIA), provides the best British parallel for the stance and possible disposition.

While these citations show that the Usher Road figure is within the general range of representations of Mercury, a positive identification is impossible in its damaged state. It could indeed be one of a number of lesser mythological figures. In this connection it is of interest to compare it with a relief of a Dioscurus from the Walbrook, Toynbee (1962, 151 and Plate 69), as the carving of its drapery and of the musculature of the torso is very similar, though the Walbrook figure is distinguished from it by having both arms raised to hold a spear and the horse's reins. Nevertheless, the technical similarities suggest that both pieces may be seen as belonging to the same school of sculpture.

The date is very uncertain. The archaeological context, in the fill of Ditch IX, is late 3rd-4th century, but there is no sure means of telling how much earlier the statue was carved. From what building or site it originally came is equally a matter of guesswork.

ANIMAL BONE

by Alison Locker

A total of 1104 animal bones was recovered from pits and ditches. Preservation was poor and no sieving was carried out: both these factors may be reflected in the recovery of only one bird bone. There was a large number of unidentifiable fragments (418 bones which equals 37.8% of the total) and many loose teeth which suggest a high degree of fragmentation.

The charts show the contribution of each species by the total number of bones in each context. No counts of the number of anatomies of each species have been included as no meat joint selection was observed, and the small quantity of bone invalidated any statistical work.

Measurements were taken whenever possible and these are available on request.

Phase I

Mid-late 3rd century

	Ox	Horse	Sheep/goat	Pig	Dog	Unident	Total
Pits							
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
2	7	—	—	—	—	2	9
3	6	—	2	3	—	16	27
Total	13	—	2	3	—	19	37
Ditches							
II	—	—	—	—	—	21	21
III	4	13	—	—	1	—	18
Total	4	13	—	—	1	21	39

This earliest phase of occupation produced only 76 bones, 40 of which were unidentifiable. The proportion of horse is over-represented by 11 loose teeth.

A metatarsal of an ox from Ditch III had a hole drilled down through the proximal surface.

Phase II

Late 3rd-mid 4th century

	Ox	Horse	Sheep/goat	Pig	Dog	Dom Fowl	Unident	Total
Pits								
5	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
7	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
9	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	4
12	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
13	21	—	—	1	—	—	16	38
14	2	—	—	—	—	—	4	6
16	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
17	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
18	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	3
20	16	—	5	—	—	—	4	25
23	5	—	—	—	—	—	4	9
24	5	—	1	—	—	—	2	8
25	5	—	—	—	9	—	10	24
26	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
27	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
28	3	—	—	—	—	—	10	13
30	27	2	5	3	1	—	14	52
33	4	—	2	1	—	1	—	8
Total	108	2	16	6	11	1	69	213
Ditches						Red Deer		
IV	4	3	—	—	—	—	20	27
V	6	2	6	2	1	—	25	42
VI	19	—	3	2	—	—	14	38
VII	17	—	—	—	—	1	50	68
VIII	23	3	5	1	—	—	26	58
IX	3	1	—	—	—	—	3	7
X	12	—	4	2	—	—	—	18
XI	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
XII	2	—	—	—	—	—	7	9
XIII	9	—	3	—	—	—	8	20
XIV	65	25	10	3	5	—	50	158
Total	161	34	31	10	6	1	203	446

The largest quantity of bone (55%) came from this phase, which is approximately double the time span of the other phases and also has many more features. The relative proportion of species and unidentifiable bone is approximately the same as the other phases. The only indication of wild game in the diet is suggested by a red deer metatarsal from Ditch VII.

Apart from the nine dog bones from Pit 25, this feature also produced 89 bones belonging to one male adult individual. This was not included in the chart as it would have over represented the relative proportion of dog against other species.

Measurements of this individual were taken to estimate the shoulder height based on the total length of the bone and the mid shaft diameter, Harcourt (1974, 151-177).

The given range for Romano-British dogs
(Harcourt (1974, 166, Table II))

	OR	Ht
Radius	66-220mm	23-72cm
Tibia	82-229mm	25-68cm
Humerus	79-208mm	26-69cm
Ulna	87-235mm	25-66cm

Usher Road dog

	OR	Ht
	130.0mm	43.3cm
	147.0mm	43.9cm
	148.0mm	44.2cm
	132.0mm	42.6cm
	152.0mm	42.9cm
	151.0mm	42.6cm

(OR = Observed range of total length measurement)

(Ht = Estimated shoulder height)

Msd index range 5.8-12.7mm. Mean 10.1.

5.131-8.030mm Mean 6.9

Skull measurements (only two were possible).

Given range (Harcourt (1974, 165))

Usher Road dog

II 71-117mm (Occipital protuberance to junction of nasal and frontal bones)
X 30-68mm (Palatal width between PM4 and M1)

89.6mm
51.2mm

The measurements suggest an individual which belongs to the lower range of shoulder height known from this period; it also indicates that the animal was of slight build, shown by the mid shaft diameter index.

Comparison with modern reference material showed a close parallel in shoulder height with AML reference specimen number 14, which is a small female collie of shoulder height 43.2cms. The total lengths compare well with the Usher Road individual, but the mean of the mid shaft diameter is higher (10.5mm) and therefore the Usher Road individual was probably of more slender build than the collie.

There appears to be no significant difference between the material from the pits and ditches except that horse is not found in any pit with the exception of two fragments from Pit 30. This is perhaps because horseflesh was not eaten at this site (no butchery marks were noted) and they were probably only used for riding and traction. Conversely dog is found in both pits and ditches and no butchery marks were found on dog.

Phase III

Mid-late 4th century

	Ox	Horse	Sheep/goat	Pig	Dog/cat	Unident	Total
Pits							
40	5	-	-	5	1 (cat)	6	17
Total	5	-	-	5	1	6	17
Ditches							
XVI	40	-	4	5	1	10	60
XVII	52	3	3	-	-	-	58
XVIII	43	7	6	4	7	-	67
Total	135	10	13	9	8	10	185

Over half the animal bone from this small group of Phase III belongs to ox, with most of the material coming from the ditches.

Phase IV

Late 4th century

	Ox	Horse	Sheep/goat	Pig	Dog	Unident	Total
Ditches							
XIX	38	2	3	4	4	35	86
Total	38	2	3	4	4	35	86
Oven?							
42	17	-	1	1	-	50	69
Black earth							
43	7	-	-	-	-	5	12
Total	24	-	1	1	-	55	81

This last phase of occupation in the Roman period produced a very small amount of bone (167) showing much the same trend as the other phases, i.e. a predominance of ox over other species in both the number of bones and meat weight. There was also a high degree of fragmentation.

In conclusion, the animal bone from Usher Road suggests similar husbandry and dietary practices throughout the four phases of occupation. Ox is the dominant species with lesser numbers of sheep and pig. Butchery marks were noted on all three species, and no particular joint selection was observed, all parts of the

skeleton being present. Most bones achieved full epiphyseal fusion and most mandibles showed full dentition and tooth wear, suggesting that the animals were not slaughtered until fully mature.

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The photographs were taken by Barrington Gray of the Museum of London.

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The conservation of the finds was carried out by Margaret Garlake.

The report was typed by Alison Bristow.

THE LEFEVRE ROAD CREMATION BURIAL

J. B. Creswell and H. L. Sheldon

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

H. L. Sheldon

Two vessels, described on the London Museum Record Card F. 780 as a 'cremation urn with flagon' (Fig. 27), were found early in 1969 on the Lefevre Road development site. Apart from their location (TQ 3697 8372), there is little information concerning the precise circumstances of the find. Presumably both pots lay within a single grave for evidently they were seen together, revealed by the collapse of the side of a drainage trench. The vessels and the bones contained in the jar were then retrieved by the staff of John Laing Construction Ltd. and handed over to the site owner, the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, which arranged for their transfer to the London Museum.

The burial lay *c.* 100m north of the Roman London-Colchester Road and has been referred to as No. 7 in the list of 13 burial sites known in Old Ford, Owen *et al* (1973, 145).

The jar, which contained the cremated remains, was probably a product of the Alice Holt potteries while the flagon, which may have held an offering, appears to be typical of those produced in the Verulamium region.

Jar (Fig. 27, 1)

Dull dark grey surfaces on dull brown fabric. Very faint wavy line shoulder decoration. Most of the surface matt, except for smoothed rim and neck, lower shoulder and base. Two burnished lines crudely run around the body, which was scarred by large sand particles in turning. Fairly hard, fairly

Flagon (Fig. 27, 2)

sandy, a number of quartz grains up to 0.3mm, the remainder 0.1mm or less.

Orange-buff fabric. Surface lightly smoothed but with rough sandy appearance. Fairly soft. Sandy with frequent quartz grains of *c.* 0.1-0.6mm, mainly 0.2-0.3mm.

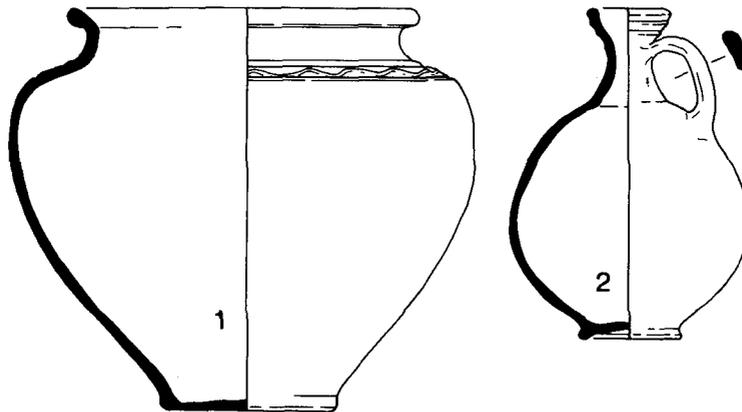


Fig. 27 Lefevre Road cremation burial : Roman pottery. (4)

In an attempt to date the burial the vessels have been compared with the recently published typology of the Southwark pottery, Marsh and Tyers (1978, 532-82). The jar fits reasonably well with Type IID 1, while the flagon appears close to Types IB 7-9. It has been suggested by Marsh and Tyers (1978, 559) that jars of Type IID 1 were made from the late 1st to the early 3rd century, while IB 7-9 flagons were manufactured in the period c. A.D. 130-200. Nevertheless, the Type IID 1 jars in Southwark appear confined to contexts assigned to c. A.D. 100-140, while the majority of the IB 7-9 flagons occur in deposits of c. A.D. 140-160, Marsh and Tyers (1978, Fig. 243).

Consequently, if the Southwark dating of these types can be regarded both as accurate and adequate for the material found at Old Ford, a date in the middle of the 2nd century or just after might be suggested for the burial. The jar, which might be the earlier type, appeared more worn than the flagon.

Attention has been drawn below (see analysis of cremated remains) to the incorporation in the burial of animal bones, perhaps related to ritual aspects of the cremation. Beneath the shoulder of the jar was a circular hole of 5mm diameter which appeared to have been deliberately made. Other larger and more irregular holes occurred on the shoulder and near to the base of the jar and just below the widest girth of the flagon. Neither these holes nor the breakages which were found on each rim appeared to be of recent origin. The vessels had not shattered, as would have been the case had they been dropped.

Until this discovery only one other cremation had been reported from Old Ford, Owen *et. al.* (1973, 145 No. 1) and this lay less than 200m to the east. All the other recorded burials appear to be inhumations, presumably belonging to the later Roman period, and perhaps suggesting that the settlement was at its maximum in the late 3rd and 4th centuries. There is, however, the possibility of an early Roman cemetery because in 1969 a member of John Laing's staff recalled that he had observed a number of pots unearthed by mechanical excavation during the Lefevre Road development. Scant attention was paid to these because they were thought to be buried rejects from a nearby pottery factory in Old Ford Road.

ANALYSIS OF CREMATED REMAINS

J. B. Cresswell

The methods of studying cremations have been described by Gejvall (1947, 1948 and 1969), Wells (1960) and Lisowski (1955), and these have been followed with certain modifications in the present study.

The cremation bundle had been subjected to a certain amount of breaking up before the writer received it, but it is not thought that much, if anything, had been lost. The bundle consisted of bone fragments encased in a solid mass of earth. The whole bundle was first weighed and then soaked to break it up. The material was washed through a 1mm mesh sieve to remove the finer earth. Each bone fragment was extracted, brushed clean and left to dry.

The size of the bone fragments ranged from 1mm to 110mm with the majority being small and mostly trabecular bone. The persons placing the cremation into the urn would probably not have collected minute fragments, while bones could have been broken down to a size able to be packed into the urn.

The earth in which the bone was contained was a yellowish colour. There were many

stones within it, mostly flint, and a few ceramic fragments, probably tile. Some of the stones were red, indicating that they had been burnt, and perhaps gathered at the site of the funeral pyre. There were also a few minute fragments of charcoal.

When dry, the material was sorted several times and all fragments of bone which would be of value in analysis were picked out, while the larger stones were discarded. This left a residue of minute fragments of bone and small stones. It was felt that nothing could be gained by further separation, but as the overall weight of bone was required, small samples of the residue were examined and an estimate of the proportion of bone to stone by weight was determined, which could then be applied to the remainder.

The total weight of the bundle was 4061gm, of which slightly over a quarter (1017gm) was of bone fragments. There were 932 fragments suitable for examination and a couple of thousand minute pieces which were put aside.

Each fragment of bone was examined in an attempt to identify it. The use of a good anatomical atlas has been recommended by Gejvall and Sahlström (1948), but it was felt that reference to a skeleton would be of greater value, and this method has been used here (Fig. 28). The skeleton, probably of Indian origin, was of a male aged about 40 years. Its stature was estimated to be 165 cm (5 ft 5 in) using the Trotter and Gleser (1952) indices for limb bones of American white males (in the absence of more specific indices).

Each cremated fragment was sorted according to bone and position. Where a bone could not be precisely identified, it was placed among the bones which most closely matched it. Some fragments joined and were stuck together. As each fragment was identified, its position was marked on an outline drawing (Fig. 28).

The majority of the fragments were whitish, although stained with the yellow earth in which they had been packed. Some internal regions of long bones were bluish, showing incomplete combustion. The articular surfaces and underlying trabecular bone were dark brown. A large portion of the frontal region of the skull which was able to be reconstructed showed distortion, but on the whole the bones retained their natural shape.

The determinations of the bone fragments are listed below and their proportional weights are given in Table IV.

SKULL

FRONTAL BONE: series of conjoining fragments extending from nasion to coronal suture.

OCCIPITAL: portion at left asterion; right occipital condyle.

TEMPORAL: inner ear from right side; part of mandibular fossa.

PARIETAL: portion from both right and left asterion.

SPHENOID: fragment from right pterygoid region.

MAXILLA: portion from nasal aperture on left side containing sockets for both incisors and canines; portion of maxillary tuberosity wall; portion of right palate with teeth sockets.

MANDIBLE: portion containing menton with incomplete sockets on left side for second incisor, canine, both premolars and the first molar; portion of inner right horizontal ramus to root of vertical ramus with incomplete sockets for the canine, both premolars and all three molars; portion of outer left horizontal ramus to root of vertical ramus with incomplete sockets for all three molars.

TEETH: a number of teeth fragments were present; complete roots and portion of crowns of lower left canine and first premolar (these fitted into the mandibular fragment); small fragments of roots possibly of upper first premolar, lower

premolar, lower first molar and upper second premolar; cervical region of a molar.

AXIAL SKELETON

CERVICAL VERTEBRAE: Atlas, portion of right side with articular facets; portion of posterior arch. Axis, portion from right side with upper articular facet; base of spinous process. Nine other fragments; six portions of bodies, including possible C6 and C7, one very narrow body (?juvenile); three spinous processes.

THORACIC VERTEBRAE: fourteen fragments, including body of T1, spinous process of T3 or T4, and vertebral arch in region of T9.

LUMBAR VERTEBRAE: thirteen fragments, including body of L1, spinous process and left inferior articular process of L2, and spinous process and right inferior articular process of L4.

SACRAL VERTEBRAE: six fragments, including large portion of unfused body of S1 and right superior articular process.

RIB CAGE

MANUBRIUM: portion from sternal angle.

RIBS: right: first rib tubercular region; 41 other fragments.

PECTORAL GIRDLE

SCAPULA: fragment of right coracoid process; three other fragments.

CLAVICLE: sternal ends of both left and right; conoid tubercle of left; five other fragments.

PELVIC GIRDLE

PELVES: ischial portion of acetabulum and articular portion of ilium from right pelve; portion of iliac crest, fragment of ilium/ischium near sciatic notch, ischial fragment from acetabulum ischio-pubic ramus from the left pelve.

UPPER LIMB

HUMERUS: 38 fragments, mainly of shafts.

RADIUS: tuberosity from right humerus; twelve other fragments, mainly of shafts.

ULNA: left head; right trochlear notch; 37 other fragments, mainly of shafts.

LOWER LIMB

FEMUR: 37 fragments from all parts of the shafts and articular surfaces, especially the distal ends.

PATELLA: portion of left patella.

TIBIA: 41 fragments of shafts and articular surfaces.

FIBULA: seventeen fragments of shafts and articular surfaces.

There were also some 90 fragments of long bones which could not be further determined.

HAND BONES

LUNATE: fragments from both left and right.

SCAPHOID: fragment from right.

TRAPEZIUM: fragment from right.

METACARPAL IV: left distal end.

METACARPAL V: left distal end.

FOOT BONES

TALUS: head and post-calcaneum facet of right; post-calcaneum facet and ?malleolus facet of left.

CALCANEUM: posterior talar facet and cuboid facet of right.

NAVICULAR: fragment of left.

METATARSAL: small fragment of proximal articular surface.

?SECOND INDIVIDUAL

six fragments of skull; fragment of humerus; fragment of vertebra.

NON-HUMAN BONES

SHEEP/GOAT: fragments of ribs; fragment of vertebra.

PIG: Mandible fragments from ?piglet.

?BIRD: fragments of long bones.

TABLE IV
The Weight and Percentage Distribution of Cremated Remains.

<i>Skeletal Material</i>	<i>Weight gm</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>% of Identified</i>
Total	1017.44	100.00	—
Unidentified total	361.56	35.54	—
Identified total	655.88	64.46	100.00
Skull	106.38	10.46	16.22
Teeth	1.60	0.16	0.24
Vertebrae	59.24	5.82	9.03
Rib cage	18.25	1.79	2.78
Pectoral girdle	11.27	1.11	1.72
Pelvic girdle	20.96	2.06	3.20
Upper limbs	176.58	17.35	26.92
Hand bones	4.46	0.44	0.68
Lower limbs	155.96	15.33	23.78
Foot bones	14.07	1.38	2.15
Long bones (unidentified)	57.86	5.68	8.82
Animal bones	29.25	2.87	4.46

The majority of the fragments appear to belong to an adult human. No bones were duplicated, and one may assume there was only one individual present, although a few bones of a second may have been accidentally incorporated.

The human fragments matched in size the reference skeleton, but as far as possible other factors were used to determine the age more exactly.

The distal epiphysis of the left ulna had fused but the evidence suggested that it had not long done so. This fuses at the age of 17 years in the female, Warwick & Williams (1973). The proximal head of the left fibula also showed recent fusion, again at the age of 17 in females, Warwick & Williams (1973). The heads of both metacarpals had fused, which they do by the fifteenth year in female, Warwick & Williams (1973). The first sacral vertebra had not yet united with the second along their adjacent margins. Fusion normally occurs at the age of 23 years, although it can persist unfused until the age of 33, Grant (1972). Several fragments of the skull showed sutures, but because of their small size it was not easy to determine their position. The breaks were along the sutures rather than across, which would indicate that the sutures had not begun to be obliterated. The only suture which could be placed with any accuracy was a portion of the coronal suture in the region of the superior temporal crest. The outer margin was still unfused, but there

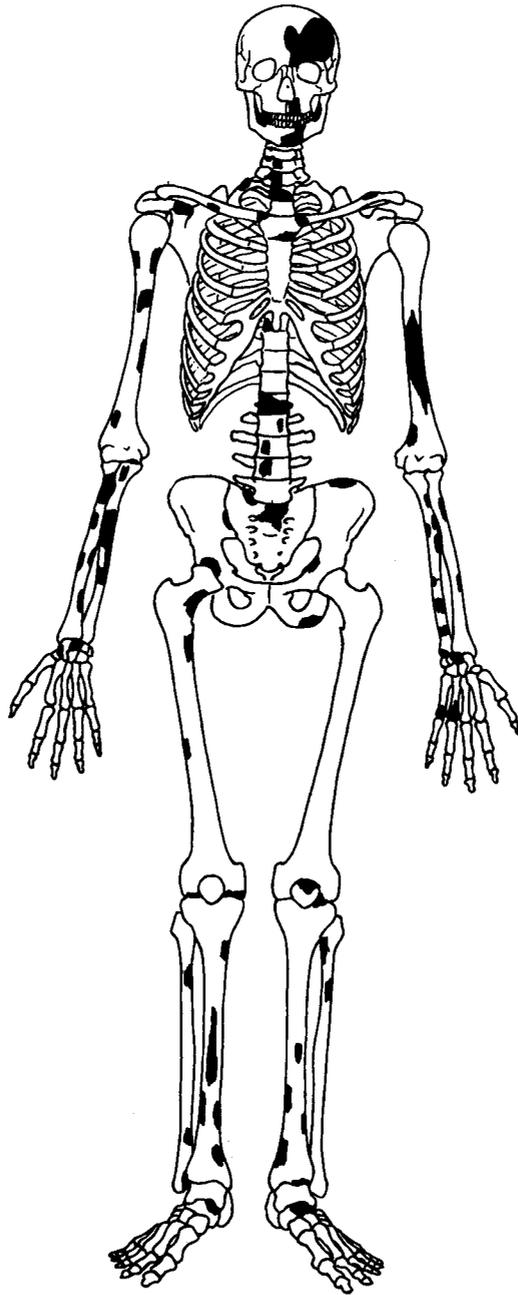


Fig. 28 Lefevre Road cremation burial : Reference skeleton.

was some indication that the endocranial margin had started to fuse. Todd & Lyon (1924) showed that in the white male the complicata region of the coronal suture commences fusion on average at the age of 24 years, reaching total fusion within five years. Although the outer margins had been damaged, there were indications that the posterior intraoccipital synchondrosis had not fully disappeared which they would normally do by six years of age. The frontal sinuses were not present, but this was probably due to sex rather than age.

The teeth also offered clues to ageing. The roots of the lower first premolar and the first molar had completed their growth, which they do at 13 years and 10 years respectively, Downer (1975). The mandible contained a socket for the third molar which erupts normally by 21 years, with the roots completing growth by 25 years, Downer (1975). Only the lower first premolar lent itself to analysis by the method proposed by Gustafson (1950), although solely from its external characteristics. This proved inconclusive. However together with the roots of other teeth, it showed completion of growth at the apices, but little or no resorption. The root orifices were either closed or very nearly so. The teeth were not sectioned for further analysis.

Taking all the above into consideration, the individual appears to have died in its early twenties.

The sexing of the individual was less certain. The most diagnostic feature was the frontal bone fragment with the supra-orbital margin. This region has already been recommended as a useful guide by Gejvall and Sahlström (1948). The margin was sharp and lacked the brow ridges typical of males. The fragment showed no frontal sinuses, which are less developed in females. Gejvall's later and more accessible work (1969) expanded his metrical analysis of sexing from certain bones. Following his method, the present cremation yielded the results given below: (measurements in mm)

Thickness of skull vault	Wall thickness of shafts of			
	Femur	Left humerus	Right humerus	Radius
3.48	5.20	3.00	4.13	2.42
♀	♀	♀	♂	♂

These results are somewhat inconclusive but the human bones may be tentatively ascribed to a female.

The cause of death could not be determined from the bones. The only pathological feature noted was a slight ring of calculus around the lower premolar.

There were six fragments of skull which were probably human but were thinner than those belonging to the main burial. The skull could possibly belong to a juvenile, although there were only a couple of other fragments which could also be ascribed to a juvenile and they may not represent part of the main cremation. Had the pyre been where earlier cremations had taken place then it is possible that remains from these could have been included.

A few fragments were obviously not adult human remains. I am grateful to Dr. Juliet Jewell of the British Museum (Natural History) for looking at these fragments and identifying them. They consisted of eleven fragments of ribs and of vertebra of sheep/goat; a mandible fragment of a young piglet; some possible bird bones and fragments of a humerus and vertebra of a non-human nature. The remains of pig are often

found in Celtic burials, Ross (1967). The variety of animals, however, suggests that the bones either came from a funerary feast, or that the cremation took place near food debris which became accidentally incorporated into the bundle.

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Sonia Jeffery and Andrew Doidge drew the two vessels and M. J. Hammerson provided the descriptions. George Woods, Alison Laws, Roy Canham and Pat Wilkinson provided information concerning the circumstances of the discovery. The report was typed by Laura Schaaf, who also made many helpful suggestions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A number of sites in the Old Ford area have now been examined by excavation and observation but our understanding of the origin and development of the Roman settlement is still very limited. The locality had several advantages: its proximity to London; the subsoil, gravel capped in places by sand and brickearth which provided reasonable farmland, particularly in contrast to the marshy low lying ground east of the River Lea; the river and the Roman London-Colchester Road which would have provided the means for good communications.

Evidence for the origin, size, historical development and economy of the Old Ford settlement, together with others in Greater London, has recently been discussed¹, although it is perhaps worth adding a few comments concerning the sites reported on here.

The ditch dating to the late 1st-early 2nd century A.D. found at Morville Street c. 300 m south of the Roman London-Colchester Road is the first clear indication of land usage after the high way's construction. This, and the 2nd-century ditches were probably field boundaries and suggest that at least part of the area was being farmed. The ditches did not appear to have been aligned on the road (Fig. 29) and this, together with their distance from it, could indicate that the fields belonged to a farm lying south of the road, perhaps near to the River Lea. It is also possible that their alignment could have derived from an earlier field system, but apart from 3 coins², no finds of Iron Age material have been recorded from the area.

Alternatively these fields could have been farmed by inhabitants of a roadside settlement whose dwellings lay nearer to the ford than the sites so far investigated. It

seems likely that a major road crossing a river, which might have been fordable only at certain times, would have possessed at least facilities for travellers. On current evidence it is difficult to assess the nature and extent of the settlement at Old Ford in the 1st and 2nd centuries. Activity in the 2nd century, apart from that attested at Morville Street, is shown by the features found at Lefevre Road³ and the cremation burial reported on here; obviously more information is needed.

The ditches at Morville Street continued to function until at least the middle of the 2nd century, but evidence for later Roman usage is limited to that provided by the inhumation burials. It may be that the area was still farmed, but if so, the fields appear to have been larger, for no late Roman boundaries were found on the site, although late 3rd/4th-century ditches aligned similarly to those at Morville Street were observed c. 200 m further north during construction work in 1976⁴.

Evidence for late Roman agriculture was obtained at Usher Road. There, c. 25–65 m north of the London-Colchester Road, fields were laid out, probably in the middle of the 3rd century. The ditches at Usher Road lay at a slight angle to the line of the Roman road, and the field alignments were not dissimilar to those found on nearby sites on both sides of the highway (Fig. 29). The lack of mid 4th-century+ ditches on the western part of the site suggests that larger fields were in use, or that the settlement was contracting or moving further to the east.

Much of the Roman settlement in Old Ford has been destroyed unrecorded. Post-Roman agricultural damage, ballast extraction, the 19th-century housing developments and extensive cuttings for the railway were accompanied by minimal recording, predominantly of burials. Post-war rebuilding, mainly involving the clearance of Victorian houses and the erection of blocks of flats has involved further losses, although archaeological work on a limited scale has taken place.

More information is required if the extent of the Roman settlement is to be planned and the various aspects of its history to be understood. This can only be done with more extensive excavations and it is hoped that the Inner London Archaeological Unit will be provided with enough resources to ensure that the necessary work is undertaken as redevelopment proceeds.

NOTES

1. H. L. Sheldon and L. Schaaf 'A Survey of Roman sites in Greater London' *Collectanea Londiniensia* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 2 (1978) 59–88.
2. One gold coin inscribed TASCIO found in Victoria Park, London Museum Record Card E89. Parts of two tin coins

- from Lefevre Road, probably 2nd–1st century B.C., information from M. J. Hammerson.
3. H. L. Sheldon 'Excavations at Lefevre Road, Old Ford, E.3' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 23 part i (1971) 64.
4. Inner London Archaeological Unit 'Sites investigated by the Inner London Archaeological Unit 1974–1976' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 28 (1977) 255.

Appendix

TRIAL EXCAVATIONS 1971–1972

M. J. Hammerson and H. L. Sheldon

During late 1971 and early 1972 trial excavations were carried out on three sites in Old Ford where redevelopment was imminent. The aim of the work was to investigate an area of possible Roman settlement, south of the London-Colchester Road, but nearer to the presumed position of the ford across the Lea. The results were disappointing. No Roman features were found, although on two of the sites this may have been because substantial post-medieval quarrying or other disturbances had occurred.

Maverton Road (TQ 3721 8360)

Much of the site was covered by brown silty earth containing material of up to 18th-century date

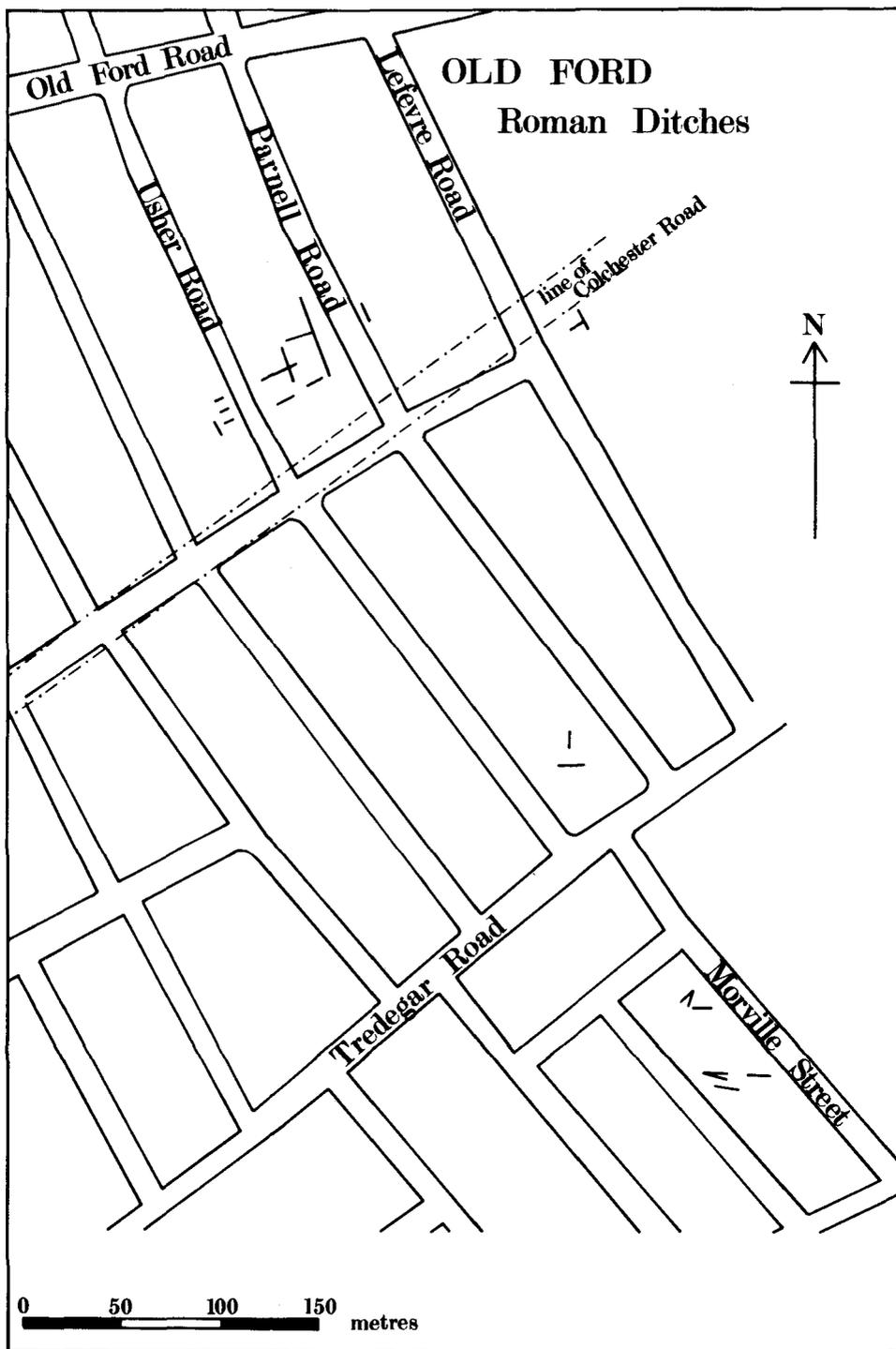


Fig. 29 Map of Old Ford showing recorded Roman ditches in relation to the London-Colchester Road.

including a quantity of Roman pottery. This deposit lay on sands and gravels not investigated but presumed to be the natural subsoil. The only features found were of 19th-century date.

Autumn Street (TQ 3742 8359)

Two trenches were dug on the site of the demolished houses and gardens of 16-20 Autumn Street. In both cases the strata had been completely disturbed, under the houses at least, by a series of interconnected 19th-century pits presumably dug for sand and gravel extraction. Only a few sherds of Roman pottery were found amongst the later material.

423-427 Old Ford Road (TQ 3732 8365)

The investigations suggested that prior to the erection of buildings in the 19th century, the ground level had been cleared down to natural gravel in the west of the site. The gravels had apparently been substantially quarried away to the east. No features earlier than the 18th century were seen, although a few sherds of Roman pottery were found within them.

During the excavations it was learnt that a coin hoard contained in a pot had been found immediately south of the site, at 429-431 Old Ford Road, during the construction of a shelter early in World War II. Evidently most of the coins were immediately dispersed, but one, of A.D. 260-268 had been retained. (Information from Mr. Callow).

(Site Records are lodged in the Museum of London).

The Society is grateful to the Department of the Environment for a grant towards the cost of publishing this report.

EXCAVATIONS AT SHEPPERTON GREEN 1967 AND 1973

Roy Canham

During May 1967 a report was received at the London Museum that a number of human skeletons had come to light on a construction site in Shepperton in an area that was some distance from the nearest church and not known to have been used as a graveyard, at least within recorded history. The information was given by Dr David Foster, who acting in his capacity of duty police surgeon visited the site in order to establish whether the remains were of recent date. Having concluded that the burials were more of archaeological than forensic interest, Dr Foster plotted the positions and made contact with the London Museum. During the investigation of these burials it soon emerged that there were also a number of settlement features, and since these had fared rather better than the skeletons during the top-soil stripping, attention was focused on them. On two subsequent occasions areas adjacent to the 1967 site were excavated and the results of all three sessions of work are dealt with jointly in the following pages.

The excavations were located in the parish of Shepperton on part of the former Rose Acre Nurseries, south of Briar Road, Shepperton Green (NGR TQ 0705 6770, Figs. 1 and 2). The construction work comprised a new school with ancillary buildings, subsequently named the Saxon County Junior School. The site lies some 300m south-west of what may tentatively be regarded as the centre of the medieval settlement at Shepperton Green and about 1.5 km from the original centre of Shepperton (Fig. 2). The site is located on the Upper Floodplain terrace at an altitude of 12m above Ordnance Datum. The land to the south and west has been extensively quarried for gravel.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SHEPPERTON AREA

The final section of the report is devoted to a discussion of the Saxon and medieval discoveries in relation to the topographical form of the area and what little is known of the pattern of settlements and land colonisation within it. However a few preliminary comments will serve as background to the work of excavation.

A line drawn from Staines to Brentford would define approximately the northern limit of the upper floodplain terrace of the Thames, a wide and level gravel deposit which bears in a number of localities the brickearth sheet that is commonly found in the Thames Basin. Since the river describes a wide southerly arc between these two towns the terrace is well-preserved, the Thames having worked its way close to the Eocene beds of north Surrey.

South of the Staines Road (which runs from Staines through Sunbury and Hampton to Kingston) lies a sector of the upper floodplain that had evaded development as a London suburb until the 1970s, being somewhat distant by road and poorly served by rail. It contains the villages of Laleham, Littleton, Shepperton Green, Shepperton and Upper and Lower Halliford, and the excavations reported here were located more or less in its centre, close to the western boundary of the parish of Shepperton.

Although the area probably supported a moderate to dense tree cover in its natural

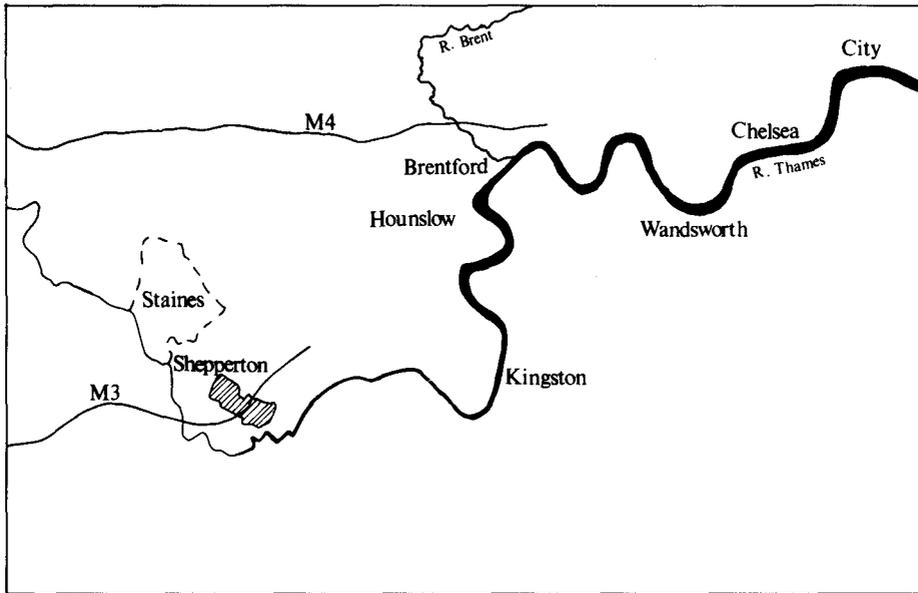


Fig. 1 Location of the Shepperton Area.

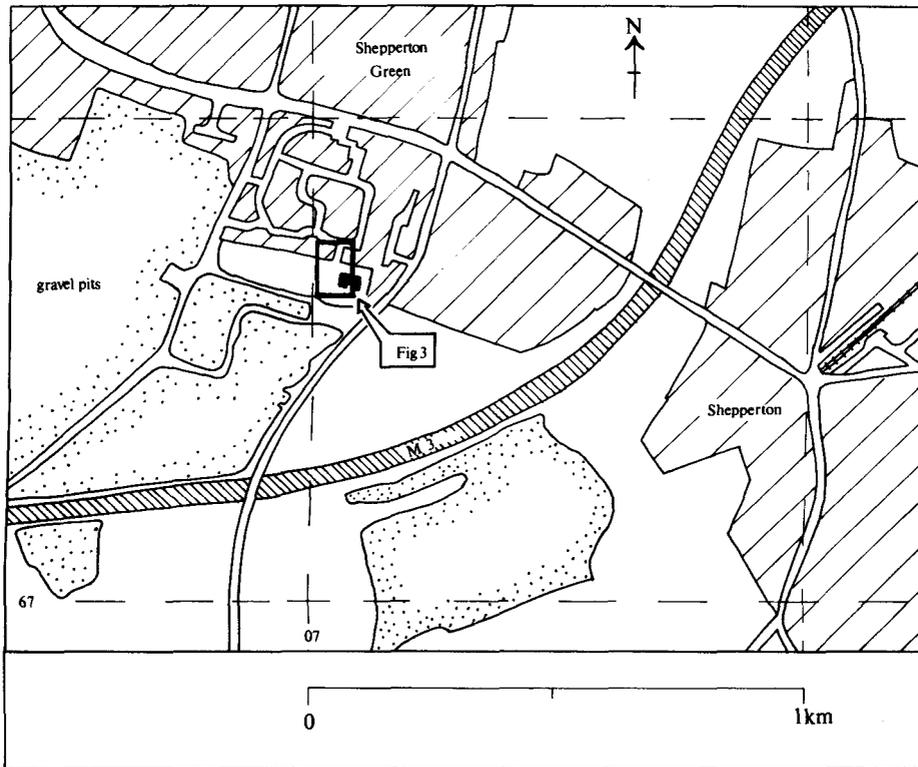


Fig. 2 Shepperton Green : Location of the excavation site.

state this is nowhere apparent at the present time. The demands of agriculture have long since stripped away the woodlands, while excavation of gravel in large quantities has brought some drastic alterations to the scenery, especially in eliminating many of the tiny streams which once drained the region. The construction of the Queen Mary Reservoir at Littleton swallowed up a huge amount of farmland and with it, no doubt, a number of early settlement sites.

In recent years the construction of housing estates has gone some way towards infilling the open land between the ancient villages, masking the position of the original nucleus of these communities. On numerous occasions archaeological finds have been chanced upon during the process of upheaval but rarely have the remains been examined *in situ* by fieldworkers trained to record and interpret such discoveries.

Evidence of prehistoric settlement in this southern portion of the Middlesex gravel plain is extremely rare. To the north of the area middle bronze age cemeteries have been discovered at Littleton and Sunbury¹, with indications of a third reported from Hampton². It is possible to argue that such aspects of occupation would have been sited on marginal land at the edge of the settled and colonised zone, but this type of overall pattern could only be verified by a concentration of fieldwork and aerial survey which has not been possible in this region. Activity in the early iron age is denoted by the coin hoard from Shepperton Green, which is discussed below.

The principal discoveries consist of scattered indications of Romano-British settlement and portions of three Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; at Walton Bridge Green, at War Close, and in Upper West Field which is situated a few hundred metres south of the excavation site³. These finds are discussed in more detail below, but it may be observed that in view of the scarcity of such indications in Middlesex generally they form a cluster of material evidence suggestive of continuous habitation.

There are some circumstantial points that need to be made concerning the recovery of archaeological data. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have always far outnumbered archaeologically attested settlements of the same period, largely because grave goods and skeletons are spectacular finds that attract attention while settlement traces are rarely reported as chance finds. Hence our knowledge of three such cemeteries within the single parish of Shepperton, and the lack of supporting traces of settlement prior to these excavations. A second point concerns the excavations for gravel which have affected so much of the area. Since these Upper Floodplain deposits have never been found to contain much in the way of palaeolithic flint implements, little or no inspection of them was conducted by the late 19th- early 20th century fieldworkers of the London region, who in the favoured localities such as Ealing, Acton and Yiewsley-West Drayton sometimes chanced upon archaeological remains of post-palaeolithic date. Thus the material remains by which we attempt to judge just how long the gravel terrace of the Shepperton locality has been utilised by farming settlers may be far from representative.

THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1967 and 1973

Since many tons of earth had been scraped from the construction area before archaeological excavations were attempted, there was no chance in 1967 to investigate the upper part of the stratification (Fig. 3; Areas A and B). In the same year members of the Sunbury and Shepperton Local History Society opened up four trenches immediately west of the Museum excavation and adjacent to it. The excavation was not apparently

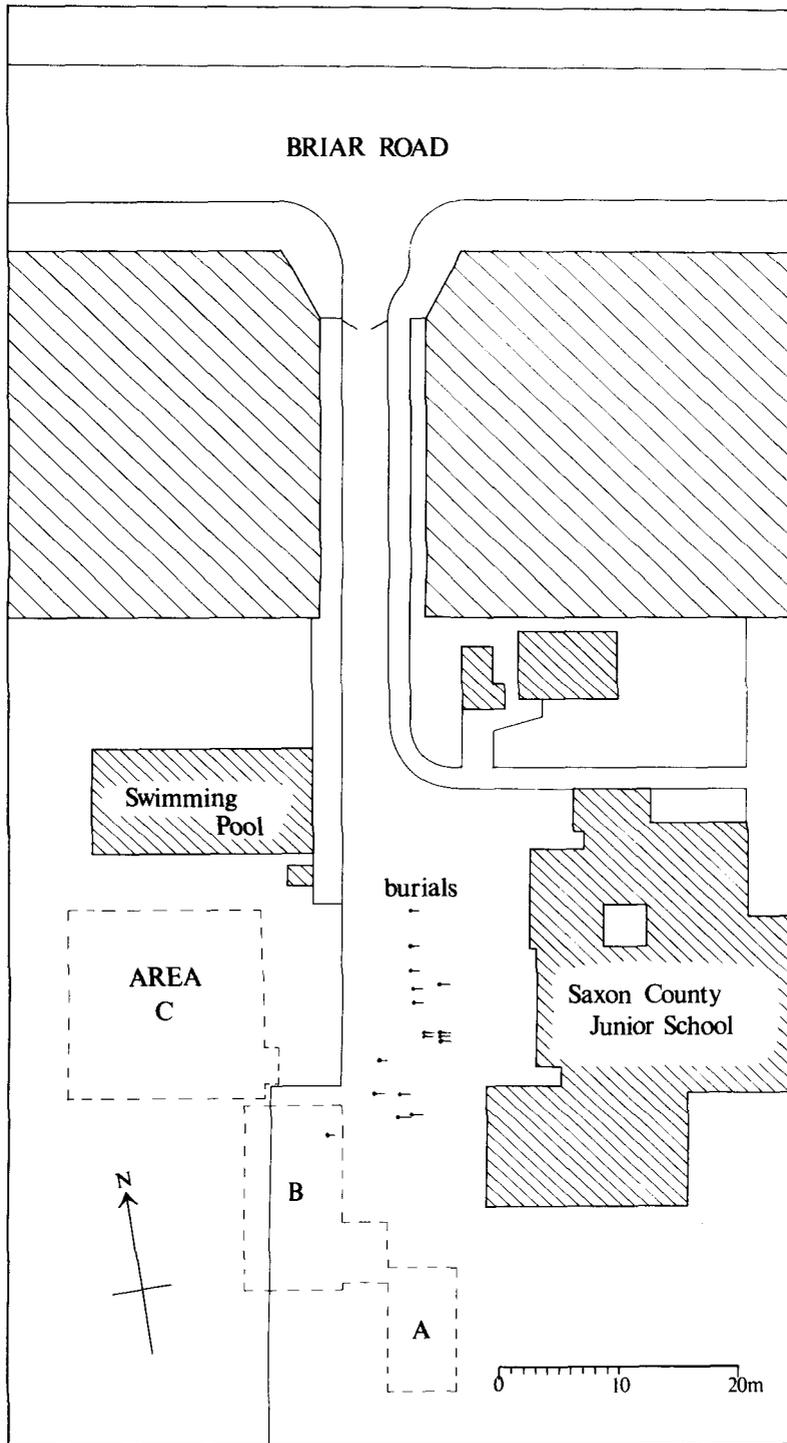


Fig. 3 Shepperton Green : General Site Plan.

taken down to the natural level, but it appears that a number of features containing sherds of medieval pottery were identified in the topsoil strata. The construction of a covered swimming pool within the playing field in March 1969 provided another opportunity to add to the evidence, but little resulted from this. The depth of the pool was partially obtained by building up rather than cutting down, and this may explain why no trace of occupation was observed.

The most productive excavation was carried out in April-May 1973 (Fig. 3, Area C). Since the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments had scheduled the whole of the playing field area in 1968, notice was received of plans to construct a new classroom unit to the north west of the original excavation site.

The opportunity was taken to examine the 256 sq. m. plot required for this before building commenced. About 0.40 m of turf and soil were removed by mechanical means, and the surface of the remaining dark earth was carefully trowelled. Although isolated sherds of pottery gave promise of archaeological remains at a greater depth, the outlines of features could not be discerned at this level. With the removal of the remaining topsoil, it rapidly became apparent that the square was packed with the characteristic ditches and excavations that indicate settlement.

The surface geology of the site consisted of a layer of yellow brickearth (0.50-0.75 m in depth) resting on the gravel of the Upper Floodplain terrace. The deposit seems to run across the entire Laleham-Shepperton sector, as may be witnessed in the sections of the gravel pits which abound in the area. On the surface of the gravel was a thin deposit of humus, merely a few centimetres in thickness but quite distinct and, as far as is known, not to be found in other parts of Middlesex. In places the brickearth contained patches of a red-brown sand, not as horizontal bands but oddly contorted as though indicative of periglacial conditions.

PHASE 1: THE TIMBER STRUCTURE

(Fig. 4, Pl. 1)

During the initial inspection of the construction site in 1967, it was observed that Area B contained a concentration of circular and oval marks that were presumed to be postholes. Fortunately, this part of the site was designated as a car park and so it was possible to spend some time in planning and excavating the features. Close on 200 postholes were recorded, of which about two-thirds were actually excavated. The filling of each consisted of a stiff orange clay, which could be distinguished from the natural clay into which they had been dug only by continuous damping of the excavation. A small number yielded tiny fragments of fired clay, but no dating evidence. In one case only was a subdivision of posthole filling observed, distinguishing the dimensions of the post from the packing material placed around. Thus it appears that whatever structure was represented by these features was dismantled rather than left to rot, and the filling was a silt derived from the brickearth, to which it closely corresponded in texture and colour. This rather implies that in this phase topsoil cover was thin or non-existent but whether this was the natural condition or whether it resulted from human activity is not clear. Numerous postholes had the form of an inverted cone, as if they mirrored fairly closely the sharpened base of stakes. Some certainly may have been driven in, but many were probably too large for this and the excavation of a pit to receive them would have been essential.

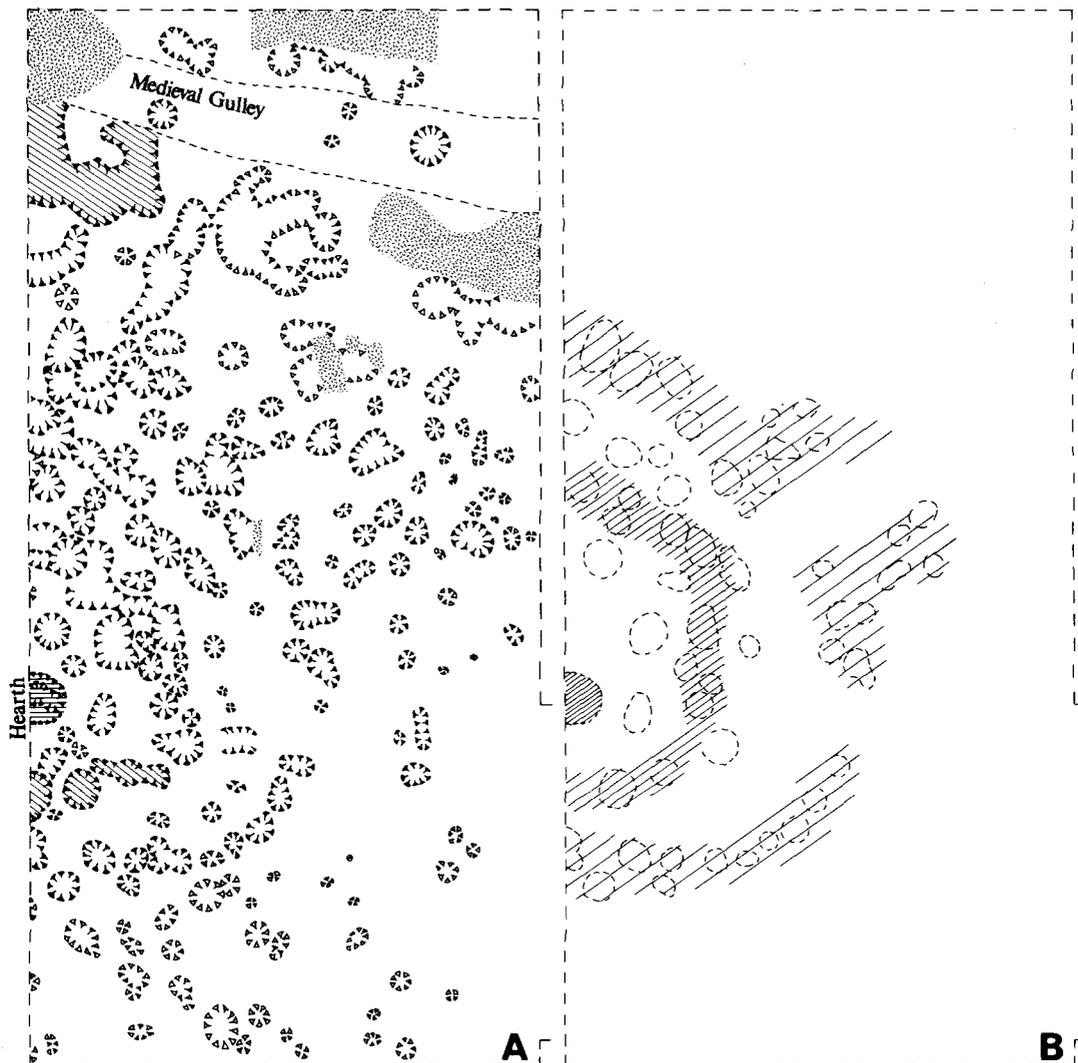


Fig. 4 Shepperton Green : A (left) Plan of prehistoric hut site, Area B. B (right) Interpretation of hut features.

Within the complex were too small sub-groups of postholes, the perimeters of which were marked by a thin lining of burnt humus. This brown-purple crust was first perceived in plan view, and upon excavation was found to line the entire posthole wall. In addition, the structure apparently had a hearth, for a pit filled with burnt brickearth was found against the western edge of the excavation (Fig. 4A).

From the complexity of the plan, there is no doubt that a succession of structures were erected in Area B during this phase. In the interpretive plan (Fig. 4B) post positions have been linked to portray the outline of a circular building to which it is felt that the majority of the larger postholes belonged. Only the eastern half of the structure was exposed in Area B, and its approximate centre being determined by the position of the hearth. Both an inner circle of large postholes and an outer ring of smaller ones were conveniently concentric to the hearth, and it is possible to distinguish the outline of a covered entrance or porch on the eastern perimeter. To judge from the frequency of continuous or overlapping postholes there was considerable repairing or even rebuilding of the original structure, including the entrance.

No dating evidence was associated with features of this phase, but a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the building is provided by the observation that features of phase 2 had cut through and destroyed the postholes of phase 1. The structure, therefore, is earlier than c. AD 1200, and in view of the contrast in the silting of the two periods (orange clay in phase 1, dark humus in phase 3) the difference in time was probably considerable.

In spite of the lack of associated artefacts the structure has obvious parallels in round houses of bronze age or iron age date⁴. A scatter of coarse flint-gritted sherds from the site includes pieces of early iron age type, suggesting a date of c. 550-300BC for the house.

PHASE 2: SAXON-EARLY MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT

In Areas A, B and C, pottery sherds were recovered which will provide a chronology ranging from the early-Saxon period to roughly the 13th century. This material included grass-tempered ware (5% of the total), shell-tempered wares of 10th-12th-century date (15%), and varieties of well-made hard, sandy fabric of 11th-13th-century date (15%). The greater part of the collection occurred in topsoil. Consequently the dating of the many features is insecure. Some are undoubtedly of the 11th-13th century, on the basis of stratified pottery in reliable quantities, but many of the features excavated produced so little that nothing more than a weakly established *terminus post quem* can be suggested. Accordingly, no attempt is made here to construct a chronological subdivision of the features. The following mode of description is offered as an alternative:

1. Description of the individual features, quoting such dating evidence as was found.
2. A consideration of the general plan formed by the features.
3. An account of the dating parameters for the complex as a whole.

This, at minimum, should ensure that too heavy reliance is not placed on the small quantity of stratified material. Further, it may serve to underline aspects of the discoveries that suggest a continually occupied settlement, which in view of the dating range of the finds is historically probable.

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE FEATURES

THE BURIALS (Fig. 3)

It was the discovery of inhumation burials that first brought the site to notice. Since this occurred during the removal by machinery of the topsoil, considerable damage occurred to the skeletons and no adequate recording was found to be possible. At least twenty individuals were represented, each buried with the head to the west in Christian fashion and without grave goods. In one instance the digging of a grave had cut through an earlier inhumation, the disturbed bones being re-interred with the new burial. One of the inhumations had been partially removed by the digging of a medieval feature. Judging from this and the presence of medieval settlement features in the general area of the burials (presumably not contemporary), it is probable that the cemetery was not in use after *c.* AD 1000.

FEATURES IN AREAS A AND B (Fig. 8)

Feature 17. In the northern part of Area A postholes of phase 1 were cut through by a shallow ditch (Feature 17), the brown soil filling of which contrasted with the yellow clay filling the postholes. The shallow profile of the ditch, its width and its filling made it closely comparable to the complex of ditches found in 1973 in Area C. A large sherd of possibly 9th-century date was found in the filling.

Features 18 and 19. These consisted of narrow trenches or slots with a number of apparently associated postholes, all filled with a fine dark soil. Parts of the system had cut into the filling of phase 1 postholes. The features are likely to represent the timbers and wall-slots of a medieval building.

Feature 20. Like most of the features in Areas A and B this was somewhat disturbed by earthmoving. It contained the dark soil filling as seen in 18 and 19, and was a vertical-sided trench about 0.30m deep adjoined by a shallow, irregular scoop. It may have been a sewage pit.

Features 21 and 22. Also filled with dark soil, these features had much of the character of 18 and 19, and interpretation as wall-slots for a timber building is probably correct. Pottery from 20, 21 and 22 suggests a date in the period 1050-1150.

FEATURES IN AREA C (Fig. 5)

The ditches

Features 4, 5 and 6 (Fig. 7, C-C'). Three shallow ditches aligned east-west and spaced closely together. The depth of these features is 0.25m. Feature 4 produced a bone spoon and an iron buckle (Fig. 13, No. 12) and is probably Saxon. Feature 5 contained the rim of a Saxon pot and Feature 6 the rim of a cooking pot dated *c.* 1050-1150. All were filled with fine brown soil containing fragments of animal bone.

Feature 8 (Fig. 7, H-H'). A ditch 1.7m wide showing evidence of recutting. Brown soil filling, no dateable finds.

Feature 9. Portion of a ditch found in the south west corner of excavation. No finds.

Features 11 and 12 (Fig. 7, G-G'). Identified as two ditches but essentially part of the same system. Brown soil filling, no dateable finds.

Feature 13 (Fig. 7, D-D'). A distinctly V-shaped ditch, 1.05m wide and 0.6m deep. Stratigraphically later than Features 11-12. It contained pottery of the period 1050-1150 and a number of small finds including a coin of Offa (see p. 121).

Feature 14 (Fig. 7, E-E' and F-F'). A narrow ditch of varying depth. The filling was distinguished from that of other features by its gravel content. Stratigraphically later than Feature 13, it contained a rim-sherd of early-medieval date.

Feature 16. Wide ditch of uncertain date.

The pits

Feature 3. A small pit forming the terminal of ditch 4.

Feature 7 (Fig. 7, B-B'). A circular pit 2m in diameter and 0.8m deep. It had been dug through the brickearth, which was deep in this area, to the surface of the gravel. The filling was mainly a fine brown material in common with the majority of the ditches. Pottery sherds date the feature to the period 1050-1150.

Feature 15 (Fig. 5). A shallow pit or basin showing signs of much recutting; no dateable finds.

The grubenhaus

Feature 10 (Figs. 5 and 6, Pl.2). The single hut discovered was roughly square in plan (2.5 m by 2.2 m), and 0.9 m deep as measured from the brickearth surface. Its filling consisted of a fine brown soil, in which no sign of silting, tip-lines or other subdivisions were observed. The lower half of the fill was in a few places stained green, but these traces were slight. Postholes were found in each of the four corners, and near the mid-point of the western edge was a pair of stake holes. The very small quantity of pottery found within the feature included one sherd of grass-tempered ware but no rim-fragments or other material worthy of illustration, except for a number of small finds.

2. FUNCTION OF THE FEATURES

The structural elements in the overall plan are clear, consisting of a grubenhaus (10) and indications of two early medieval buildings (18-19 and 21-22), probably rectangular in

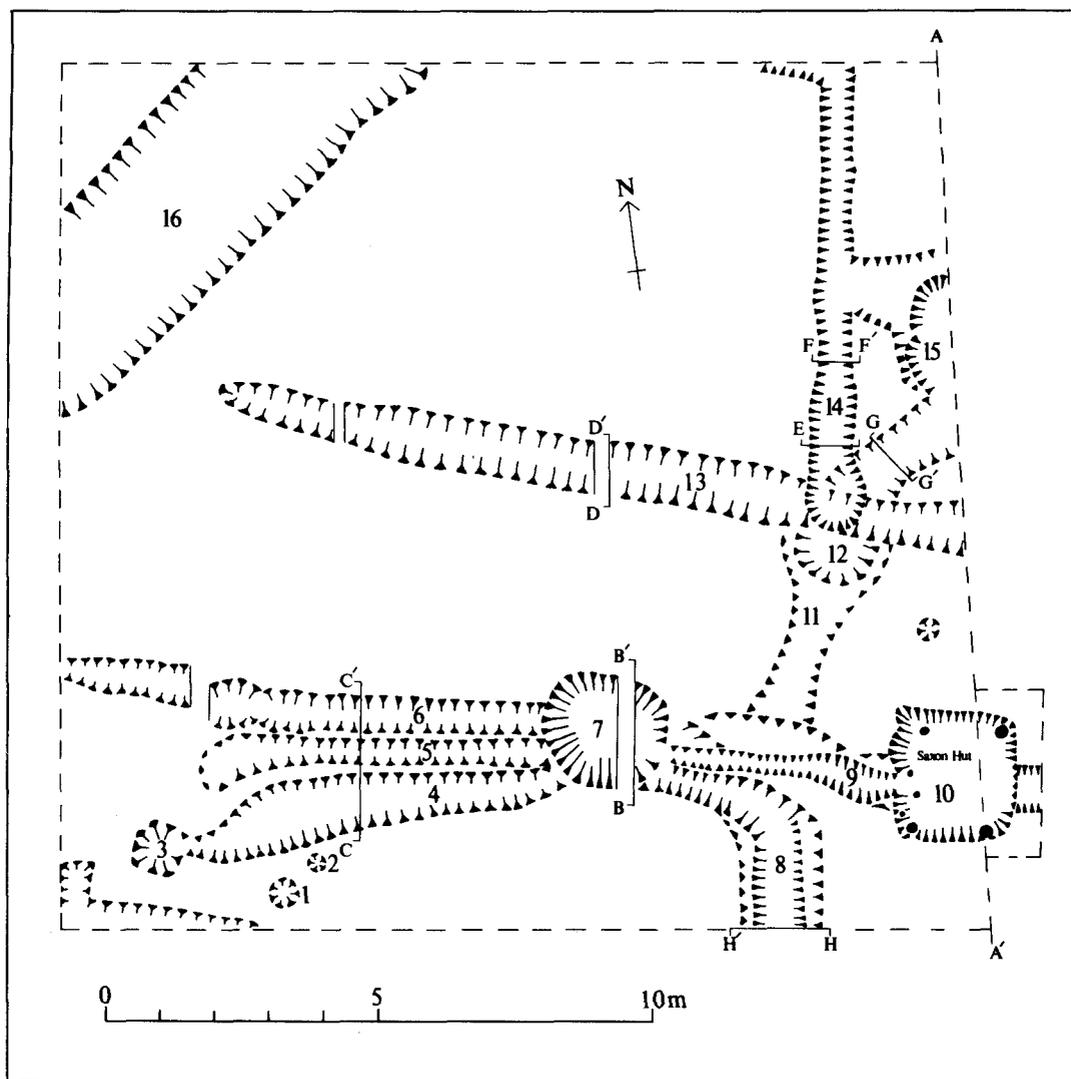


Fig. 5 Shepperton Green : Plan of features, Area C.

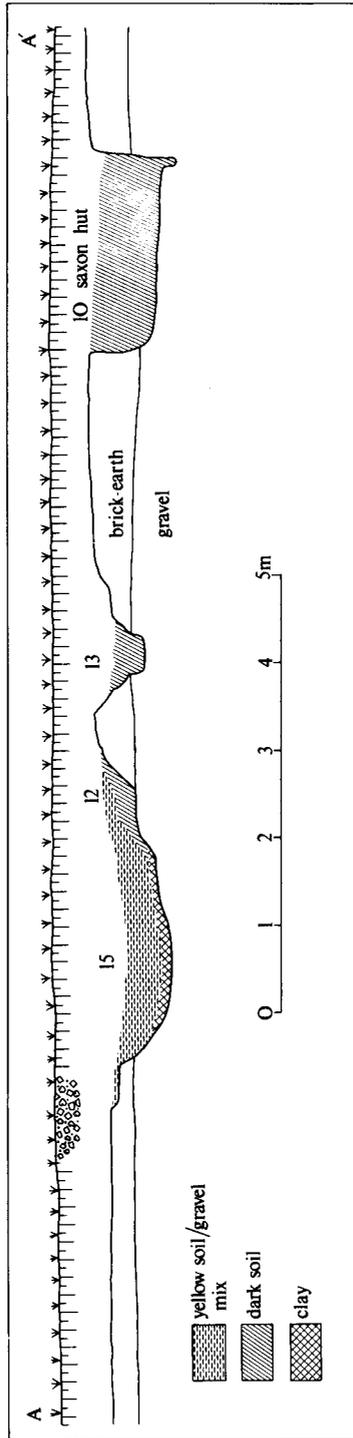


Fig. 6 Shepperton Green : East section of Area C showing grubenhaus.

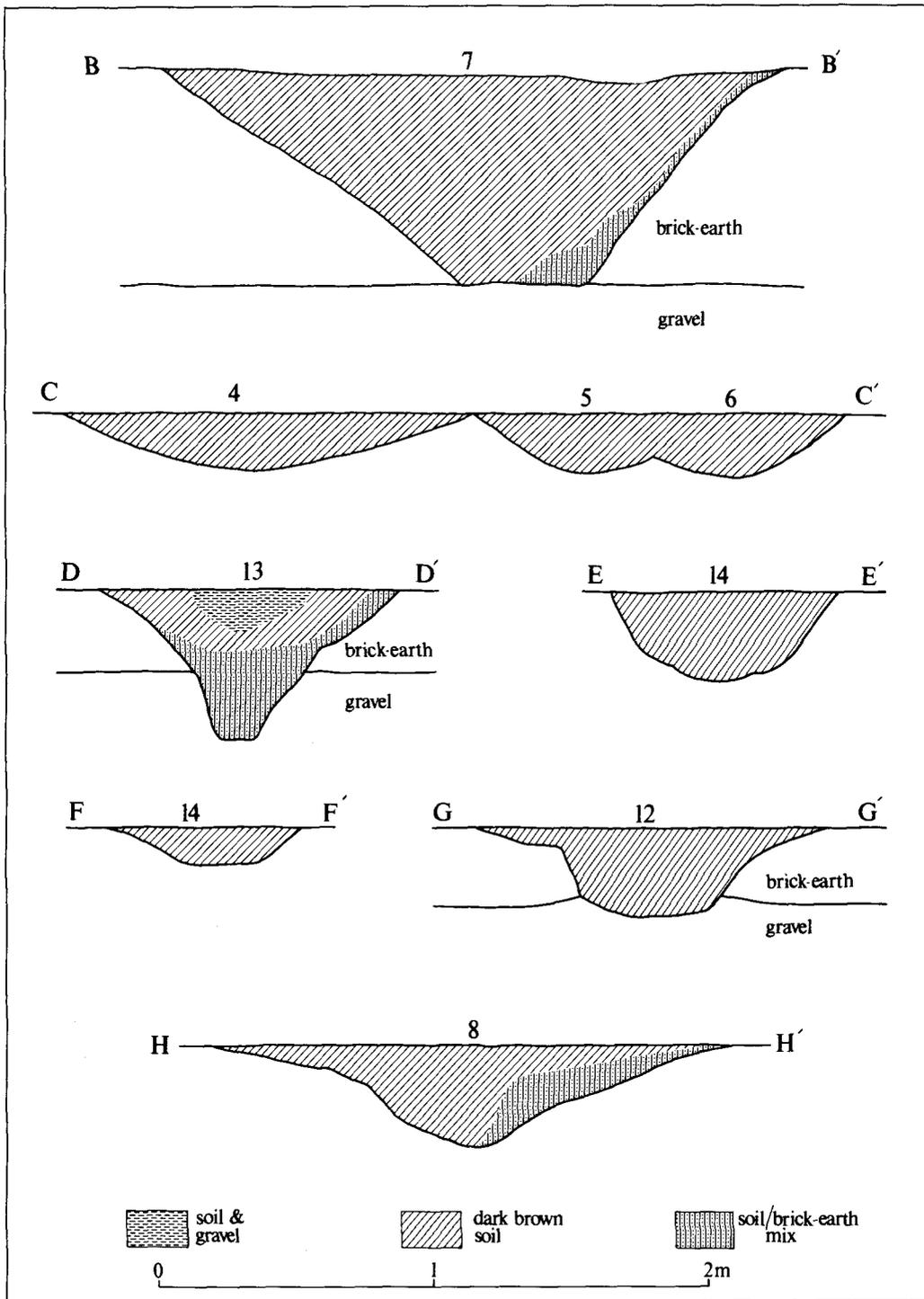


Fig. 7 Shepperton Green : Sections of features, Area C.

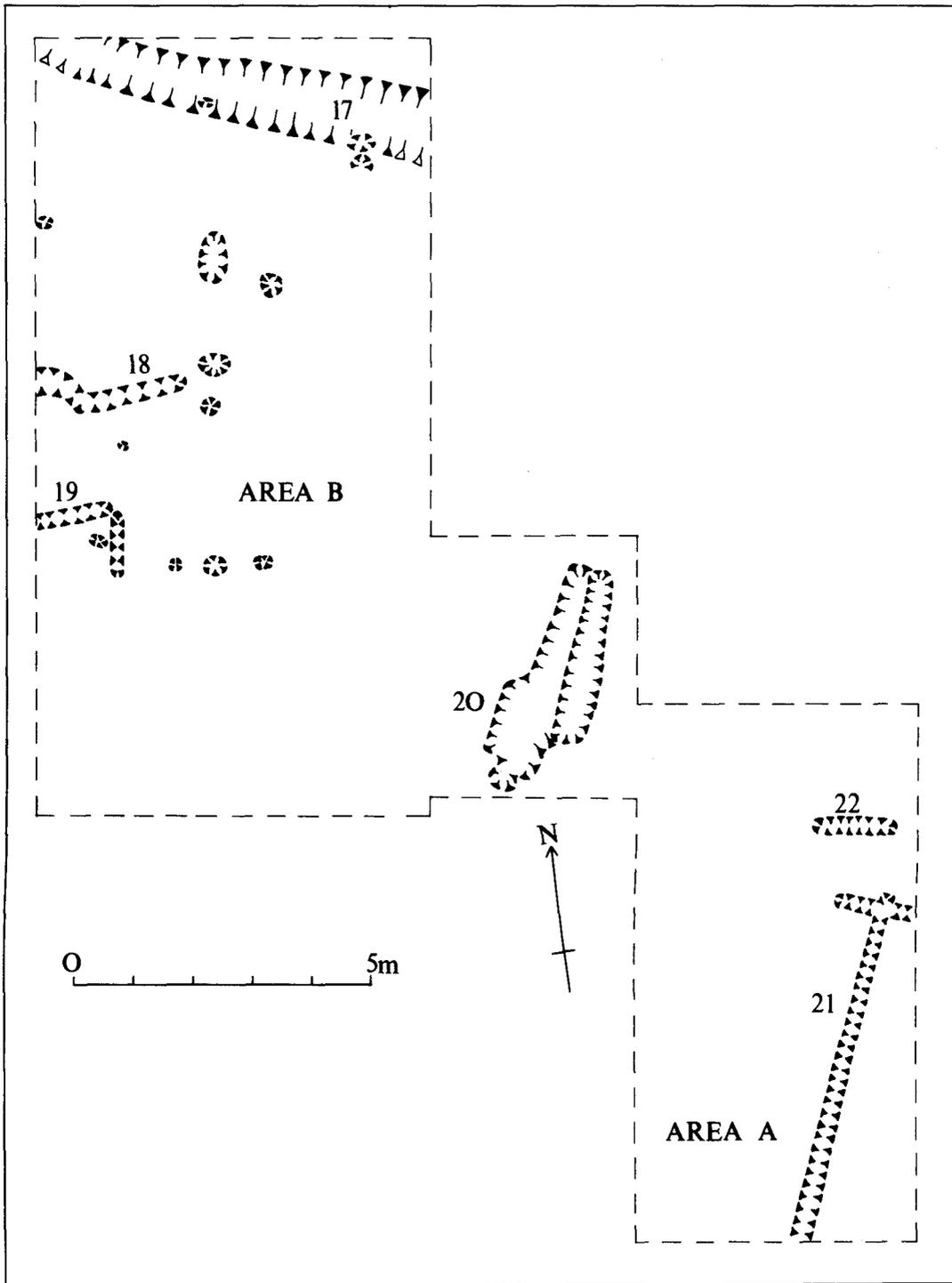


Fig. 8 Shepperton Green : Plan of features, Areas A and B.

plan. The postholes in the area of 18-19 might be an indication of an earlier or later building on the same spot in which a different technique of construction was employed. The period IE plan at Northolt (1225-1300)⁵, exhibits a similar combination of narrow trenches and postholes. It is noteworthy that these two medieval buildings and the possible sewage pit were located in an area not crossed by any of the ditches so common on site C, and thus may define an area into which occupation spread in the 11th to 13th centuries.

The ditches appear to divide the land into rectangular plots. The close proximity of ditches 4, 5 and 6 must indicate a sequence of events in which one of the plot boundaries was periodically re-established. The intersection of ditch 9 and the grubenhaus was examined with care, and the conclusion was reached that the ditch was later than the hut. It may be that ditch 9 represents a re-organisation of the plot layout, extending the system eastwards across the region of the hut site after the latter had fallen out of use. Ditch 14, one of the north-south elements, was found to be stratigraphically later than the ditches with which it was associated, and produced a rim sherd from a shell-tempered cooking pot dated to the period 1050-1150.

Ditch 13 bore little relation to the rest of the system. Its distinct V-shaped profile also contrasted with the shallow cross-sections of other features (Fig. 7) and if this represents a time in which the organisation of the settlement was becoming loose then the digging of ditch 14 (eliminating ditch 13) may have rectified matters. Ditch 17 (in Area B) was the most southerly element in the ditch complex. Beyond it the nature of the occupation evidence was of a different kind, as noted above.

The three pits (3, 7 and 15) were positively associated with the ditch system and presumably acted as drainage sumps or water catchments. The same intention seems to have been expressed in the bulbous terminal to ditch 12.

3. ASSESSMENT OF DATE

The pottery sherds range from material of early-Saxon type to fragments of large cooking pots of the early medieval period. While a few features produced no diagnostic sherds later than early Saxon, the paucity of finds from all contexts save the topsoil makes the assessment of date hazardous. An extreme, but nonetheless viable, interpretation would be that the majority of features relate to the development of settlement on the site in the late Saxon-Norman period. It is perhaps more probable that some part of the ditch system was contemporary with the Saxon grubenhaus, particularly the well-established north-south boundary element which ran close to its western side. Even this sunken hut is not dateable to the early-Saxon period, however, since the bronze pin from its filling is probably of the 8th or 9th century.

The two remarkable Saxon coins originated from Area C. It is suggested in the coin report that both specimens are likely to have been deposited within about 20-30 years of their date of issue. Taken with the evidence of pottery and other small finds, the coins help to suggest that the time-span of the ditch system was from the 5th or 6th century to the 12th century. The coin of Offa (date of issue c. 792-796) was discovered in the filling of Feature 13, shown by excavation to be a late (though not final) element in the complex. The two rim sherds from the feature are later than the suggested date of deposit for the coin, which together with the other dateable small finds from this filling must be regarded as stray finds. The 10th-century coin was found in the topsoil.

The cooking pot fragments, many of which were from topsoil, have close affinities with the forms and fabrics found at Northolt Manor within contexts assigned to periods IC and ID (c. 1050-1225). However, some specimens of St. Neots ware are present, suggesting occupation prior to the Norman Conquest. The middle-Saxon period seems to be poorly represented, but the date range of the plain sherds of Saxon type is impossible to determine. Fortunately, the dating of a number of the small finds to the middle-Saxon period provides firm ground for propounding that the occupation of the site was maintained throughout the Saxon period.

4. THE NATURE OF THE SETTLEMENT AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH

A certain amount of worked flint found during the excavations specifies activity during the prehistoric period, at some time prior to the arrival of the iron age settlers. It constitutes no more than the usual collection of such material which results from fieldwork in the Middlesex gravel terrace region. Firm evidence of pre-Roman settlement was established by the recovery of a round-house plan, with which the scatter of early iron age sherds has been linked. In contrast to this material, which belongs to an early phase of the iron age, stands the coin hoard discovered in Jessiman Terrace in 1955 about 200m east of the site. At the time of discovery an occupation feature (either a pit or a ditch) was noticed and it is therefore possible that the later prehistoric occupation may have been of some duration⁶.

The Romano-British sherds found are small and abraded, typical of the finds resulting from manure-scattering of domestic refuse on arable land. A more substantial indication of the settlement of this period was perceived in the 19th century when pottery and portions of tessellated pavements were recorded 'near Shepperton Saxon cemetery'⁷. The location of the cemetery, somewhere in Upper West Field, is discussed below, but it is probable that the Saxon settlers inherited land which had been farmed (and no doubt kept well-drained) for several centuries.

Although the area of excavation was not extensive, sufficient detail of the Saxon and medieval settlement has emerged to allow comparison with other sites. The scatter of Saxon sherds makes it clear that occupation had certainly commenced by the 6th century, and it is to that period that some of the shallow ditches may be tentatively assigned. Although grubenhäuser are mostly found in areas of early-Saxon settlement⁸, the Shepperton Green hut belongs not to this phase but to the 8th or 9th century at least, and is thus a demonstration of occupation continuing through the first millenium AD. The ditches were used and modified throughout this period.

The ditch system, viewed in combination with the grubenhaus, invites comparison with the results of larger scale excavations in which the general plan of Saxon settlements has emerged. At Linford in Essex, Barton was able to trace the development of a pagan Saxon ditch system, part of which enclosed a rectangular house. He described the features as part of a well-laid out scheme and concluded that the purpose was not defensive but merely the definition of a given area⁹. The shallow profiles of the Linford ditches support his interpretation. The profiles of the Shepperton features were, with one exception, identical.

The excavation of a late-Saxon settlement at Little Paxton (Hunts) has provided a more detailed plan of similar arrangements. Addyman interpreted the main ditched elements as

an enclosure and a droveway, but suggested that the remaining slots and trenches might indicate the limits of holdings within the settlement, or alternatively something in the nature of home fields¹⁰. Shallow ditch profiles were again recorded. The Shepperton ditches were clearly maintained or periodically re-established over the centuries, and to judge from the dating evidence this process was in operation for most of the Saxon period, with the possibility of a phase of desertion in middle-Saxon times.

The features to the south-east of the ditch system (in Areas A and B) appear to represent two rectangular timber buildings of the 11th to 12th centuries. Their location may indicate an extension of settlement from the Anglo-Saxon nucleus. The dark, humic nature of the fillings stood in contrast to the lighter soils in the ditches, and this too may be a reflection of a shift from the original centre onto former arable land. The range of archaeological evidence ends with the scatter of 14th-15th-century Surrey ware sherds, minutely fragmented and suggestive of manuring with domestic waste. Probably a further shifting had occurred and this area had been returned to arable.

Do these aspects of the site relate to what is known of the form of minor holdings or hamlets in the Anglo-Saxon landscape? The hints of settlement mobility – expansion, contraction or merely shifting of the occupied area – are well-established traits in the history of the English village¹¹. The definition of land-plots within or near Saxon settlements is widely attested, and there is little doubt that the Shepperton Green site is a further example. Interpretation of the function of the plot system may vary. First, it may be that the settlement itself was neatly subdivided, as the Linford evidence appears to indicate. In which case it is tempting to see this as the origin, or relation, of the often well-preserved ‘toft and croft’ arrangement preserved in deserted or shrunken medieval villages, especially on claylands. Secondly, the plots may be the home fields attached to the borders of the settlement, to follow one of Addyman’s suggestions for the Little Paxton pattern. Thirdly, since the nature of Anglo-Saxon fields is unknown and the origin of the strip-field system obscure, it is worth pondering whether such ditch systems may reflect the general arrangement of arable land in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Some attempt may be made to visualise this minor settlement in its contemporary landscape. Shepperton Green is first mentioned, as Upper Shepperton, in 1293¹². But for the archaeological evidence one might have concluded that it was a subsidiary settlement established from the village of Shepperton in a period of expanding population. Its pre-Conquest, indeed pagan Saxon, origin cannot now be denied, and the pagan Saxon cemetery discovered in Upper West Field implies that originally it was a place of some substance. The exact location of the cemetery is in some doubt, but since Upper West Field ran at least as far as the southern boundary of the site it is probable that the burials found during construction work were a part of it, namely the Christian-Saxon portion.

Since there is no reference to the place in Domesday Book one must conclude that it formed at that period only a minor holding in the parish. To return briefly to the Little Paxton site, likewise without specific reference in Domesday, its excavator suggested that it may have been an example of the estates within parishes referred to in many Anglo-Saxon charters, perhaps an individual farm unit with its own buildings and home fields, and droveway connecting it to the village centre¹³. To consider the applicability of this arrangement to the present site one must examine what is known of the origin of the parish within which it lies. The parish of Shepperton (Fig. 9) is a more-or-less equilateral triangle about two miles on each side, the apex positioned at Shepperton Green and the

projection of the parish (or rather, there was until its recent incorporation in Littleton) beyond the village which has the appearance of some additional grant of land, perhaps dating to the time of the formation of Littleton. With this removed, the natural boundary of the River Ash would have been utilised for almost the entire length of Shepperton's north-eastern border, and Shepperton Green is seen to fit quite tightly into the apex of the triangle (Fig. 10). The parish has yielded three Saxon burial grounds¹⁵, Upper West Field near Shepperton Green, War Close in the old centre of Shepperton village, and Walton Bridge Green. The first was adjacent to the excavated Saxon and medieval settlement, the second at the heart of the principal medieval (and presumably Saxon) village, and the third was within 500 m of Lower Halliford (first mentioned as Halliford in 962). Of the three, Shepperton was located centrally, while Shepperton Green and Lower Halliford were sited in the north-west and south-east of the parish near parish boundaries. Since the Thames formed the southern boundary War Close and its presumed settlement may also be said to be near a parish boundary. It is possible to trace the track which connected the three places; Walton Lane from Walton Bridge Green, Chertsey Road to Lord's Bridge, and thence the footpath to Pool End. This route reaches Shepperton Green not at the modern focal point on the Laleham Road but in the precise area of the excavation site.

The relationship between pagan Saxon cemeteries and parish boundaries has been much discussed. Bonney has summarised the literature on the subject, covering not only the discovery of cemeteries on or near boundaries but also the numerous references in late-Saxon charters to heathen burials¹⁶. He has pointed out that parish boundaries (in some areas at least) are likely to have preserved the boundaries of the estates from which the parishes were compounded, and that such estates may be considered to be pagan Saxon or earlier¹⁷. The mechanism by which a proportion of cemeteries came to be situated on or near boundaries remains obscure. Meaney judged it to be a religious principle, 'to keep the spirits of the dead away from the dwelling places of the living'¹⁸, but that interpretation is ruled out in the case of the Upper West Field burial ground and is certainly suspect for the other two cemeteries of the parish.

An early origin for some of the Wiltshire parishes has been confirmed by the observations that Wansdyke (which is mentioned in 9th-century charters) cuts across their boundaries¹⁹. Perhaps more relevant to West Middlesex are the studies of early boundaries in Essex. According to Rodwell²⁰ there is convincing evidence that parts at least of the parish boundary network pre-date the Roman road system, and thus have fossilised aspects of the pre-Roman landscape. Against this background it is instructive to examine the distribution of archaeological sites in and around the parish of Shepperton (Fig. 10). The number of known sites is small, but it is evident that not only Saxon sites but also those of the Roman period occur close to parish boundaries. The range of information from Shepperton Green defines a long period of occupation. Would the other find-spots have yielded such a range had they been investigated more thoroughly? The case is perhaps sufficiently interesting to encourage research into the antiquity of territorial units in Middlesex.

NOTES

1. J. C. Barrett 'Four Bronze Age Cremation Cemeteries from Middlesex' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1973) 111-134.
2. Dick Sheppard 'Two Bronze Age Urns from Kempton Park' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975) 282.
3. Audrey Meaney *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London 1964) 167-8.
4. Stuart Piggott *Ancient Europe* (Edinburgh 1965) Fig. 133.
5. J. G. Hurst 'The Kitchen area of Northolt Manor, Middlesex' *Medieval Archaeol.* 5 (1961) 211-299 and Fig. 59.
6. Museum of London Archaeological Records, E.69.

7. *Ibid.*, F 417.
8. P. V. Addyman 'The Anglo-Saxon house; a new review' P. Clemoes (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon England I* (Cambridge 1972) 281 and 302.
9. K. J. Barton 'Settlements of the Early Iron Age and Pagan Saxon period at Linford, Essex' *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc. Third series I* (1962) 57-104 esp. 64 and Fig. 2.
10. P. V. Addyman 'Late Saxon Settlements in the St Neots Area' *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 62 (1969) 59-93 esp. 76.
11. Maurice Beresford and John G. Hurst (eds.) *Deserted Medieval Villages* (London 1971) 124-31.
12. *Victoria County History of Middlesex* Vol. 3 (1969) 2.
13. Addyman *op. cit.* in note 9.
14. *V.C.H. Middx.* Vol. 2 (1911) 401.
15. Meaney *op. cit.* in note 3, 167-8.
16. D. J. Bonney 'Two Tenth-Century Wiltshire Charters concerning lands at Avon and at Collingbourne' *Wiltshire Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Mag.* 64 (1969) 64.
17. D. J. Bonney 'Pagan Saxon Burials and Boundaries in Wiltshire' *Wiltshire Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Mag.* 61 (1966) 27.
18. Meaney *op. cit.* in note 3, 20.
19. H. Stephen Green 'Wansdyke Excavations 1966 to 1970' *Wiltshire Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Mag.* 66 (1971) 141.
20. Warwick Rodwell 'Relict Landscapes in Essex' in H. C. Bowen and P. J. Fowler (eds) *Early Land Allotment in the British Isles* 89-98 esp. 97, *Brit. Archaeol. Reports* 48 (Oxford 1978).

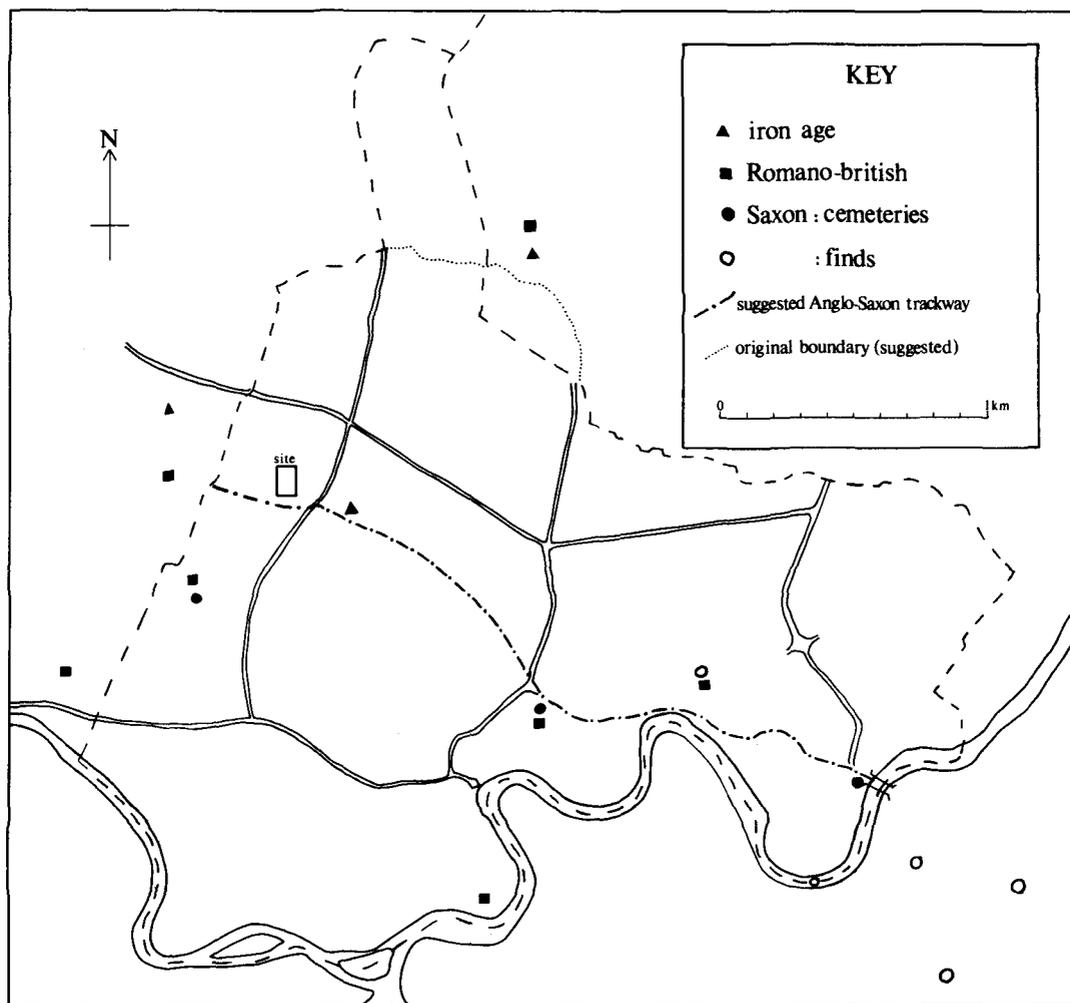


Fig. 10 The Parish of Shepperton with archaeological sites and finds.

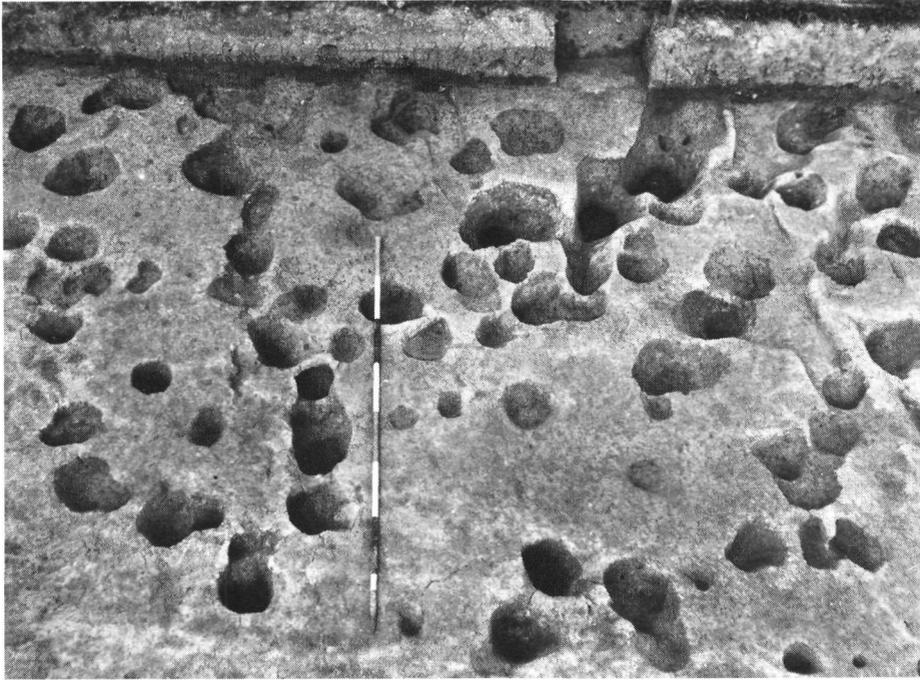


Plate 1. Shepperton Green : The prehistoric hut.

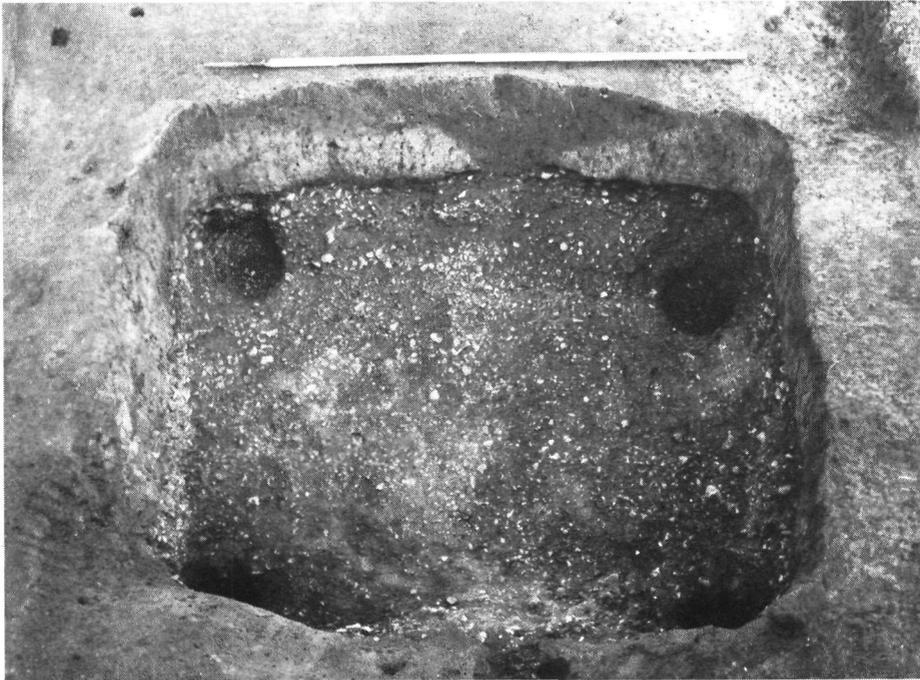


Plate 2. Shepperton Green : The Saxon grubenhaus.



Plate 3. Shepperton Green : Roman silver snake-head ring (approx. x 4) (see No. 1 p. 117).



Plate 4. Shepperton Green : *Left:* obverse of the Eadred penny (x 3).
Right: reverse of the Offa penny (x 3) (see pp. 121-122).

THE FINDS

THE POTTERY

The majority of sherds were found in the topsoil, and were collected both by searching the spoil-dump accumulated during the machine stripping of the site prior to building work and by hand excavation in the later 1967 and 1973 operations.

Prehistoric

The collection includes several hundred coarse, flint-gritted sherds, mostly small and eroded, which are probably early iron age. At least three of these sherds (not illustrated) exhibit the prominent shoulder of typical iron age angular vessels, one of the three bearing slight finger-nail impressions just below the shoulder angle. The group are presumably contemporary with the round-house (phase 1). There remains the possibility that some of these sherds are Saxon. Hurst reported six sherds of coarse, flint-gritted ware at Northolt (1961, 256) which he believed to be Saxon.

Romano-British

About 20 sherds were found, most of them being small and eroded. Both the topsoil and many of the features produced small fragments of Romano-British tile.

Anglo-Saxon

Three wares are present:

1. soft burnished ware, usually with a dark grey-brown or black fabric and brown/black surfaces. The decorated sherds are mostly in this material.
2. similar but with grass-tempering.
3. sandy ware, usually brown/black fabric with red/black surfaces.

The Saxon sherds are too small to permit the reconstruction of profiles, and the date range is thus difficult to establish. The presence of a group of stamp-decorated sherds implies a period of activity in the sixth century (Myres 1977, 121), but this does not rule out a 5th-century date for some of the plain wares.

Saxo-Norman/early medieval

A number of the wares found at Northolt Manor are well represented. The dates quoted are those used in the Northolt report (Hurst 1961).

1. St Neots ware (900-1050). A few cooking pot forms and dish fragments similar to those from St Neots were found (Addyman 1973, Figs. 14 & 15). Unlike Northolt, the shell tempering is not finely crushed but large and abundant.
2. Developed St Neots ware (1050-1150). There is a problem concerning the identification, in that the group lacks the sandy texture described by Hurst (1961, 258). However the forms have parallels at Northolt and at St Neots. The fabric differs from ware 1 in being slightly harder, less soapy to the touch, and in having more finely crushed shell tempering.
3. Early Medieval ware (1050-1150). A well-made, hard sandy ware.
4. Hard Medieval Grey ware? (1225-1325). This finely produced material in a hard, light grey fabric is similar in all respects to the Northolt type save that it is tempered with fine sand, not the flint grit described by Hurst. The developed rim-forms resemble closely the Northolt range.
5. Off-white Surrey ware (1300-1400). Six small sherds only.

These wares comprise the bulk of the pottery. Material of local manufacture is also present, consisting of wheel-turned vessels not so well finished as the majority of the above and lightly tempered with sand. The parallels suggest a date range of c. 900 to the 13th century.

(Fig. 11 Nos. 1-25)

Feature 4

1. Rim of a large cooking pot; grey fabric, slightly sandy with shell tempering, pink/brown surfaces. Developed St Neots ware, cf Hurst (1961, Fig. 66, 12-13).
2. Hard grey-brown sandy fabric. Decoration of horizontal lines and stamped ornament. Pagan Saxon.

Feature 5

3. Fragment of a small bowl with vertical rim, dark brown slightly sandy fabric with burnished surfaces. Pagan Saxon.

Feature 7

4. Rim of bowl in dark brown/black fabric with soapy surface. Tempering is mainly shell with some sand and large grits. Developed St Neots ware, cf Hurst (1961, Fig. 66, 17-18).

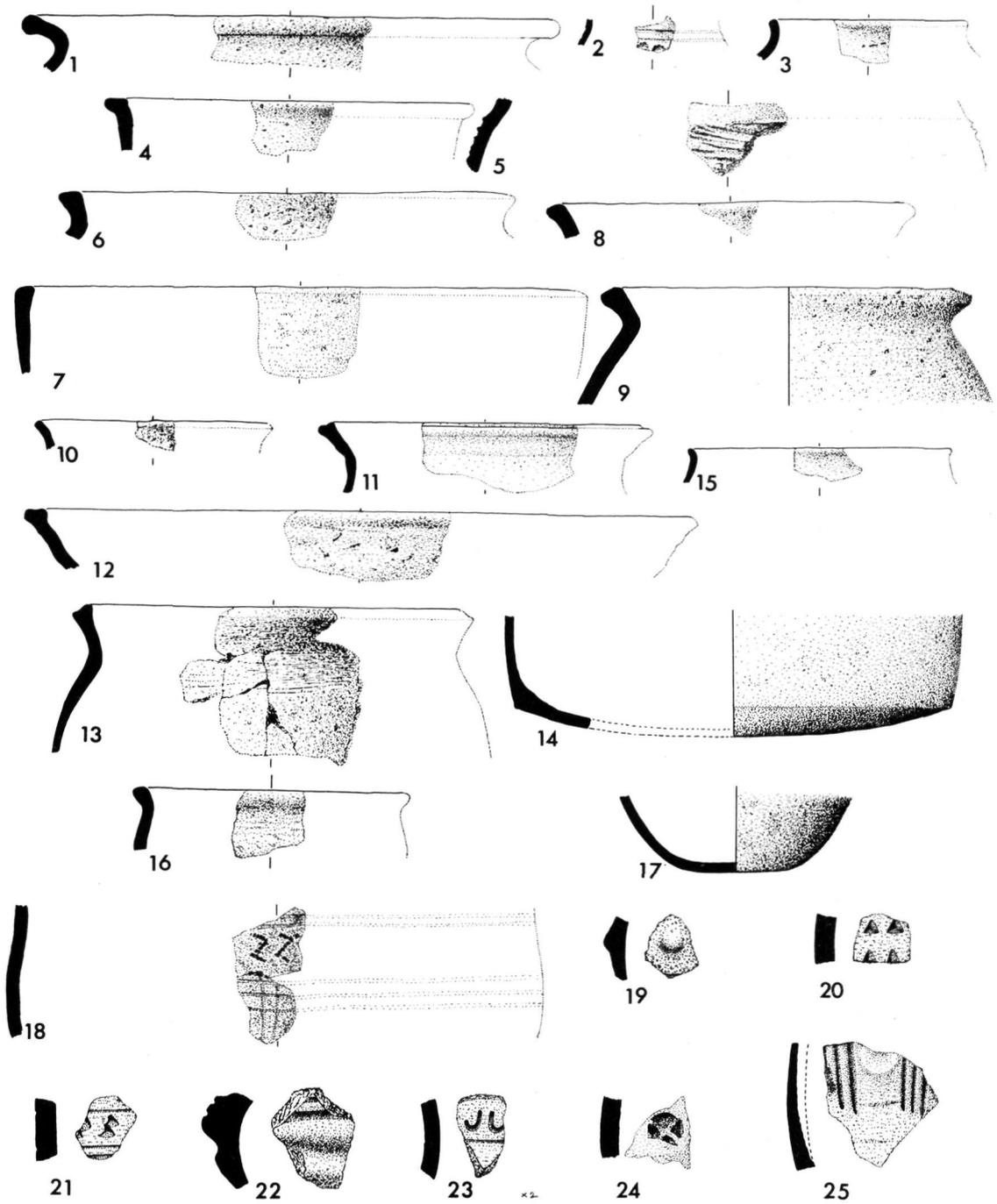


Fig. 11 Shepperton Green : The pottery, Nos. 1-25 (4).

5. Wall sherd of large globular vessel in well made hard sandy fabric, buff with black inner surface. The fabric resembles Northolt Early Medieval ware (Hurst 1961, 259-60) dated 1050-1150. Examples of this style of rough rilling were found at Portchester (Cunliffe 1976, Fig. 127, 492 and 501) in late-Saxon contexts. It appears at Northolt on vessels of Developed Medieval ware dated to the twelfth century (Hurst 1961, Fig. 69, 92-93).

Feature 13

6. Rim of cooking pot in soft shell-tempered grey fabric with red surfaces. Probably Developed St Neots ware.
7. Rim of bowl or dish in hard grey-brown sandy fabric. Two Northolt bowls in Early Medieval ware are of this type (Hurst 1961, Fig. 67, 33-4).

Feature 14

8. Rim sherd probably from a small cooking pot; soft shell-tempered fabric, grey with red-brown surfaces. Much of the shell is burnt out. Developed St Neots ware.

Feature 17

9. Upper part of cooking pot in hard shell-tempered ware, orange brown surfaces with grey core. I am indebted to Mr Michael Rhodes for the following identification:
Fabric is known as 'Saxon Shelly 1' in London. Good parallels from New Fresh Wharf (Rhodes, forthcoming) from 9th-century contexts. The distribution covers the Thames Valley from London to Oxford.
10. Rim of small bowl in black grass-tempered ware, burnished buff-coloured exterior. Saxon.

Feature 20

11. Rim of cooking pot in grey-buff hard sandy fabric with some red grit. Probably Northolt Early Medieval ware, dated 1050-1150.
12. Soft soapy-textured ware with large and abundant shell tempering, grey fabric with purple/brown surfaces. St Neots ware. Dishes and bowls with expanded rims of this kind have been found at St Neots (Addyman 1973, Fig. 15, 12).
13. Upper part of cooking pot in St Neots ware.

Feature 21

14. Sagging base of large cooking pot; hard grey-buff fabric tempered with much sand and red grit. Probably Northolt Early Medieval ware.

*Unstratified pottery**Anglo-Saxon*

15. Rim of small bowl in fine sandy dark grey fabric. Pagan Saxon.
16. Upper part of globular bowl in black slightly sandy fabric with burnished surfaces. Similar to some of the Staines forms (Crouch 1976, Fig. 20, 145-9).

17. Base of round-bottomed vessel with slight flattening. Ware identical to 16, probably the same pot.
18. Decorated wall sherd from large vessel, dark brown fine sandy with some grass tempering, burnished exterior. The decoration is rouletted.
19. Wall sherd with boss, hard sandy black fabric with some grass tempering.
- 20-24. Pagan-Saxon decorated sherds in black slightly sandy ware with burnished surfaces. 22 is a fragment of a small carinated vessel, cf Myres (1977, Fig. 89, 2668).
25. Hard grey ware with black surfaces, similar to Romano-British pottery. The decoration is of the 'grouped vertical line' type (Myres 1977, Fig. 214) with an indentation here separating the groups.

(Fig. 12 Nos. 26-41)

26. Rim sherd of cooking pot in hard grey fabric with fine grit, reddish surface. Form and fabric of Northolt Early Medieval ware.
27. Rim sherd of bowl in Developed St Neots ware, cf Hurst (1961, Fig. 66, 17-18).
28. Rim sherd of cooking pot in buff gritty fabric with smoothed surfaces. Resembles Northolt Early Medieval ware.
29. Rim sherd of cooking pot in shell-tempered fabric, probably Developed St Neots ware.
30. Rim sherd of cooking pot in hard grey fabric with some fine grit inclusions. At Northolt vessels in Hard Medieval Grey ware (1225-1325) have this form, but the flint grit described by Hurst is not present.
31. Rim sherd of cooking pot in soft shell-tempered fabric, probably St Neots ware.
32. As 31 but with soapy texture.
- 33-34. Rim sherds of cooking pots in hard shell-tempered ware, probably Developed St Neots ware.
35. Rim sherd of cooking pot in soft dark brown ware, sand and shell tempering with some large flint grit.
36. Tubular spout. The form was found at Southampton in a 10th-century context (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, Fig. 135, 8).
37. Rim of dish, grey fabric with red grits, brown surfaces. Resembles Northolt Early Medieval ware.
38. Rim sherd of cooking pot in hard grey sandy fabric with harsh texture. Identical to 19.
39. Handle with roughly square section, stamp decoration. Developed St Neots ware.
40. Cooking pot rim with stamp decoration on upper surface. Hard gritty grey fabric, surfaces smoothed and fired orange-brown.
41. Rim sherd of small jar, apparently wheel-turned. The fabric is black with finely crushed shell-tempering. Possibly an example of St Neots ware, although the pot may be Romano-British.

THE SMALL FINDS

ROMAN

by Hugh Chapman

(Fig. 13 No. 1)

1. Silver finger ring; unstratified; the hoop is formed of thick rounded wire, the ends of which taper and overlap. They were then bent back forming a loop on either side, each terminating in a snake's head. One of these has broken away and an unsuccessful attempt made to detach the other,

which survives pointing downwards and not in its original position parallel to the top of the loop.

Finger rings with one or two snakes' heads are common from the Roman world (see, for example, Guiraud 1975). Two close British parallels suggest that originally it was a more complex ring and also indicate that it represents a Romano-British object re-acquired in the Anglo-Saxon period. Of the two parallels one is of gold and comes from the Backworth Hoard, Northumberland, while the second was made of silver and was found in Buckinghamshire, see Marshall (1907, 152 No. 943, Pl. 24, and 181 No. 1144, Pl. 28; both dated to the 2nd century A.D.). They provide a close parallel not only because of their similar size

(diameters c. 25-26mm.) and form, but also because the shape of the snake's head and the moulded depiction of the scales on top are identical. The two complete examples have a large pellet flanked on either side by two smaller pellets, each surrounded by a thick beaded wire, and soldered onto the hoop between the snake's heads. The Buckingham example has additional decoration in the form of a beaded wire twisted into a scroll in the hollow by the snakes' necks. All three rings might well be the product of a single workshop and there can be little doubt that the Shepperton ring was originally decorated with applied pellets.

SAXON-EARLY MEDIEVAL AND UNDATED

by John Clark

(Fig. 13 Nos. 2-23)

1. Finds from Feature 10 (grubenhäus).

Copper alloy

2. Pin, broken, with faceted head having an incised ring and dot on each face except the top. Pins of this form are recorded from a number of middle to late-Saxon sites such as Maxey (Addyman 1964, 62 Fig. 17 No. 2), Southampton *Hamwib* (Addyman and Hill 1969, 68 Fig. 26 Nos. 5-8), Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, 63-64 Fig. 13 No. 4 and Fig. 14) and York (Waterman 1959, 76-77 Fig. 11 Nos. 5-7). Unfortunately none of these published examples is closely dated, but a single example from Portchester (Cunliffe 1976, 217 Fig. 139 No. 54) comes from a context assigned to the early 8th century, which would be consistent with the general date-range of the other sites, particularly Maxey and Whitby.

Iron

3. Small knife of so-called 'scramasax' form with angled back. Similar knives occur throughout the Saxon period and closer dating is not feasible.

Bone

4. Implement shaped to two prongs at each end. Function not known.

Other finds from this feature (not illustrated) were the much-corroded and unidentifiable remains of two small iron objects, a flint flake and an unworked fragment of sandstone.

2. Finds from Feature 13 (ditch c. 1050-1150)

Copper alloy

5. Pin, ovoid head with moulding below it, the shaft swelling slightly to the middle with a group of four grooves round it.
6. Pin, ovoid head with moulding below it, the head with 'writhen' decoration of oblique grooves, the shaft swelling slightly to the middle. Pins of both these, clearly related, forms are recorded from a number of sites: the plain-headed type from Southampton *Hamwib* (Addyman and Hill 1969, 68 Fig. 26 Nos. 1-3), Walton, Bucks. (unstratified but perhaps associated with a 10th-century context - Farley 1976, 248 Fig. 39 No. 2), Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, 63 Fig. 14), Whitehall (in a 9th-century context - information from H. J. M. Green; cf. Green 1963, 1005 Fig. 5) and York (Waterman 1959, 78 Fig. 11 Nos. 8, 9); the writhen-headed type from *Hamwib* (Addyman and Hill 1969, 68 Fig. 26 No. 9), North Elmham (in a 9th-10th-century context - Wade-Martins 1970, 67 Fig. 19 B), Waltham Abbey (only the upper part of the

head grooved; in a 'Viking period' context - Huggins 1976, 115 Fig. 41 No. 2) and Walton (similar to the Waltham Abbey example; in an 11th-century context, perhaps residual - Farley 1976, 241 Fig. 35 No. 8). A 9th-10th-century date for the type thus seems appropriate.

7. Tweezers, the arms brazed or soldered together at the top, which is broken. The arms expand to the tips, with an incised line along each edge; the tips (one is broken) were bent inwards at right angles to meet edge to edge. The parallels quoted below would indicate that the top was originally bent into a loop, with a wire ring for suspension.

A similar pair of tweezers is recorded from a mid 9th-10th-century context at North Elmham (Wade-Martins 1970, 67 Fig. 20 D) and others from Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, 62 Fig. 13 Nos. 6, 13). However, the type would appear to have a long life, since tweezers from 7th-8th-century contexts at Shakenoak (Brodrigg *et al.* 1972, 69 Fig. 30 Nos. 134, 135) are clearly related, and they are not easily distinguished from tweezers from pagan Anglo-Saxon graves (e.g. Baldwin Brown 1915, 392 Pl. 87 No. 5; Myres and Green 1973, 105 Fig. 59 No. X29C).

Iron

- 8, 9. Two hooks or keys, made from bar of rectangular section with a small loop at one end and a double-curved hook at the other. Perhaps a pair. Items of similar form with double-curved ends, from pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, have been identified as keys (Lethbridge 1936, 23 Fig. 11 No. 1; Green and Rogerson 1978, 26 Fig. 82 Nos. Hviii, Hix); that illustrated by Lethbridge, from *Shudy Camps* (? 7th century), is of similar size to the Shepperton examples. Their general similarity to objects from such graves more immediately recognizable as keys (cf. Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. 88 Nos. 4, 5) makes this identification a reasonable one, though their function is not clear. The smallness of the loop at the top, inadequate for the fastening of any substantial means of support, makes their use as functional hooks, for the suspension of heavy objects, unlikely.

Bone

10. Point, broken, probably from a thread-picker (see below No. 18).

Other finds from this feature were a coin of Offa (reported below, p. 121) and a number of flints (below, p. 122, e.g. No. 7).

3. Other finds from the 1967 and 1973 excavations.

Copper alloy

11. (A6, date uncertain) Tweezers, bent from a single strip of bronze with a looped top, with incised decoration around the loop and on the ends of the arms. These tweezers are of thicker metal than and lack the broad inturned tips of the type represented by No. 7 above. Similarly decorated tweezers are recorded from Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, 62 Fig. 13 No. 10) and frequently in pagan Anglo-Saxon graves, apparently continuing a Roman tradition (Myres and Green 1973, 105); however, I have located no published examples identical with the Shepperton tweezers - particularly in the narrowness of the arms - and their date remains uncertain.

Iron

12. (Feature 4, ditch c. 1050-1150) Buckle with oval loop, penannular or perhaps corroded through.

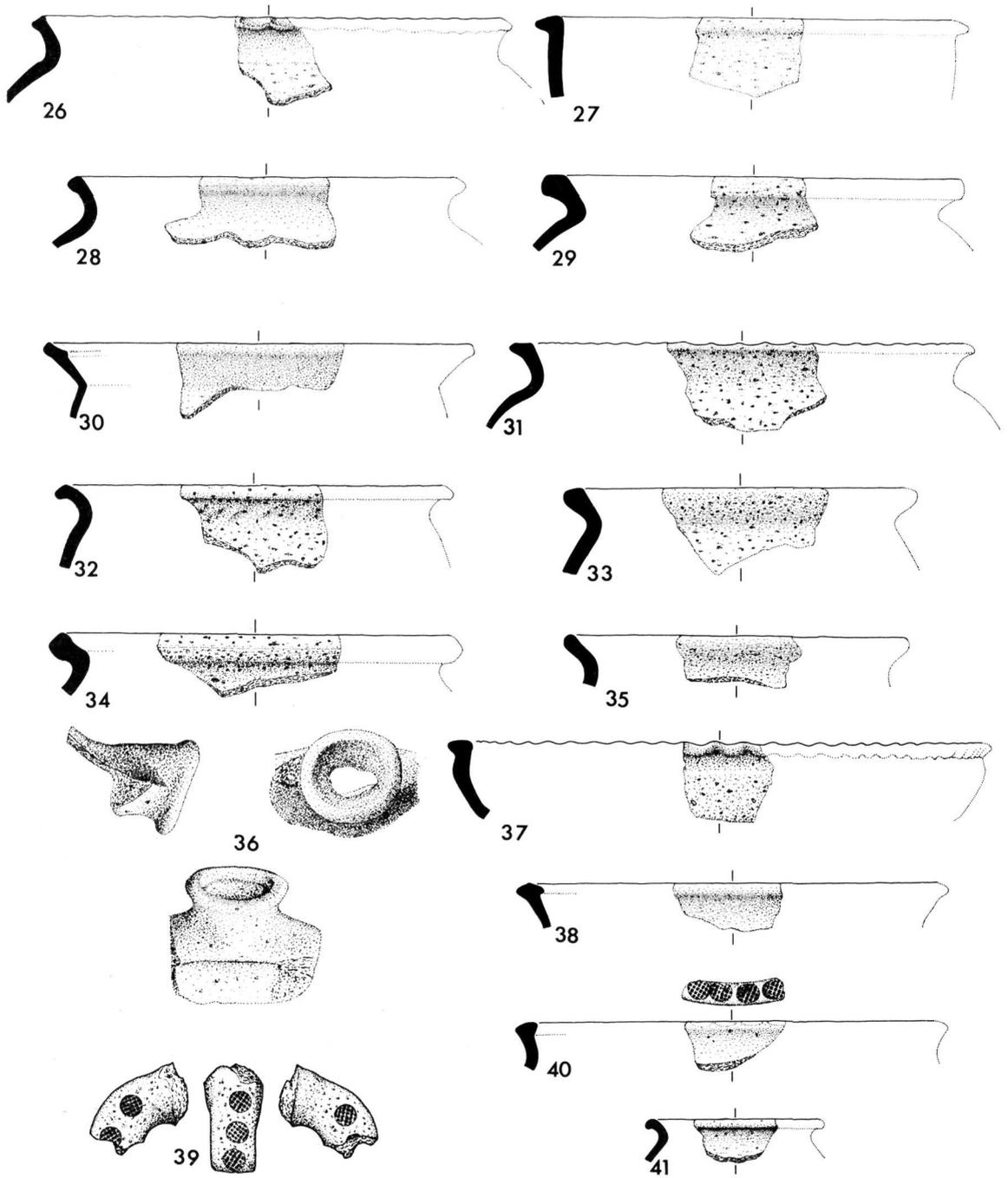


Fig. 12 Shepperton Green : The pottery, Nos. 26-41 (1).

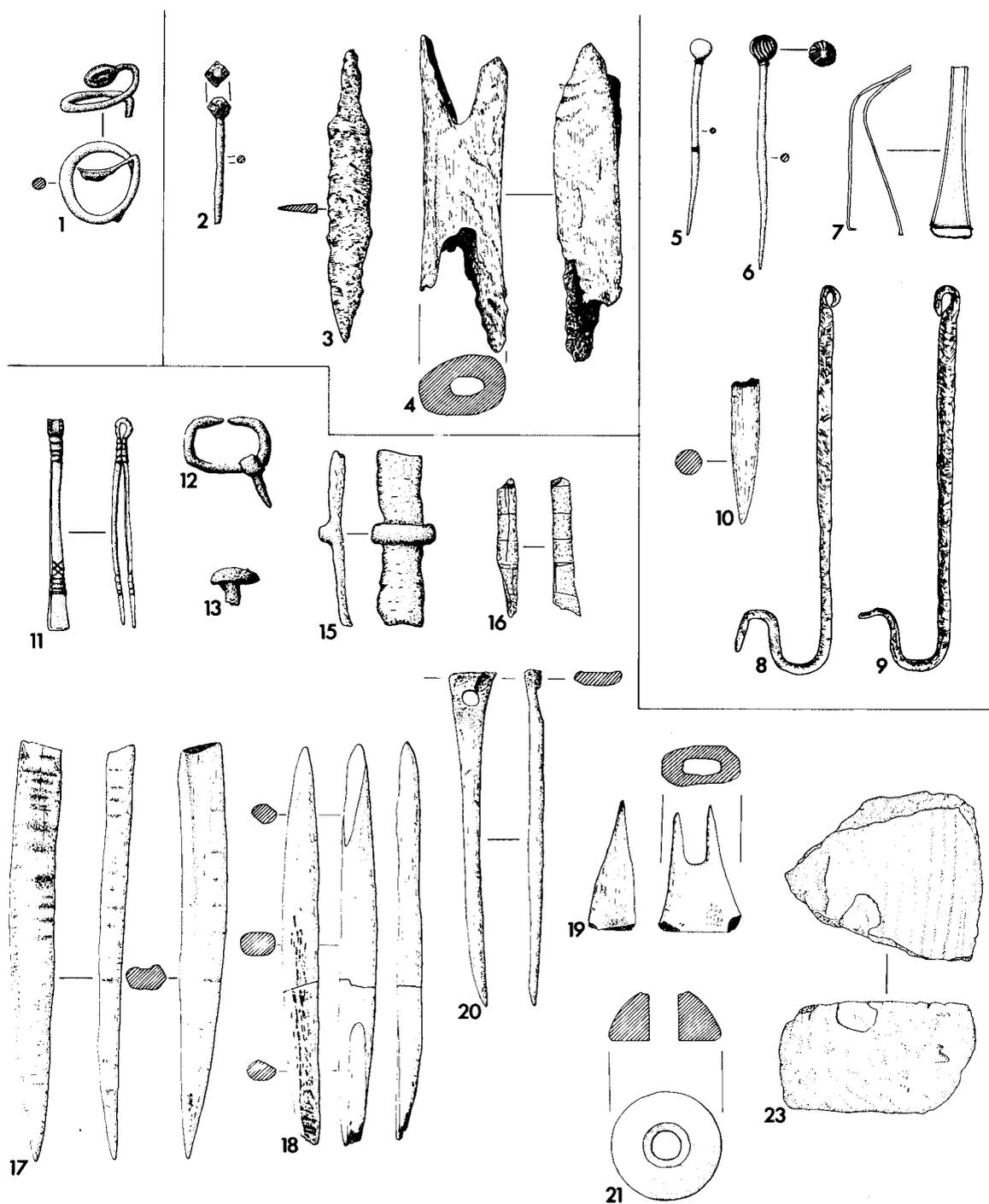


Fig. 13 Shepperton Green : The small finds (all $\frac{1}{2}$, except Nos. 8-9 $\frac{1}{4}$).

13. (Feature 4) Stud or nail with round domed head, square section shank.
14. (Feature 8, ditch, date uncertain) Nail with round slightly domed head, square section shank. (Not illustrated).
15. (A6, date uncertain) Fragment of bar with raised moulding.

Bone

16. (Feature 4, ditch c. 1050-1150) Fragment of spoon or spatula, the handle decorated with incised lines. Bone spoons or spatulae are recorded from Shakenoak (? 7th-8th century - Brodrick *et al.* 1972, 122 Fig. 59 Nos. 71, 72). However, the chronological relationship between such plain spoons and the late Saxon/early medieval type with an animal-head at the junction of bowl and handle (London Museum 1940, 128 Pl. 25; Waterman 1959, 87 Fig. 15) is not clear, and the two types may have been in contemporary use.
17. (Feature 4) Pointed implement, the upper end broken. Slight grooves on the edges of the upper part may be functional or due to wear.
18. (1967 excavations) Thread-picker or pin-beater: highly polished double-ended pin. Implements of this type, probably used in weaving to beat down individual threads in the weft (Wilson 1976, 271-272), are found at all dates within the Anglo-Saxon period (Addyman 1964, 64).
19. (1967 excavations) Implement with two prongs. A similar object from Portchester (Cunliffe 1976, 219 Fig. 140 No. 68), from a context of apparently 9th-century date, shows similar signs of wear on the prongs. Another of 11th-century date from Lund, Sweden (Blomqvist and Mårtensson 1963, 174 Fig. 179, and *cf.* 57-58 Fig. 41) was there identified as used for 'twisting threads'; there seems to be no evidence to support or contradict this suggestion.
20. (1967 excavations) Pin, with pierced triangular head. Parallels are common from mid-late Saxon and Viking-age sites such as Portchester (Cunliffe 1976, 219 Fig. 140 No. 66), Southampton *Hamwib* (Addyman and Hill 1969, 76 Pl. 6(b)) and York (Waterman 1959, 83-85 Fig. 12 Nos. 10-11, Fig. 14 Nos. 1, 2, 18-21, Pl. 16), while there are many from London in the Museum of London collections (London Museum 1927, 49-50 Fig. 27). They are probably dress-pins rather than needles, often being decorated on the head with ring-and-dot or incised interlace patterns.
21. (Feature 5, ditch ? Saxon) Spindle-whorl of limestone, blackened on the exterior, of shallow conical form, decorated with rough concentric lines. Spindle-whorls vary greatly in form and material and no firm date can be assigned to this one; it is certainly not out of place in a Saxon context.
22. (Feature 11, 12, ditches, date uncertain) Fragments of basalt lava; probably from a quern (not illustrated).
23. (1967 excavations) Fragment of quern of sandstone, with grooves, very worn, on the grinding surface.

THE COINS

by Marion Archibald

(Pl. 4)

1. Mercia

Offa 757-796

Penny, Heavy Coinage c. 792-6

Obverse: $\ddot{\ast} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{S}} \cdot / \text{†} \diamond \text{F} \text{E} \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{R}} \text{E} \text{X}$ in three lines divided by two dotted linesReverse: $\ddot{\ast} \text{E} \overline{\text{A}} \cdot \text{L} \cdot \text{H} \text{V} \cdot \text{N} \cdot \text{D}$ Greek cross with a pellet in the centre.

Weight: 1.33gm = 20.5gr (edge chipped)

Monyer: Ealhmund

Mint: Uncertain.

This coin from Feature 13 is the same type as *BMC 44* = *CEB 89* but from different dies (Blunt 1961). Coins of the three-line type have generally been attributed to the mint of Canterbury, but more recent research has suggested that some of the earlier coins of Offa, including issues by Ealhmund, may have been struck at a mint in Mercia, possibly London. The style and reverse type of this coin are somewhat different from others of the three-line type which can, because of their close affinities with issues in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, be reasonably confidently assigned to the Canterbury mint and it is possible that the group of coins to which the Shepperton piece belongs were also struck in Mercia and possibly at London. Coins of Offa with known provenances which might help with this problem are surprisingly scarce and no hoard deposited in the reign of Offa has been recorded since scientific publication of coin-finds began in the eighteenth century. It is therefore very important to have a secure provenance for this particular type near London. The date of issue of c. 792-6 provides a *terminus post quem* for its deposition but the lack of hoard evidence again makes it difficult to suggest the likely *terminus ante quem* within narrow limits. Although one must always allow for the possible stray survivor at a later period the evidence which is available suggests that the issues of Offa had ceased to be a significant proportion of the currency before 830 and that, for the period, prolific issues of Coenwulf had probably reduced the representation of Offa's coins in circulation substantially by the end of Coenwulf's reign in 822. This coin was therefore most probably deposited sometime within the bracket c. 792-820 with the possibility of a slightly later survival.

2. England

Eadred 946-55

Penny BMC type V (Topsoil, area C)

Obverse: + EADRED REX Crowned bust to right.

Reverse: + REINGRIMMONETA Small cross in centre.

Weight: 1.37gm = 21.1gr.

Monyer: Reingrim

Mint: Uncertain.

The moneyer Reingrim is not represented in this type in the British Museum nor is he listed in J. J. North (1963) but he is now known from a coin in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, *Sylloge 378*, from different dies from the Shepperton example. Reingrim is however known in the crowned-bust type (BMC VI) for Edmund: BMC 156 and BM 1935/11/17/446 and two further coins in Oxford, *Sylloge 356* – from the same dies as BM 1935 – and *Sylloge 357* – from the same obverse die as BMC 156 but from a different reverse die. The Oxford *Sylloge* leaves the mint of 378 as uncertain but lists 356 and 357 as ‘? Oxford’. The letters ‘O’ and ‘X’ which appear at the end of the reverse inscription on all the dies mentioned may be read as the first two letters of the mint signature of Oxford but it is possible that they could be an annulet and a cross, symbols rather than letters and some form of space-filling or mint control marks which appear from time to time on coins of this period. They are however not characteristic of coins of the crowned-bust type. I am inclined to accept the attribution to Oxford since the style of lettering is acceptable and since four different dies from two reigns have either ‘C’ or ‘OX’ for this moneyer suggesting that it is not mere chance that it is this moneyer and not others who has those letters after MONETA on the reverse of his coins. The internal chronology of the issues of Eadred is uncertain and so a narrower date for the issue of this coin than that of the reign itself cannot be given at present. A *terminus ante quem* for the deposition of this coin is provided by the recoinage which took place at the end of the reign of Eadgar c. 973 after which all earlier issues apparently disappeared rapidly.

BMC = *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series* (London, 1887).

THE FLINTWORK

by Margaret Wooldridge

A total of 44 pieces of flint recovered from the excavation came mainly from unstratified contexts and the majority can be identified as being struck by man. The unworked flint includes eight flakes, eight small blades and four blade portions, the latter blade portions have been snapped but it is not possible to say when the fractures occurred.

In addition there were four pieces of fire crackled flint, or ‘pot boilers’. The material illustrated includes a convex scraper No. 11 which can be compared with late Neolithic material found at Marden (Wainwright and Longworth 1971 Fig. 20, 14). The delicate leaf shaped arrowhead No. 8 is very similar to the Neolithic specimens from Hurst Fen (Clark, Higgs and Longworth 1960 Fig. 13) and Orsett Neolithic Causewayed Enclosure (Hedges and Buckley 1978 Fig. 27,2) throws up a parallel for snapped scraper No. 14. The tanged blade with broken tip and dense white patina No. 9 has secondary working at the tanged and showing variation in the patination indicating two separate periods of working and it has been suggested that this may be Paleolithic material which has been re-used at a later time.

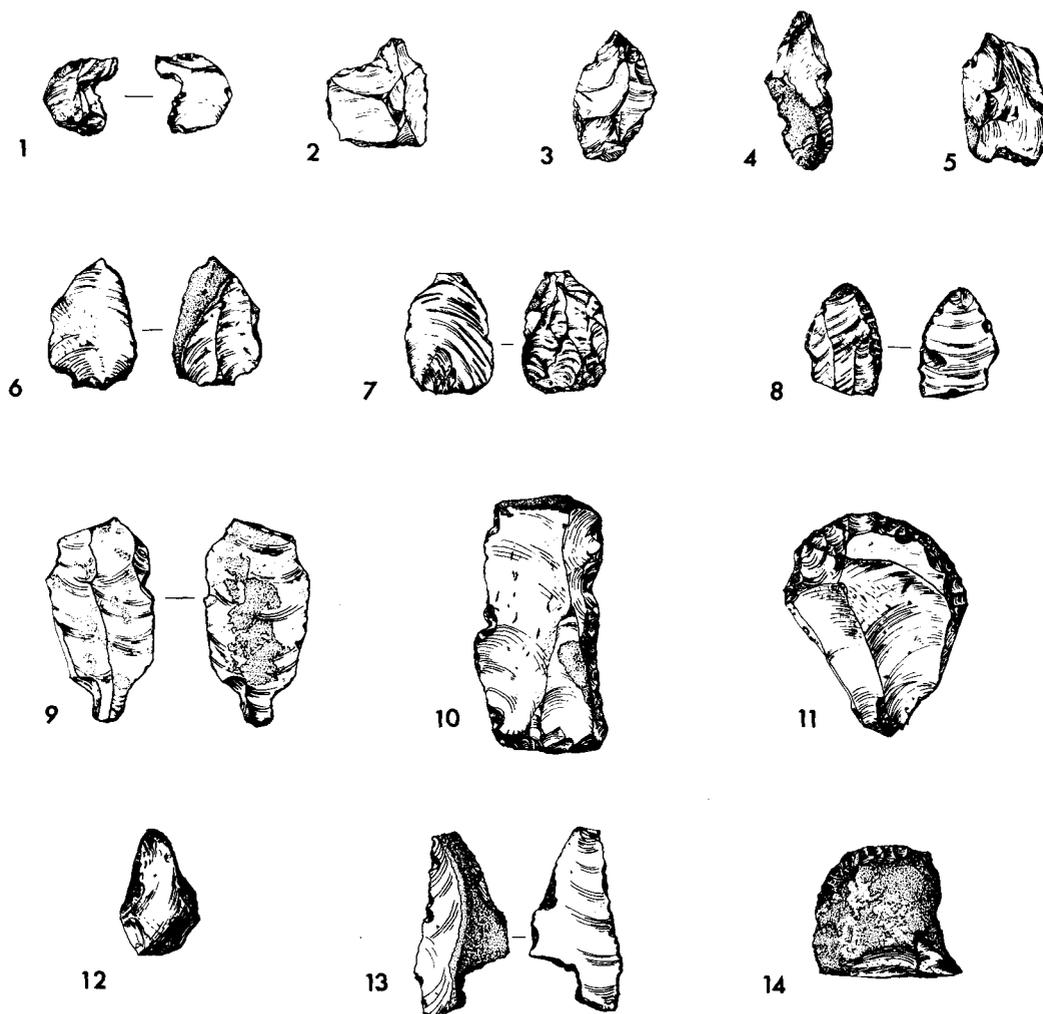
The flint varies in colour from light to dark grey and several pieces retain cortex. This type of flint falls within the range of flints that are found in the West Middlesex area of the Thames Valley, particularly during field walking activities, in the way of surface finds.

The illustrated flint
(Fig. 14 Nos. 1-14)

1. Small snapped, honey coloured blade, some re-trimming.
2. Snapped blade, re-touched to rather blunted point. Pale grey flint.
3. Pale grey flint blade, slight re-touch to point.
4. Blade, notched and worked at point end, possible graver, some cortex remains.
5. Primary flake, cortex remaining on one surface, fine re-touch to form a point, possible graver, very rolled.
6. Very thin translucent blade with bulbous end finely worked, perhaps missile.
7. Thick, coarse pointed blade, snapped at tip. The bulb has been removed and there is coarse flaking on the top of the opposing face. Possibly arrowhead.
8. A snapped leaf shaped arrowhead of pale grey translucent

flint, fine shallow flaking on both faces, similar ones can be found in ‘Hurst Fen’ (Clark, Higgs and Longworth 1960 Fig. 13).

9. Dense, white flint tanged blade, broken tip.
10. Thick, coarse blade, one long edge re-touched, possible backed blade. The opposing edge has been notched and the platform re-touched. An attempt made to remove bulb.
11. Convex scraper. Can be compared with those from Hurst Fen (Clark, Higgs and Longworth 1960 Fig. 11).
12. Small coarse blade, pointed. Cortex remaining on one long edge and fine re-touch on opposing edge.
13. Triangular blade, some cortex, could be a knife, there is slight re-touch on both long edges which are very sharp.
14. Snapped end scraper, large area of cortex. Similar to fragment from Orsett Causewayed Enclosure (Hedges and Buckley 1978 Fig. 27 No. 2).

Fig. 14 Shepperton Green : The flintwork ($\frac{1}{2}$).

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In the preparation of the report substantial aid has been received from staff of the Museum of London. Mrs. Alison Parnum has maintained communications between the various contributors and myself and has provided invaluable information from the Museum's records and library. Hugh Chapman and John Clark very kindly agreed to examine and report upon the small finds at a very late date in the proceedings. Members of the West London Archaeological Field Group have been responsible for all the illustrations, and in addition to those whose names appear in appropriate places I would like to thank Phil Ashby, Mike Cotton, Barbara Eastop, Peter Roe, Brian Sheppard and Margaret Sutton.

Finally, I acknowledge with gratitude the financial assistance received from the Marc Fitch Fund to support the preparation of the report.

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NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY ANTIQUITIES DEALERS AND ARRETINE WARE FROM LONDON

Geoff Marsh

One of the problems which bedevils research on museum collections is the objects, usually early acquisitions in the history of the museum, whose unusual nature or provenance suggest that they may be modern 'imports' from elsewhere in Britain or abroad. This note discusses a group of such objects from London whose significance lies less in their own intrinsic interest than in the implications they have for the finds of Arretine ware from London and the evidence for early Roman activity in the City¹. The writer's attention was originally drawn to a complete samian plate (Walters form 79) stamped ATILIANIM, whose underside was coated in a shiny substance, subsequently identified as cellulose². A label recorded the object as being a 19th-century find from Lombard Street, but the removal of the surface coating showed the base had lost its slip in the manner typical of the sand-scoured vessels recovered from the wreck on Pudding Pan Rock, Kent, and the stamp is one of the commonest recorded from there. The evidence suggests that after the plate had been obtained, an attempt was made to restore the lost surface on the underside before giving it a false provenance in the City of London. Attention has recently been drawn to another similar 'import'³, in this case a *terra-cotta* mould for a cupid appliqué figure, which originated from Xanten, Germany. Formerly part of the Houben Collection it was auctioned in 1860 and subsequently became incorporated in the Guildhall Museum collection. The Museum of London also contains an alabastron in the form of a lion⁴, from the same source, which had 'acquired' a provenance and was recorded as coming from 'Lombard St. 1866'. In addition to these three items, the following vessels may be noted as evidence of the activities of dealers in antiquities during the second half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries⁵.

- (i) Museum of London Acc. No. A16047. Complete 5th-century B.C. Greek mortarium⁶. Bought by the London Museum in 1915; 'Gracechurch St.'
- (ii) Ashmolean Museum Acc. No. 58-1885. Base of 'Megarian ware' type bowl with basal monogram⁷. Although generally dated from the 3rd-1st centuries B.C., examples in Southern France may last into the early years of the 1st century A.D.; 'Lombard St.'
- (iii) Museum of London Acc. No. A1692. Complete beaker in fine buff fabric with concave everted rim and body decorated with three rows of applied 'thorns'. This vessel is of a type manufactured during the Augustan period in Central/Northern Italy and distributed as far as Southern France, where a similar beaker has been recently published from Vaugrenier from an Augustan layer post-dating 10 B.C.⁸. Bought by the London Museum in 1912 from the Hilton-Price Collection; 'Lombard St.'
- (iv) Museum of London Acc. No. A17190. Complete North African Red Slipware plate (Hayes form 3A)⁹. Bought in 1916; 'South Corner of Lombard St. and Gracechurch St. 1864'
- (v) Museum of London Acc. No. 29.94/1. Base of Eastern Mediterranean Sigillata with stamp MAPKOI¹⁰. Purchased *per* G. F. Lawrence in 1929 and recorded as from 'Leadenhall St. opposite Lloyd's New Building'.
- (vi) Museum of London Acc. No. 3170. Complete small bowl identified by Dr. J. W. Hayes as Eastern Sigillata B2 ware¹¹; 'Royal Exchange'.

- (vii) Museum of London Acc. No. 58.116. Complete 'Romano-Saxon' beaker. Bought at the auction of the Barrington Haynes Collection. Label reads 'Gracechurch St. Feb. 1936'.
- (viii) Museum of London Acc. No. 15147. Near complete 6th-century Coptic amphora¹²; 'Lombard St. 1840'.

Viewed in isolation some of these vessels could be regarded as genuine London finds, but viewed as a group they would appear to be foreign material being passed off by dealers as genuine London finds in order to enhance their value¹³. The pieces are usually complete or have interesting features such as stamps. In addition most have provenances in or close to the Lombard St./Leadenhall St. area. Although complete vessels are occasionally found on Roman urban excavations in rubbish pits or as votive foundation deposits *their discovery is normally restricted to burials, which by law were located outside a town's boundaries*. Although early cremations and child burials can be exceptions to this rule it is unlikely that they would occur in any significant numbers in an area of known primary occupation.

Of more immediate interest to the archaeology of London is the connection between these vessels and the Arretine ware claimed to have been found in London. Most of this material was drawn together by Oswald and Pryce in their important paper on the early samian ware from London, where they argued that the early date of the material must indicate occupation in London prior to the Roman invasion of A.D. 43¹⁴.

Wheeler, however, was much more cautious and thought the material was in use after the conquest, a view more recently followed by Merrifield¹⁵. Hull in 1961 suggested that London was a distribution point for Arretine and Comfort argued that at London 'pre-conquest penetration lies beyond argument' although he subsequently revised his opinion and cast doubt on some of the provenances of Arretine ware from Britain¹⁶. Most recently Rodwell has also questioned the authenticity of some of the pieces but sees others as army 'baggage imports'¹⁷. Oswald and Pryce illustrated fifteen pieces from London (*for Nos. 1-15 see their Fig. 1 for details*), ten in the British Museum¹⁸ and five now in the Museum of London. They also discussed two other pieces (here numbered in their series):

16. Cambridge Museum (Oswald and Pryce, text-fig. 1). Complete cup stamped Zoilus *in planta pedis*. Oxé-Comfort corpus No. 181/155¹⁹; 'Leadenhall St. 1882'.
17. Stamp of Hilarus, now lost, claimed to have been found in London during the 1830s²⁰.

The Museum of London contains four further pieces:

18. Museum of London Acc. No. 3276. Complete dish stamped S·M·F; 'Lombard St. 1864'²¹.
19. Museum of London Acc. No. SR.XI.9 41. Complete cup with unreadable stamp *in planta pedis*. Accession details unknown.
20. Museum of London Acc. No. 23074. Base stamped OCT.PRO *in planta pedis*. Oxé-Comfort No. 1162 otherwise only known from Italy and Greece. Presented to the museum; 'City'.
21. Museum of London. No number. Base stamped L.OCTAVI *in planta pedis*. Oxé-Comfort No. 1160 otherwise only known from Rome and Elche. Presumed to be from London.

Of the London and Cambridge Museum pieces it is significant that six of the ten vessels are complete²². Moreover Nos. 2 and 18 are both from 'Lombard St. 1864', No. 16 from 'Leadenhall St. 1882' and No. 1 from 'Leadenhall Market'²³ while no details survive of No. 19. The small cup (No. 3) from 'London Bridge Station, 1841' has the only London

stamp paralleled elsewhere in Britain, with examples at Silchester, Fishbourne and *Camulodunum*, but even this piece is not above suspicion. The vessel was originally in the collection of W. Chaffers, some of which was acquired by the British Museum in 1855 including a fake samian mould²⁴. Another group of objects passed to the Museum of Practical Geology whose catalogue²⁵ shows that Chaffers had samian from Rhineland sites, a complete Megarian ware bowl and much material claimed to be from London and Southwark. The latter includes 5th/4th-century B.C. Greek lamps, Mediterranean pottery²⁶ and three red *terra-cotta* figurines of the type brought back in large quantities from the Mediterranean in the 19th century. Two are 'provenanced' in the City, but the third, a complete figure of a boy on a horse, is recorded as 'Borough 1840' and this must cast doubt on the validity of other early finds from Southwark. Of the four sherds No. 6 was bought in 1913 from the Hilton-Price Collection which as seen above contained suspect material and the two stamps (Nos. 20 and 21) are only paralleled in Italy, Spain and Greece. Lastly, No. 7 with its interesting appliqué decoration, was bought in 1916 probably *per* G. F. Lawrence and claimed to be from Tooley St., Southwark, the source of many early London Museum acquisitions²⁷.

Of the ten pieces in the British Museum, No. 13 has recently been shown to be part of a Central Gaulish mortarium²⁸. While Oswald and Pryce recorded that none of the others had exact provenances, they did not mention that eight of them were acquired in two groups from the same man, William Edwards. Nos. 8 and 11 were bought in 1837 with other material which *included* finds from Southwark, while Nos. 4, 5, 10, 12, 14 and 15 were bought in 1855 in a group of finds claimed to be from London but which also included the rim of a North African Red Slipware plate with an appliqué dolphin²⁹. No. 9 was published in 1849 and was then in a private collection and claimed to be from London³⁰.

It is hoped that this note has indicated that the Arretine ware from London was mostly acquired in circumstances which must cast serious doubts on the authenticity of the London provenances and clearly dealers were not adverse to claiming that vessels were from London if it increased their value. The Arretine ware could have easily been obtained in the Mediterranean area and certainly by the mid 19th century the demand for objects was so great that fake poinçons of Libertus were being manufactured, examples of which passed into the collections of both the British Museum and the Musée des Antiquités Nationales³¹. This activity was supplemented by the manufacture of copies of genuine moulds from the samian kilns at Rheinzabern by Kaufmann at Speyer in the same period, two examples of which came to the Guildhall Museum before 1908³².

Of more importance is the claimed relationship between Arretine ware and the early-Roman occupation in London. Rodwell placed London in a small group of sites with *Camulodunum*, Fishbourne, *Margidunum* and Leicester where Arretine ware appeared to be in use in the post-conquest period rather than surviving from earlier occupation³³. Todd, however, has now indicated possible pre-Roman occupation at Leicester and Dr. Grace Simpson has kindly informed the writer that the sherd from *Margidunum* is an early 2nd-century A.D. Dr. 37 by the Potter X-2 of Les Martres-de-Veyre³⁴. In London recent work in the City and particularly in Southwark has cast doubt on the assumption that Roman London was founded as a military base in the invasion period, indeed in Southwark occupation does not seem to begin until *c.* A.D. 50-55³⁵. If this is correct the Arretine ware is even more anomalous when other early sites such as Richborough have

produced none. Whatever the reasons for the appearance of Arretine ware in Claudian levels at Fishbourne and *Camulodunum* it is clear that the existing London material should be excluded from any discussion of this problem³⁶ or used as evidence of putative early military occupation in the City, until properly stratified pieces are excavated. Obviously future work in London and Southwark may produce such pieces but excavations in *this* century have singularly failed to do so.

I would like to thank Hugh Chapman for all his assistance during the preparation of this note and for his valuable comments on it.

NOTES

1. Pending the results of the survey by Mr. G. B. Dannell and Dr. D. Williams on all the Arretine ware from Britain no attempt has been made to distinguish between Italian and 'provincial' Arretine ware.
2. Museum of London Acc. 34.285/1, bought from a private collection.
3. See H. Chapman 'Evidence for a Roman Cavalry Helmet from London' in *Collectanea Londiniensia*, London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 2 (1978) 179, n. 16. The mould is published in J.M.C. Toynbee *Art in Roman Britain under the Romans* (Oxford 1964) 43 and Pl. 90, c and d.
4. Museum of London Acc. No. 2700; *Guildhall Museum Catalogue* (London 1908) Pl. 15, 10.
5. This list is not exhaustive e.g. see D. Bailey 'A so-called Greek Rhyton from London' *Antiquity* 33 (1959) 218-219. Lynn Pitts in her recent corpus of Roman bronze figurines has suggested that some of the London pieces are modern introductions, see L. F. Pitts *Roman Bronze Figurines of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes* B.A.R. No. 60 (Oxford 1979) 117-120. Judging by their early accession dates the present writer would suggest that many more of the bronzes are likely to fall within this category.
6. Information from Mrs. K. Hartley.
7. I am indebted to Dr. K. T. Greene for the information on this piece.
8. See A. Olivier and G. Rogers 'Le Monument de Vaugrenier' *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 11 (1978) Fig. 46, 3.
9. North African wares are known from Britain, see J. Bird 'African Red Slipware in Roman Britain' in J. Dore and K. T. Greene (eds.) *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond* B.A.R. Supplementary Series No. 30 (Oxford 1977) 269-277, but note the complete dish from Colchester thought to be a possible post-Roman introduction and also the complete plate (Museum of London Acc. No. 20565) with its provenance recorded as 'Pan Rock, Whitstable, 1865', which is possibly false.
10. See *London in Roman Times* London Museum Catalogue No. 3 (London 1930) Fig. 43, 4. Mr. P. Arthur has kindly informed the writer that this is the most widely spread stamp of its type with examples as far west as Aquileia.
11. See *G. M. Catalogue* Pl. 55, 1 and 44, 2 and F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce *Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (London 1920) Pl. 54, Fig. 6. The medusa head on the basal interior has subsequently been shown to have been stuck on, covering a rosette stamp, and has nothing to do with the vessel.
12. Information from Dr. D. Peacock who has kindly pointed out that another example from Wiltshire can be shown to be a recent importation.
13. The famous London antiquary, Thomas Layton, was acquiring North Italian fine wares, North African Red Slipware, Eastern Mediterranean Sigillata and significantly Arretine ware with *in planta pedis* stamps for his collection in the mid 19th century but whether from dealers in London or abroad is uncertain. The early and mid 19th century saw a mania for filling houses with curios of all sorts, see D. E. Allen *The Naturalist in Britain — A Social History* (London 1976) 94-121 and *The Victorian Fern Craze* (London 1969).
14. F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce 'Roman London: Its initial occupation evidenced by early types of Terra Sigillata' *Archaeologia* 78 (1928) 73-110.
15. See *Royal Commission on Historic Monuments: London Vol. III Roman London* (London 1928) 24-27 and R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London 1965) 30-32.
16. See M. R. Hull 'The Red-Glazed Pottery found at Bagendon' in E. M. Clifford *Bagendon, A Belgic Oppidum* (Cambridge 1961) 202-211; H. Comfort 'An Italian Sigillata Crater in Britain' in M. Renard (ed.) 'Hommages à Albert Grenier' *Collection Latomus* 58 (1962) 448-456 and H. Comfort 'Lake Nemi and London: Two Retractions' *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum* 16 (1976) 158-159.
17. W. Rodwell 'Coinage, Oppida and the rise of Belgic Power in South-Eastern Britain' in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley *Oppida in Barbarian Europe* B.A.R. Supplementary Series No. 11 (Oxford 1976) 181-367.
18. They did not include six other pieces, including two complete vessels from the Slade Bequest which have no details about their source. I would like to thank Miss C. Johns for all her assistance in examining the London material and for her comments on it. Four dubious vessels in the Horniman Museum were also excluded.
19. A. Oxé and H. Comfort *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: a catalogue of the signatures, shapes and chronology of Italian sigillata* *Antiquitas*, Reihe 3: Abhandlungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, zur klassischen und provincial-römischen Archäologie 4 (Bonn 1968).
20. See C. R. Smith 'Observations on the Roman remains found in various parts of London in the years 1834, 1835 and 1836' *Archaeologia* 27 (1838) 152. There is no drawing of the stamp.
21. *G. M. Catalogue* Pl. 45, 13. H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the British Museum* (London 1908) 59 records the same stamp on a dish from Torre Annunziata given to the Museum in 1856.
22. Another complete Arretine ware dish was bought from auction in 1929 by the British Museum and provenanced as 'Basinghall St.', see T. D. Pryce 'Arretine ware from the City' *Antiq. J.* 10 (1930) 55.
23. Museum of London Acc. No. A14403. Bought by the London Museum in 1914 (ex Mayhew Collection?). The stamp is Oxé-Comfort Corpus No. 154/9 and is probably to be expanded to (Cn. Ateius) Amar(anthus). Apart from finds at Cologne, Lyon and Cherchel, the work of this potter is restricted to Italy, Spain and Sicily, see H. Comfort 'Late Ateius Signatures' *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum* 8 (1966) 5-25.

24. Walters *op. cit.* in note 21, Pl. 13.
25. H. de la Beche and T. Reeks *Catalogue of Specimens Illustrative of the composition and manufacture of British Pottery and Porcelain* (London 1855). This material subsequently passed to Bethnal Green Museum and is presently on loan to the Museum of London.
26. With provenances such as 'Lad Lane 1842', 'Queen St. 1842', 'Moorgate 1835', 'Cannon St.', 'During the digging of the foundations of London Bridge' etc.
27. In particular the famous complete flagon with the *LONDINI AD FANUM ISIDIS* graffito bought in 1912 per G. F. Lawrence. Doubt has sometimes been cast on the graffito as the flagon would normally be dated before c. A.D. 75, which would be an extremely early, although not impossible, date for the appearance of Isis worship in London. Whether the graffito is genuine or not the flagon is unlikely to have come from Tooley St. and is probably derived from a burial elsewhere in Southwark or the City.
28. See C. Johns 'A Samian sherd from New St., London' *British Museum Quarterly* 37 (1973) 151-154.
29. Walters *op. cit.* in note 21, Fig. 232.
30. C. R. Smith 'The Red Glazed Pottery of the Romans found in this Country and on the Continent' *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 4 (1849) 20.
31. C. Bémont and G. B. Rogers 'Quelques poinçons-matrices signés du nom de Libertus et leurs relations avec les décors de l'atelier' *Antiquités Nationales* 9 (1978) 66-70. Further evidence of this 'trade' is shown by five complete Arretine ware vessels from a country house in the south-west of England, see E. J. W. Hildyard 'A Group of Arretine Ware' *Antiq. J.* 31 (1951) 195-197.
32. See G. Simpson 'Decorated Terra Sigillata at Montans (Tarn) from the manuscript of Elie Rossignol at Albi' *Britannia* 7 (1976) 244-273, and G. M. *Catalogue* Pl. 38, 4.
33. Rodwell *op. cit.* in note 17.
34. M. Todd *The Coritani* (London 1973) 54. The 'Hanley Museum' Crater published by Comfort must be regarded with great suspicion since it lacks any details about its acquisition, see Comfort *op. cit.* in note 16, 452. The *Margidunum* sherd will be republished shortly.
35. See the discussion in *Southwark Excavations 1972-74* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc./Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 1 (London 1978) and in particular M. J. Hammerson 'The Coins', 587-600.
36. For a discussion of this problem see Rodwell *op. cit.* in note 17, 305-307 and G. B. Dannell 'The Samian Ware from Bagendon' in Dore and Green (eds.) *op. cit.* in note 9, 229-234.

JOHN STOW

Commemoration address by Professor Valerie Pearl delivered at St. Andrew Undershaft, April 11, 1979.

It has been recorded for the past century and a half that there has been held in many of the intervening years in this church a commemoration of that great citizen of London, John Stow, tailor and historian, who was buried here on April 8, 1605. Stow was a man of two lives – a working tailor of very modest means (he never entered the Livery of his Company and he petitioned for a pension in his old age) – and a historian, literary editor and chronicler of events who mixed on equal terms with the greatest scholars of his age, men like Camden who accepted him as one of their own.

Was there a conflict between the workshop and the study? Stow does not tell us. In all his voluminous notes and writings he does not mention the everyday aspects of his trade. I have found only one small reference to the price of cloth and there is very much less detail than one would expect of the history of his own company, the Merchant Taylors'.

Evidence of a conflict comes indirectly. Self-educated men, such as Stow, are apt to be self-conscious both about their hard-won knowledge and their position among an intellectual elite. Moreover, members of the class from which they have sprung often do not quite know how to make them out. Stow's literary, antiquarian and historical studies seem to have upset his neighbours and even members of his family. One neighbour created a disturbance by shouting 'prick-louse knave' at him (a special insult reserved for tailors), drove away his apprentice and later incited a drunk to come to his shop and call him a vile name which Stow cannot bring himself to repeat. It could not have been good for trade.

Yet Stow was not a litigious or irascible man. A contemporary described him as 'of a pleasant and cheerful countenance . . . very sober, mild and courteous to any that required his instructions'.

Stow never made money by his trade or by his studies. His life as a tailor must have been not unlike those of the mass of small tradesmen who lived in a time of great change and acute paradox. We can see him as one of the many who hovered between two poles: pious, yet critical of priests (Stow, himself investigated for pro-Catholic tendencies, tells of the righteous punishment he saw meted out to a lecherous cleric, and he writes with scorn of a priest who sold a church's brasses). The paradox of the times appears in other ways. Men were ready to accommodate themselves to the new religion, yet looked over their shoulders at the possible return of the old (fearful of 'after-claps', as Stow puts it), accepting the fixed order of society as natural but also finding it proper for some to get on and move up the social ladder (although Stow had two minds about that and cannot conceal his joy when one such slips down again), firmly opposed to sedition and tumult but jealous of the rights and privileges of a citizen and, as Stow does, ready even to applaud some direct action – a near riot against the enclosure of Moorfields, successful in its aims but contained before it went too far.

In the last we have a key to these apparent contradictions. Londoners who were essentially conservative and undesirous of violent change saw going on all round them the signs of vast upheavals in urban living and in religion. In Stow's lifetime, London's

population trebled in size, the church was nationalised and one third of its lands and property confiscated. Inflation, fears of rebellion, foreign wars and years of dearth were common. Yet most of the internal features of city government survived unchanged. Some modern historians have dwelt on the crime, overcrowding, disease and poverty of these years. I think that some of them have exaggerated the criminality and the disorder because they fail to give enough weight to the forces making for stability in the metropolis. London remained an orderly city, its small tradesmen and artisans, the majority of the population, a demanding but contented class providing their privileges were not disturbed, participating in their own local government (call it 'parish pump politics' if you like) to a remarkable degree.

Such ordinary citizens were intensely proud of their city and very conscious of old ways and customs which were dying out or which they had heard about (for remember, many were newcomers). They listened with sympathy to sermons admonishing them for un-puritan modes of behaviour – and then took part in such un-puritan celebrations as dancing round the Maypole. They collected funds, made plans and left money to aid the poorest citizens – and recalled the days not long since when the church and monasteries and bountiful magnates had provided indiscriminate handouts. They enjoyed the many holidays and street celebrations which were still a common but already declining feature of London life – and regretted, or some of them regretted, the absences from profitable work and trade which they entailed; they delighted in the fields and walks that lay just outside the walls, a countryside which some even then saw as destined to disappear – and yet at the same time took pride in the growth of the great city.

We will find in Stow's *Survey of London* many echoes of these apparently paradoxical thoughts of the common citizens, undertones to his chronicles of the history and description of London which express his social and political outlook. Let me take three aspects of Stow which are not always alluded to and which show how much more he is than an antiquarian researcher of monuments and epitaphs.

Look first at Stow as the protector of the environment, to use our modern term. He showers praise on livery companies who repair the walls and is glad to see them display their coats of arms at such places. He cannot pass by one of the city conduits without telling us (we may pardon the exaggeration) that anciently every street and lane had fair wells brimming up from fresh springs. He deploras the state of the town ditch and recalls the living memory of men who fished in it when it was 200 feet wide, but now it is part filthy channel, part building land let out by profiteers. The Fleet River he complains, has become a dyke, and the fifteenth (the 1s. 4d. in the pound rate) ordered by the Common Council for its cleansing has been utterly wasted. He exposes the 'enormity', as he calls them, of purprestures – obstructions or illegal building on the highways, and draws the attention of the Lord Mayor and Corporation to a recent book on the subject by a friend of his – but doubts whether they have even bothered to read it.

Stow fulminates against the builders of summer houses as he terms them – we would call them garden pavilions – decorated with fanciful towers and turrets like pageant architecture. They were built for show and pleasure, he notes disapprovingly, unlike the citizens of old who built hospitals and almshouses. He is concerned about the growth of traffic and the carelessness of drivers: carts are driven dangerously, draymen asleep, leaving their horses to lead them home; new-fangled coaches which should by law be led by hand (but the law is not kept) have vastly increased, an unwelcome introduction from

Germany, he notes. Moreover, the new ways are undermining class distinctions. 'The world runs on wheels,' he says, 'with many whose parents were glad to go on foot.' Some of Stow's sharpest asides are reserved for builders of tall houses, who are suggested to have met with divine retribution. One such was punished for having erected a high tower which overlooked his neighbours. He was subsequently so tormented with gout that he was unable to feed himself and had to be carried about, much less climb his folly. Stow on tall buildings strikes a note which we will find topical, alas. A high house built next to St. Paul's hides its 'beautiful side' view he tells us. Strangely topical too is his concern for city dwellers faced with urban rebuilding and renewal. One of the ornaments of Elizabethan London was the Royal Exchange of Sir Thomas Gresham built on land given by the city. Stow describes the Exchange admiringly but one can detect a note of criticism in his report that eighty households were displaced to make room for it and that in the pulling down of their homes some persons were badly hurt. But it would be wrong to see Stow as one who saw good only in the environment of the past. He tells us, for instance, how much he admires Goldsmiths' Row in Cheapside, its fronts splendidly embellished with wooden carvings, which had been newly restored and gilded.

I have spoken of Stow as a protector of the environment. May I now offer a glimpse of him as a protector of the poor and the advocate of communal activity in the city. It is a stand which aligns him in this one respect with a famous group of radical preachers and politicians, the 'party' of social reformers known as 'Commonwealth men.' Like them and so many social reformers of the day he was particularly concerned about the state of prisons and of prisoners on whose behalf he is more than an armchair friend. Stow himself re-engraved and set up on Ludgate an old but badly placed copper plate which recorded a bequest in aid of prisoners made by a former Lord Mayor. He condemns the infamous practice of farming out the keepership of gaols and gives his own personal experience as a member of a jury to enquire into abuses in prisons: in the Bread Street Compter he found thieves and strumpets being lodged for 4d. a night to keep them safe from searches by the watch. The prison keeper, snug with his profit, could not be touched because of his lease but Stow had the satisfaction of seeing the gaol closed.

Everywhere he applauds the building of almshouses but sadly notes that many bequests are not carried out by executors. In a marginal note on almshouses left to the Drapers' with provision for free rent and food, he adds that the Company has 'unlawfully sold these tenements and garden plots and the poor be wronged,' reminding the authorities that according to the terms of the will the property should now go to the city. He is always enthusiastic about the bringing of water to the town either by public action or private bequest. Such efforts, he says on one occasion, enable 'the poor to drink, the rich to dress their meats,' a nice distinction even if it is not as ironical as it sounds today. Stow's love for communal effort is frequently expressed. He describes the undertakings owned by the city, chiefly to provide essential commodities to relieve the poor in times of dearth: its cornmills, the garners or storehouses which held stocks of wheat supplied by the livery companies at low prices in times of scarcity, the municipal ovens for baking bread for the poor – and even, briefly, a municipal brewery. There are other traditional communal enterprises which are taken for granted by Stow, ancient institutions found in many great European cities: the cleansing of the streets, the assize which attempted to maintain a fair price for basic commodities, the controls of standards and weights, and the provision and supervision of markets. One much more recent institution in London,

the compulsory rating of households to relieve the poor, is also accepted as a normal practice but it is never far from Stow's thoughts that a more harmonious order has passed – a time when the church and private citizens appeared to be closer to the poor.

Stow is also very much a man of his time, a typical Englishman and Londoner who does not like paying local taxes and who does not much care for foreigners. While citizens are overburdened, stranger aliens do not pay their proper share of the rates for the poor, he complains. He tells us approvingly of a petition for Leadenhall market to continue in municipal ownership as it had been traditionally and not let out to private entrepreneurs. He condemns again and again the displacement of cheap or free housing, such as homes for bedridden people in Houndsditch whose 'homely cottages' were pulled down by those like gunmakers who lacked 'room' rather 'than rent' as he puts it, or by others who sought 'fair houses for pleasure'. Stow is no idoliser of the poor, however. He condemns humble almsmen who exploit the housing shortage and let their charitably endowed houses at great rents, and he says that it is only the poverty of the common people not their holiness that prevents them drinking to excess. He is no admirer of people who move out of their station, although as we have seen his own social position as a small tailor turned historian was not without its difficulties. One of his caustic asides refers to a farmer's son who now aspires to live like a gentleman, unlike the man's father, Stow recalls, who often supplied him in his youth with three pints of milk for a penny 'always hot from the kine'.

Such nostalgic regrets for the past are frequent and are part of his philosophy of concern for the poor and in favour of communal endeavour. In this he was not alone, of course. We need to appreciate the considerable degree of public enterprise and municipal control which existed in sixteenth-century London. Part of it harked back to the ethics and practices of medieval society, part to munificent private bequests to aid the poor which, failing subsequent proper administration or even individual will to carry them on, came into the hands of the Corporation or of the Companies – the only bodies able to maintain them in the spirit in which they had been given – charitable foundations acquired by the city in a fit of absent-mindedness, so to speak. But some municipal undertakings were founded in a remarkable manifestation of co-operative endeavour, part of the ideology of the Commonwealth group which emerged in this period and to which I referred earlier.

I have spoken of two less familiar aspects of Stow. I will close on a better known topic – Stow as urban historian. It has become fashionable nowadays among some historians of the town to think of him as a fuddy-duddy antiquarian, a collector and preserver of ancient tit-bits, more concerned with the past than the present. This is to see him out of his context. Stow fulfils rigorous conditions in the discipline of his art. As a historian, he exhibits care in his methods of work, his evidence is selected to provide the aptest demonstration and he is usually critical of his sources whether they are ancient chronicles and records or the testimonies (and fables) of living contemporaries: witness his sceptical interrogation of an ostler in an inn which possessed a pole some 40 foot long said to have once been a giant's walking stick – Stow remarks that it was probably a disused maypole. Scepticism was not the only weapon in his armoury. It has been said that an essential piece of equipment for a local historian is a stout pair of boots. Stow must have worn out many a pair or their equivalent for he went everywhere about the city on foot (he was too

poor to ride a horse anyway) measuring, recording changes, questioning, observing and making notes for his life's work.

Above all, Stow writes as a historian imbued with a moral purpose. This is particularly seen in the *Survey of London* which is our first town history of a modern kind. It is much more than a descriptive perambulation of the city. The work contains a sharp denunciation of some of the social changes in city life brought about by the Reformation. It is also a philosophical exploration of city topography. Much as a modern urban historian might do, Stow examines the structural features of the town, tracing their growth and development – the political boundaries, important buildings, amenities, markets, traffic, bridges, gates, water supply and cleansing, schools, charities, churches, customs, ceremonies, trades in their localities, in short all the features that make up a living community.

It cannot be claimed that Stow was a great conceptual historian but in this quality of trying to penetrate the nature of the great town, he was a true pioneer. One can recognise this quality in his decision to add to his work two contributions of great interest. One was an account by William FitzStephen, a 'description of London' written in 1174, which served Stow as a text throughout his survey to indicate the changes which had taken place in the intervening four centuries. The other is a prescient essay on the characteristics and benefits of urban civilisation entitled 'An Apology of the City of London', written around 1580 by an unknown author whose name Stow does not reveal. The essay is remarkable for its examination of social mobility between town and country and for what modern historians would term the class structure of London and the problems of social control. Stow as he ceaselessly walked and watched in his beloved city must have had mixed thoughts about one thrust of the author's thesis, for it is written as a counterblast to those who feared that London was growing too fast, a view which Stow shared. Nevertheless, he had the good sense and objectivity to print it in his *Survey* and that fact too tells us something of his quality as a historian who always sought the truth.

STEPNEY JEWS IN THE 1670s

Eleazar Gutwirth

By the acts of Parliament of 1666 and 1668 it was made compulsory for all corpses to be buried in woollen shrouds. The minister performing the burial service was enjoined to issue a certificate confirming that the provisions of the Acts had been complied with. In the event of burial taking place in any material other than wool, a forfeit of five pounds was levied upon the next of kin or upon the person in whose house the death had occurred. The resulting forfeitures were to be divided, half the sum being allocated to the relief of the poor of the parish, the remaining part being given to whomsoever had informed the authorities of the transgression of the Act.¹

Among the Middlesex Sessions Records there is a series of cases arising out of the working of the above Act which may throw some light upon the history of the settlement of Jews in London in the late 1670s.²

These particular cases relate to the large East London parish of Stepney. In order to facilitate the relief of the poor, each of the hamlets making up the parish had its own overseer of the poor responsible for the collection and distribution of the poor rates.

The records reveal that certain sums had accrued to the Hamlet of Mile End in the parish of Stepney from the above mentioned forfeitures.

As is well known, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews had a burial place in Mile End as early as the sixties³. Naturally, following religious custom, they used to bury their dead in shrouds made of linen⁴, thus, of necessity, infringing the said Acts of Parliament.

The Middlesex Quarter Sessions Books (Session of December 1679, Hicks Hall) make mention of a petition of the churchwardens of the parish of Stepney which sets forth

that the said parish of Stepney is divided into several hamletts which (as soe many parishes) have their own proper parochial officers and manteyne their poor distinct by themselves. And that the Jews (w h o a r e v e r y n u m e r o u s i n t h e s a i d p a r i s h) have a Burying place in the same parish where they bury their dead in linen . . .

They had thereby made several forfeitures which the Churchwarden of Mile End had received but refused to divide amongst the other hamlets of the parish.

On February 1680 an order was given to Ralph Farre to give a true account of the forfeitures. The order was upheld, on appeal, by the court of the King's Bench (July 1680). The matter continued to be brought up in court over a number of years (e.g. in February 1684-5).

The persistence of both parties in the dispute (as revealed by several appeals, petitions and orders recorded in the Sessions Books) may indicate that a considerable amount of money was involved and that it formed a not negligible part of the funds allocated for the poor.

The demographic problem presented by the absence of Mile End in the list of parishes with Jews within and without the walls⁵ is not solved by the references to Jews in the

above mentioned petition. We knew from the census list of 1695 that by that date there were c. 600 Jews in East End parishes.

Nevertheless these documents may serve to show something about the workings of the Acts in practice as well as throw some light on Jewish-Christian relations in Middlesex at a local level.

NOTES

1. 18 Chas. c. iv; 30 Chas. ii, c. iii. The wording of the acts betrays the obviously mercantilistic intention.
2. The records are kept at the Greater London Record Office Middlesex Section. They are MJ/SBB 370 p. 29, xii/1679 (cf. Appendix, document No. 1); MJ/SBB 375 p. 51, vii/1680 (order to R. Farre upheld on appeal by the court of the King's Bench); MJ/SBB 424 p. 40, 11/1685; MJ/SBB 572 p. 32, v/1700 (cf. Appendix, document No. 2). Extracts of Crown Copyright records in the Middlesex Records Office appear by permission of the Controller of HM Stationery Office. My thanks to Mr. R. E. Samways for his kind assistance.
3. For the history of the Bethahaim Velho or the Old Cemetery of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London see A. S. Diamond in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XIX, 1960, 163-190. The first recorded death is of 1657 (4th Elul 5417). The cemetery is situated behind the Beth Holim at 243 Mile End Road. cf. R. D. Barnett. The burial Register of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, London 1657-1735, Misc. Jewish Historical Society of England, 1962, pp. 1-72. Cf. also E. N. Adler's, London, Philadelphia 1930 pp. 102-3. For the keepers of the burial ground see Neville Laski, The laws and charities of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, London 1953 p. 76.
4. cf. e.g. John, 19/40: Then took they the body of Jesus and wound it in linen clothes with the spices as the manner of the Jews is to bury. cf. also Moed Katan 27b where Rabbi Judah Ha-Nasi is said to have expressly ordered that he be buried in a simple linen shirt.
5. A list of Jews and their households in London (extracted from the census lists of 1695 by Arthur P. Arnold) Misc. JHSE 6, 73. M. Woolf, Notes on the census lists of 1695, ibid. p. 75. cf. especially p.74: 'it is not unreasonable to suppose that between 1680 and 1695 the Sephardim increased from 414 to 600 strengthened by an influx of Jews with the accession of William and Mary in 1688'.

APPENDIX

Document No. 1 (MJ/SBB 370 p.29, xii/1679)

Upon reading the humble petition of severall of the churchwardens of the parish of Stepney in this county Exhibited unto this Court thereby showing that the said parish of Stepney is divided into severall hamletts which (as soe many parishes) have their own proper parochiall officers and manteyne their poor distinct by themselves And that the Jews (who are very numerous in the said parish) have a Burying place in the hamlett of Mile End in the same parish where they bury their dead in linen contrary to a late Act of Parliament made for Burying in Woolen And have thereby made severall forfeitures which Mr. Ralph Farre Churchwarden of the said hamlett of Mile End hath received and kepeth for the use of the said hamlett only and refuseth to divide the same forfeitures amongst the other hamletts of the said parish upon pretence that no part thereof belongeth to them because the said Burying place is within the said hamlett of Mile End This court is of the opinion and doth declare that the said forfeitures which already have been and all other like forfeitures which shall hereafter happen to bee there belong to the said parish of Stepney and that all and every the severall hamletts which in the same parish have equally and a like interest therein and that every of them ought to have their respective benefit thereby and the same to be divided and distributed accordingly.

per curiam

Document No. 2 (MJ/SBB 572 p.32, v/1700)

Order for distributing monys forfeited for the buriall of Jews in the Hamblett of Mile end, to and amongst all the severall Hambletts in Stepney parish. Upon reading the humble peticion of the Churchwardens of the poor of the parish of Stebunheath alias Stepney in this County exhibited unto this Court thereby showing that whereas by an order of this Court made att a general Sessions of the Peace held at Hicks Hall in St. John Street in and for the County of Middlesex the four and twentieth day of February in the two and thirtieth year of the reigne of the late King Charles the second Upon hearing the matter in difference between the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the Severall Hambletts of the said parish of Stebunheath alias Stepney and Mr. Ralph Farr then Churchwarden and Overseer of the Hamblett of Mile End in the same parish for his receiving and keeping the forfeitures for the Burialls of Jews in Linen or any other thing whatsoever that was made of any materiall but sheeps wooll only And refusing to divide the same forfeitures amongst the other Hambletts of the said parish. Itt was ordered by this Court that the said Ralph Farr should before Saterday then next following make a true and perfect account in writeing before Josiah Ricroft Esq. then one of his majesties Justices of the peace for this County of all forfeitures received by him or any other

by his order for any person whatsoever then being buried in the said hamblett of Mile End in Linnen or any other thing whatsoever that was made of any materiall but sheeps wool only And that the said Ralph Farr should also before the said Saturday well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the respective Churchwardens and Overseers for the poor of the said Hamblett of Mile End in the said parish and their successors for the time being should from time to time for the future well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the churchwardens and Overseers of the poor for the time being of the respective other Hambletts in the same parish to the like use and benefit of the poor there the proporcionable dividend and just shares of all like forfeitures which then after happen in the said Hamblett of Mile End as by the said order relacion being thereunto had may appear And that Mathew Hawley late Churchwarden of the said Hamblett of Mile End Old Towne hath received severall summes of money for such burials in Linnen and hath not as yet accompted with the said respective churchwardens of the said other Hambletts of the said parish of Stepney nor paid to them or any of them their respective dividend and just shares according to the intent of the said order but still refuseth soe to doe Itt was therefore prayed that this Court would order the said Mr. Hawlin (sic) to account with them and pay them their respective dividends according as the said order directs or otherwise to show cause to the Contrary to this Court And upon hearing of the said Mathew Hawlin in the presnce of the petitioners and exa minacion of the said matter Itt is thought fitt and ordered by this court that as well the said Mathew Hallin as the present Churchwarden of the said Hamblett of Mile End Old Towne doe forthwith make render and give up before Collonel Jorye Mr. Bateman Mr. Webber and Mr. Constable Justices of the Peace for the County or any two of them in the presence of the petitioners a true and fair accompt in writing of all forfeitures received by them or either of them or by any person by their or either of their order (and not already accompted for) for any person whatsoever now lately buried in the said Hamblett of Mile End Old Towne in Linnen or any other thing whatsoever made of any materiall but sheeps wool only and that the said Mathew Hawlin and the said present Churchwardens of the said Hamblett of Mile End Old Towne doe upon such accompt pay or cause to pay be paid unto the Peticioners the said just and proporcionable dividend and shares of the said forfeitures forfeited to the use and benefitt of the poor of the said severall other Hambletts according to the order and direction of the said Justices or any two of them And that the said present Churchwarden and alsoe all and every other Churchwarden and Overseers of the poor of the said Hamblett of Mile End Old Towne doe for the future pay or cause to be paid unto the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor for the time being of the respective other Hambletts in the same parish to the like use and benefitt of the poor there the proporcionable dividend and just shares of all like forfeitures which shall hereafter happen in the said Hamblett

per Curiam

THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

Part 19 : ICKENHAM

H. K. Cameron M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

ICKENHAM

1. *William Say, ob. 20th April 1582, and wife Isabell, with inscription, scroll, 7 sons and 9 daughters, four shields (one missing), now mural on S. wall of chancel.*

This brass is No. II in Mill Stephenson's List.

The two figures of William Say and his wife, 21 and 20 inches high respectively, are shown standing and facing slightly towards one another, the man on the dexter side. He is in civilian dress, being in a long outer gown reaching almost to the ground so that only the front of the feet are visible. The gown has an opening for the arms above the elbow and has long false sleeves hanging down; it is fur-lined or at least fur-edged. The doublet is tied in at the waist with a bow and the sleeves end with ruffs at the wrists. A ruff is worn around the neck. A noticeably elegant feature is the portrayal of the hair, neatly parted and waved, with a well-trimmed moustache and full beard. The lady's dress is drawn in at the waist by a sash with a bow in front similar to that of her husband. The material of the dress is without pattern; the sleeves are puffed with ridges at the shoulders; there are ruffs around the neck and wrists. Her bonnet falls as a veil over her shoulders.

Spaced one inch below the two figures is a rectangular plate 22½in. wide and 7in. high on which is the following inscription in eight lines of blackletter:

Here under lyeth buried the bodye of William Say gent whilest he
lyved Register to the Queenes Maiestie in causes ecclesiasticall and
Procto^r of y^e courte of y^e Arches at Londō where after he had con=
tynewed lvi yeares & in ye meane space had seen of his onne lawfull
children by Isabell his wife xvi viz vii soñes & ix daughters he depted
from this mortall lyfe to god y^e xxth day of Aprill in y^e yeare of Christs
most holy incarnation 1582 and in y^e lxxviith yeare of his age
expectinge y^e ioyfull resurrection in Christ Jhesus our lord.

Above the two figures and lying horizontally between them is a scroll on which, in blackletter, is engraved:

Credo videre bona domini in terra viventiu.

Below the inscription are two plates with the children: seven sons underneath the father and nine daughters below the mother. The sons are dressed much like the father, but without evidence of fur on their gowns; their faces are beardless. The daughters are like their mother, but without head veil or bow to their waist.

There were four shields at the corners of the stone, all with the same arms, being like the first shield described under no. 2 with the quartering of Say and Colebrook. The lower sinister shield was lost between 1891 (a rubbing of this date shows it present) and 1926 when Mill Stephenson reported it missing. In a recent unhappy restoration this brass has been reset in a new piece of stone. Instead of cutting two symmetrical indents



Fig. 1 William Say, ob. 1582, and wife Isabell

for the bottom shields and showing one of them as missing, the one remaining shield has been placed centrally at the bottom!

2. *Robert Say, ob. 14th November, 1584, in civilian dress with two shields, inscription lost; relaid on the east wall of the north aisle.*

This brass is No. I in Mill Stephenson's List.

This figure is of the same height and almost identical in costume and engraving with the male figure on the previous brass. The beard is a trifle shorter and bushier, but the same neat and tidy hair style is apparent. Like William Say he is shown turning slightly to his left, though we have no evidence that there was ever a second figure. The original stone lay, until recently, on the floor in front of the wall on which the brass has been fixed, but alas it has now been removed and the floor tiled over. Above the figure are two shields on which much of the blazoning is now so worn that it would be difficult to decipher were it not for earlier rubbings and notes left by Mill Stephenson, now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.

The dexter shield is charged *quarterly 1 & 4 per pale azure and gules, 3 chevrons counterchanged of the field and fimbriated argent, in dexter chief a mullet for difference; 2 & 3, sable a flying fish argent rising out of the sea barry wavy argent and azure*. The first of these is undoubtedly of the Say family, though there are many variations described in different sources and for different branches of the family. Thus the Sawbridgeworth (Saysbury) branch described by Clutterbuck¹ has the fimbriation *or* and it is shown thus on the coloured illustration of the brass to Sir John Say (ob. 1478) and his wife Elizabeth (Cheyne) at Broxbourne in Wallers' 'Series of Monumental Brasses'².

The quartering with the flying fish was identified by Mill Stephenson from a tricking in MS. 385, page 149, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. This is of a shield said to be Lambton impaling Colebrook and the second of these is the same flying fish rising out of a barry and wavy sea. This coat is not to be identified under Colebrook in Burke, nor is it found in Papworth. The flying fish occupies but two pages in Moule's *Heraldry of Fish*; he reminds us that it appears on the arms of Dr Henry Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle, but neither Say nor Colebrook are mentioned.

The sinister shield on this brass shows the same quarterings in the dexter half, impaling *1 & 4, argent a chevron gules between three popinjays vert, beaks and legs gules a bordure azure bezanty*, for White of South Warnborough, co. Hants., *2 & 3, gules, on a chevron between three shacklebolts argent a bordure engrailed or pellety*, for Fenrother. This description is also taken from a Mill Stephenson rubbing of the shield. The White quartering agrees with Burke, where however Fenrother is given the same tinctures, but with three ducks (swans?) azure on the chevron. The lead used for argent on the brass itself is much worn, but it is clear there are three objects of lead on the shield as well as the chevron, disposed as in the Mill Stephenson description, and these objects are in outline like shacklebolts. Stephenson suggested that this brass was possibly to Robert Say who, according to the evidence of the Herald's Visitation of Middlesex³ married Patience, daughter of Robert White of Christchurch, co. Southampton. The Sussex Visitation⁴ shows Etheldreda, daughter of Robert Fenrother, marrying one Henry White. The conflicting evidence of the London and Middlesex Visitations and the absence of the inscription or any record of what was on it has made positive identification of the person

Brasses of Middlesex. Part 19: Ickenham



Fig. 2 Robert Say, ob. 1584

commemorated difficult; the conclusions now reached are discussed after a description of the third brass of this series.

3. *Edmond Shorditche, in armour, ob. 1584, and wife Ellen, daughter of William Say, with two sons and one daughter, inscription and 4 shields, mural on N. wall of chancel.*

The figure of Edmond Shorditche is shown in full face view and in armour. The head is uncovered, but lies on a helm. The face shows him wearing a moustache and bifurcated beard. The lower arms and hands are unarmed and he wears ruffs at the wrists. The knee pieces are crudely decorated with a flower-like pattern and the legs are thick and coarsely drawn. A sword on his left side is held by a narrow and undecorated belt. This figure is also 21 inches high. The wife, on the sinister side and one inch shorter, is turned slightly towards her husband and is, in appearance, almost identical with her mother. There can be little doubt that all five figures on these three brasses were engraved by one hand at one time, perhaps as a multiple commission. The engraver was more familiar with and better able to represent civilian dress than armour.

Below the main figures of this third brass is the inscription in eight lines of blackletter, on a rectangular plate 21in. wide and 7in. high. This reads:

Beholde and see the monument of him, w^{ch} late was knowen
both lord & patrone of this soile wherin is dayely sowen
the seed of god^s most holye woord, which feedith evermore
the soules of Just and godlye men, by whom y^e lord set^s store
of Edmonde Shorditche late Esquire, the bodye heare dooth lye
amonge his faithfull Anncesters of longe Antiquitie
who of this Manner lord^s have bin, & patrones of the same
which longe tyme lived & long agoe, wear buried wth great fame

Below this inscription are, on the dexter side, two sons in civilian costume, attired like their young uncles on the brass of William Say, but rather larger in size and kneeling. On the other side is a plate with a single daughter, also kneeling.

At the top and bottom of the memorial are four shields, at the corners. The two shields on the sinister side show a cross on a field of argent, this being represented by lead. On close examination it can be seen that the first quarter is in fact indented with ermine spots, as is to be seen on a coloured shield on a marble monument to a later Shorditche on the south wall of the church. The Shorditche arms are: *argent a cross gules, in the first quarter 5 ermine spots*. The two dexter shields bear Shorditche impaling the arms of Say (that is, the Say and Colebrooke arms quartered). This is a surprising and unlikely arrangement, and transposition must have taken place at a restoration. The Shorditche arms would surely have been placed above and below his figure, and the impaled shields showing the Say arms on the wife's side; or they might have been transposed at the bottom.

The Shorditche family had long associations with Ickenham and the church contains several monuments to them. A London merchant, John Charlton, acquired lands in west Middlesex in the mid-14th century, including the manors of Hillingdon and Ickenham. Hillingdon manor remained in the Charlton family until the attainder of Sir Richard Charlton in 1485, following his death at Bosworth. Ickenham passed on the death of John Charlton at the end of the 14th century to his daughter Juette who had married

Brasses of Middlesex. Part 19: Ickenham



Ischolde and for the monument of him wth late was knollen
 both lord & patron of this soule wher in is delyv^d gyven
 the seed of gods most holbe woord, which freth ever more
 the soules of Jult and godlye men, by whom v^r lord les-lore
 of Edmonde Shorditche late Squire the hove beare dooth lye
 amonge his faithfull Amcebars of longe antientie
 who of this maner lords haue bin, & patrons of the same
 which longe tyme lye & long agoe were buried wth orat faun

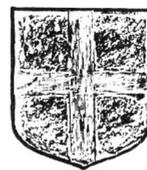


Fig. 3 Edmonde Shorditche, ob. 1584, and wife Ellen

Nicholas Shorediche⁵. The estate remained in the Shorediche family until early in the nineteenth century, when Michael Shorediche, who was Lord of the Manor in 1800⁶ and who had apparently mortgaged the property while at University⁵ moved to the West Indies, where he married a local heiress in 1813. The only Michael Shordich at Oxford recorded by Foster⁷ matriculated in 1767, aet. 18, and became M.A. in 1771, being the son of Richard Shordich of Ickenham. By 1812 the Manor had passed into other hands, no doubt from foreclosure on the mortgage.

There are three memorial tablets of the 17th century on the walls of the church to members of this family and, according to Lysons⁶, there was one to the Rev. John Shoredich who was Rector of Ickenham from 1714 until his death in 1725. There is also a brass plate recording the erection of choir stalls in 1926 in memory of more recent members of the family; John Cleveland Shordiche who died in Antigua in 1864 and his son Edward Ricaut Shordiche who was born in Antigua and died at St James, Minnesota in 1906.

The earliest remaining Shordiche memorial is this brass to Edmond and his wife Ellen, who was a daughter of William Say.

The Say family was of Norman origin, a William Say coming with the Conqueror. The Barony went into abeyance in 1399, when two sisters remained. Nevertheless branches of the family were to be found in several counties: York, Northants., Rutland, Herts., Essex and Sussex, coming ultimately to Middlesex and Oxford. The genealogy of this last branch of the SAYS is somewhat obscure. At first inspection the pedigree shown in the Visitation of Middlesex³ suggests a straightforward identification of those commemorated by these brasses. The Herald's visitation of the County of Middlesex shows clearly William Say of Ickenham as son of Robert Say of Ickenham, who had married Patience, daughter of Robert White of Christchurch, co. Southampton. Yet Robert's descent and parentage are confused and uncertain; there is indeed a dotted line shown. It is quickly evident that there is no mention here of William of the brass, whose life and relationships may be deduced 1) from the inscription on the brass, 2) from his will, 3) from a Visitation of London made in 1568 and 4) from the parish registers.

The inscription relates that William Say died on the 20th April, 1582, in his 77th year. He was born therefore in 1505. He practised in London as Proctor of the Court of Arches and Registrar of Ecclesiastical Causes for 56 years, during which time he had 16 children by his wife Isabell, namely seven sons and nine daughters and these are shown on the brass.

Corroboration and much interesting information is found in his will⁸. He had considerable leased property in London as well as in the parish of Ickenham and details are given of bequests to his family and to others. It is evident that the most favoured, and therefore presumably the oldest, son was Robert. He is married, but his wife's name is not given. The other sons mentioned are Thomas, William ('now Mr Chancellor of Winchester'), Edward, who is to inherit a house in the parish of St Olave, Old Jewry; and John. He does not, in the will, mention his daughters by Christian name, but rings are given to those who are married, and to their husbands who are referred to as Thomas Haydon, Richard Lambe and Jasper Hawke; also Mr Shordiche and Mr Smith (whose father was sergeant-at-arms). Isabell is clearly their mother. She is appointed sole executrix, while the five sons are appointed overseers and charged to be 'aiding and assisting to their said mother.' Seven sons and nine daughters are shown on the brass, but only five of each are

mentioned in the will, suggesting that six children died young.

Further information can be added to this from the entry under Say in the Visitation of London made in 1568⁹. This shows a different and more positive descent than the Middlesex Visitation from John Say of Podington who had married a Colbrooke, to Robert Say their son, who in turn had issue Hugh Say, married to Elenor, daughter of Henry Monox of Worcestershire (or of Essex, see ref. 10). This couple had as issue William Say of the Arches in the Citie of London. We learn further that he married the daughter of Thomas Netham (this as will appear later is an error for Nelham) of Middlesex, by whom he had issue Robert, son and heir; Thomas, second son; William, third son; Edward, fourth son; John, fifth son, confirming the content of the will. The names of the daughters are also quoted: Ellen, married to Edmond Shordich of Echam (sic!); Ame, married to Richard Hamm; Dorothe, married to Edmond Smyth, son and heir of Smyth sargeant at Armes; Joan, and Barbara. On another sheet the husband of Ame is given as Richard Carne. If this shows some uncertainty it is probable that this daughter's name was Anne, recorded in the Parish Register as marrying Richard Lambe of St Botolffe without Aldergate on 24th February, 1559. The same Visitation of London gives further useful information on the age of William's sons in that year, 1568. Robert was thirty; Thomas, 29; William, 23; Edward, 13; John's age is not given. This confirms that William Say must have married Isabell Nelham around the year 1530-35.

The old parish registers, deposited since 1975 in the Middlesex Record Office, date from 1539 (baptisms & burials) and 1558 (marriages). Thirteen baptisms of children of William and Isabell Say are recorded in the register and three early deaths. It is known from the Visitation of London in 1568 that at least two children were born before the first entry in the register and from the brass that they had sixteen children in all. It is therefore likely that three children were born before 1539. These were Robert, the eldest son and heir; Ellen, or Helyn, who married Edmond Shorediche and became lady of the Manor of Ickenham; and Richard. Richard's birth is not in the register, but his burial as 'the son of Mr Say' took place in 1559 or 1560. The baptism of Thomas Say is the first entry in the book and may have been entered later. It says he was christened on the 4th May 1540, yet the Visitation of London says he was 29 years of age in 1568. The Registry entry gives as his godfathers Thomas Nelham – obviously related to the mother Isabell – and Robert Atley of the parish of Hyllington (q.v.). The children whose births were registered in the Ickenham register were as follows:

Thomas	born	1539 or 1540	
Ann		1540/1	
George		1542	buried 1545
Isabelle		1544	buried 1552/3
William		1545	
Margaret		1546	Margaret buried 1552
Dorothy			
Elizabeth		1547 or 1548	
Joan		1550	
Mary		1551	
Barbara		1553	
Edward		1554	
John		1557	

It is an interesting sidelight on the information provided by these Registers that a limited number of names constantly recurs, christening their own children and being invoked for the godly care of those of their friends. When Isabell Say was not attending a christening of one of her own children she was often there as a godmother.

The following marriages of their children appear in the Register:

Ann Say to Richard Lambe	1559
Dorothy Say to Edmond Smyth	1567
Barbara Say to Jasper Hawke	1571
Thomas Say to Elizabeth Awnsell	1578

This last must have been a second marriage for Thomas, because Jone, wife of Thomas Say, was buried in the N. aisle or family chapel on 23rd June 1576.

Edmond and Dorothy Smyth have a son Henry, baptised in 1576, while an unnamed son is registered to Edmond and Helyn Shorediche in 1565.

Following the death in April 1582 of William Say his eldest son Robert inherited. Robert was described in the 1568 Visitation of London as being then 'of the age of xxxti yeres'. Whether this means 30 or is a written error for 32 is unclear. From the evidence quoted above the earlier date of birth is more reasonable and this would make him 46 years old when he succeeded his father. Robert also married twice. In the Visitation of London he is said to have married the daughter of John Ley (possibly the local family of Atlee, much in evidence in the Registers and at Hillingdon). Some three years after this Visitation the Ickenham Register has an entry that, on 15th October, 1571 'was buried the wife of Robert Say, called Florence'. Thereafter come baptismal entries for the following children of Robert and Pacience Say:

William	1575	(His grandfather was one of
Elizabeth	1579	his godfathers)
Anne	1580	
Edward	1581	buried 1584
Hellena	1582	
Richard	1583	
Charitie	1585	

Two other daughters of Robert Say were buried at Ickenham; Isabell in 1578 and Catherine in 1583, without record of baptism.

The last of their children, Charitie, was baptised on the 6th June, 1585 and, as the entry sadly tells us, was buried on the 8th August of the same year, being the 'daughter of Robert Say (deceased) and Pacience (widow).'

The early 1580s were grievous years for the family. First 'Mr William Say gent. the elder was buryed the 22nd day of Aprill in the year of our lord god 1582'; this is a rather longer entry in the Register than most. Then, two and a half years later, his eldest son and heir to whom so much property and responsibility was left in the will also died and was buried, as it is recorded, '14 November Robert Say gent., in the year of our lord god 1584.' And on 3rd December of the same year, less than three weeks later, 'was buried Edmond Shordiche, Lord of the Manor of Ickenham.' William Say (of the brass) had lived a long life, to his 77th year as is related on the brass and in the will. When he died the two main props of his family followed him two years later. One can imagine the chaos

caused by this triple bereavement. There were three widows left; one who must by now have been at least in her sixties and one carrying child.

The close similarity in style between the three brasses is clear evidence that they were engraved by one hand and almost at one time and the death of three male members of the family provides the explanation of why this was necessary. It is a reasonable deduction that the figure without inscription is undoubtedly that of Robert Say. The White quarterings on his shield of arms is supporting evidence; Robert's widow, Pacience, must have been the Patience White from Hampshire recorded in the Middlesex Visitation as being married to a Robert Say.

Who, one wonders, made provision for the three memorial brasses? How quickly after the death of William Say was his brass engraved and laid? He had in his will requested 'that within twoe yeares nexte after my decease there be sett uppe in somme convenient place nighe where my bodye shall rest some memoriall of me in a table of marble as shalbe conveniente.' His widow was left his sole executrix and, with the 'overseeing' help of her sons, should have proceeded expeditiously with his request. To complete the commission might nevertheless have taken all the time and more that he stipulated. The need for further memorials came immediately upon the last. No doubt Robert helped his mother in settling the affairs of his father, including ordering the monument. When he died too who arranged for his memorial and for that of the Lord of the Manor?

There is a remarkable contrast in tone and sentiment between the two remaining inscriptions. That of William Say is straightforward and factual. His legal mind was evidently pragmatic and adaptable. He must have married in the one and only faith prior to the Reformation. He was engaged as a practising lawyer in the clerical atmosphere of the Court of Arches for 56 years, during which time there were three changes of faith and he continued in office throughout. If he did not write his own inscription he at least seems to have prepared the way for its content and tone. The wording is indeed very close to the preamble to the will: both have the phrase 'in the yeare of Christs most holye incarnation' and both mention that he is in the 77th year of his age. His wife is mentioned by name.

How different is the inscription of his son-in-law Edmonde Shorditche. He is shown on his brass in armour; this and the self-laudatory verses savour much of family pride and long-established residence in the Manor. A wife and children are shown, but there is no mention of them on the inscription, nor are any dates given. It is of course possible that the more factual information was included on a separate plate, long since lost, but there is no evidence for this. Did the widow Ellen cause this brass to be prepared; it is most unlike the simple professional style of her father and mother.

Even more perplexing is the brass to Robert. Why is he not shown, as were his father and brother-in-law, with his wife and children. Was this deliberate by whoever caused the brass to be made? Would it be left to the widow, who was still with child? Or was there a feeling that, being in such condition, it was not propitious to show her already on a tomb? Or was the stone recently lost not the original? There was certainly no room on it for another figure. On the other hand his figure is turned slightly to his left, like that of his father who is half facing his wife. The design of the brass would be better suited if there had been another figure, now lost. . . The absence of children, unless they too have been lost, may perhaps reflect the uncertainty of how many there should be and on the

whole leads to the conclusion that the first explanation is the most likely one for the absence of his family on his brass.

The question who succeeded Robert at Ickenham is even more vexed. His eldest son William (by his second wife; there is no evidence for any children by the first) was born in 1575 and therefore only nine years of age when his father died, too young to take an active part in the running of affairs. With two of her children buried in the same year as her husband and with five children up to the age of nine to bring up Patience can hardly have had sufficient time, whether or not her mother-in-law was still alive and active. Of Robert's brothers Thomas had been married in Ickenham some eight years earlier, but there is no further parish record of him. The next son William had been described in the father's will as Chancellor of Winchester, a legal appointment which would, one might expect, require residence or at least frequent presence in that city. There is also record at Winchester⁽¹¹⁾ that one William Say, B.C.L. was created Canon of Winchester in 1583 and continued in that capacity until his death in 1615. As he was lawyer as well as priest it seems likely that this Canon was indeed the Chancellor.

The most likely successor, in a temporary capacity, was Robert's younger brother Edward, while of the youngest John there is no further mention. Edward had been left in his father's will a house 'sett lyinge and beinge in the parrishe of Saincte Olave in the olde Jurye in London whiche I have and enjoye in reversion after the decease of my cosen Humfreye Abbott, . . . provided alwaies that duringe the life of my saide cosen unto whome I am Gardaine by graunte from the Queene's maiestie and her courte of Wardes and lyveries my wiffe or one of my sonnes that shall have the kepinge of him after my decease shall have the same house withe thappurtenances duringe the saide Humfries life together withe suche graunte as I have from the saide courts for ye kepinge & governmente of him duringe his life.' Whether Edward lived in the City he did have close contact with Ickenham for several years. Following the baptism and burial of Robert's last child Charitie in 1585 there are just three more Say entries and these are to children of Edward. They were Edward, baptised on 22nd December, 1586; William, baptised on 25th May, 1589 and John, third son of Edward Say, buried the 3rd July, 1590, being baptised at home. This burial is the last mention of the name of Say in the parish registers of Ickenham.

What happened to the young William Say? The simple explanation is that offered by the Heralds Visitation of Middlesex⁹ and corroborated by John Philpott's Visitation of Oxford in 1634¹². William Say of Ickenham, the son of Robert and Patience is shown married to Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Fenner, knight and one of the Judges of the Kings Bench (he was ¹³ son of John Fenner of Crawley, Sussex; was admitted to the Middle Temple from 'Le Newe Inne' in 1557; a Bencher and Reader in 1576, serjeant-at-law the following year and a Judge of the Queen's Bench in 1590; he died 23rd January, 1611/2. His son and heir, Edward Fenner, was admitted to the Middle Temple 3rd July, 1593¹⁴) There were three sons and one daughter by this marriage according to the Visitations. The eldest son was Edward Say of Blechingdon, co. Oxon. Esq., who was living in 1634; the second son was William Say, Barister, also of the Middle Temple, while the third son, Robert, is described as 'in Academia Oxon.' Now this makes for great difficulty. The only Robert Say recorded by Foster¹⁵ is indeed 'Robert Say of Middlesex gent.' who matriculated at New College in October, 1594, aet. 18 (He took his B.A. in 1599 and was by 1614 D.D.. His life was spent as a parish priest, moving at frequent

intervals. He was at Ickenham in 1624 for one year before moving to Kent.). This Robert was therefore born in 1576, just one year after William Say of Ickenham, supposedly his father! Apart from this inaccuracy it is surprising that, if William and Anne Say were well established 'of Ickenham' as the Visitation says, there is no further entry of births, marriages or burials in Ickenham parish registers of this family; and this despite the building of a North aisle by grandfather William (of the brass) as a burial chapel for the family. The mystery must be left unsolved.

It is interesting to note the continuing association of this family with the law and with the Middle Temple. One curious entry among Admissions to the Middle Temple concerns a William Say of Slinford, Sussex, already deceased, whose eldest son Edward and whose second son William were both admitted to the Middle Temple on the same day, 15th August, 1622. Could it be that William Say of Ickenham died without local record, and that his widow returned to the County of her birth? After qualifying, Edward could then have settled at Blechingdon while William, who had been born in 1604, became M.P. for Camelford in 1647 and a member of the Long Parliament. He was among the signatories of the death warrant of Charles I and died abroad after the Restoration. Another William Say was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1655, eldest son of Edward Say of Woodstock, Oxon.

The residence of the Say family in Ickenham was clearly of shorter duration than the Shordiches. William Say of the brass as a lawyer may at times have been a rather tiresome neighbour. Among items in the Court Rolls of the Manor is one of date 1563¹⁶ of a true bill that at Ickenham in the county of Middlesex on the said day (25th July) a number of people, many from Ruislip, 'assembled in warlike manner, and broke riotously into the close of William Says, gentleman, and unlawfully carried away four wainloads of wheat there late growing belonging to the said William Says, and worth twelve pounds.' No less than twenty three persons, including two described as gentleman and five women, were charged. One wonders what lay behind this.

William Say built the north aisle of the present church, which he clearly intended as a chapel for his family burials. Here too he expressed some discontent in his will. 'And whære the parishioners of Ickenham doe remaine debtors to me for the charges that I laide oute for making of all the brick^s that wente to the newe Ile or chappell there, as doethe trulie by accompte' therof withe me remayninge appears, I am content . . .'

At some time this aisle has been fitted with pews and there is no sign of where his 'marble' was placed, or whether it still exists under the pews. The brasses were moved to the wall. It is surprising how little Lysons has to say of this family of Say. He mentions the brasses and that William was builder of the north aisle. This too is all that the Victoria County History says.

4. *A coffin plate, now on the wall of the vestry, for Thomas Vyner, 1707.*

A rectangular plate, 11 in. high and 9½ in. wide is screwed on the west wall of the former vault, now used as a vestry, at the west end of the north aisle, or Say chapel. The inscription on it is in cursive script and reads:

Thomas Vyner Esq.
Died att Rome
in his Travells

y^e 6th of Dec.^{br} 1707
 in y^e 49th yeare
 of his age

Below this is a crude drawing of a skull and crossbones within what appear to be feathered wings.

The manor of Swakeleys was in the possession of Sir Robert Vyner in 1665 when Pepys paid a visit to the house – ‘and better, or such furniture I never did see’. They were joined at dinner by Lady Vyner: ‘I find yet handsome, but hath been a very handsome woman: now is old. Hath brought him near £100,000 and now lives no man in England in

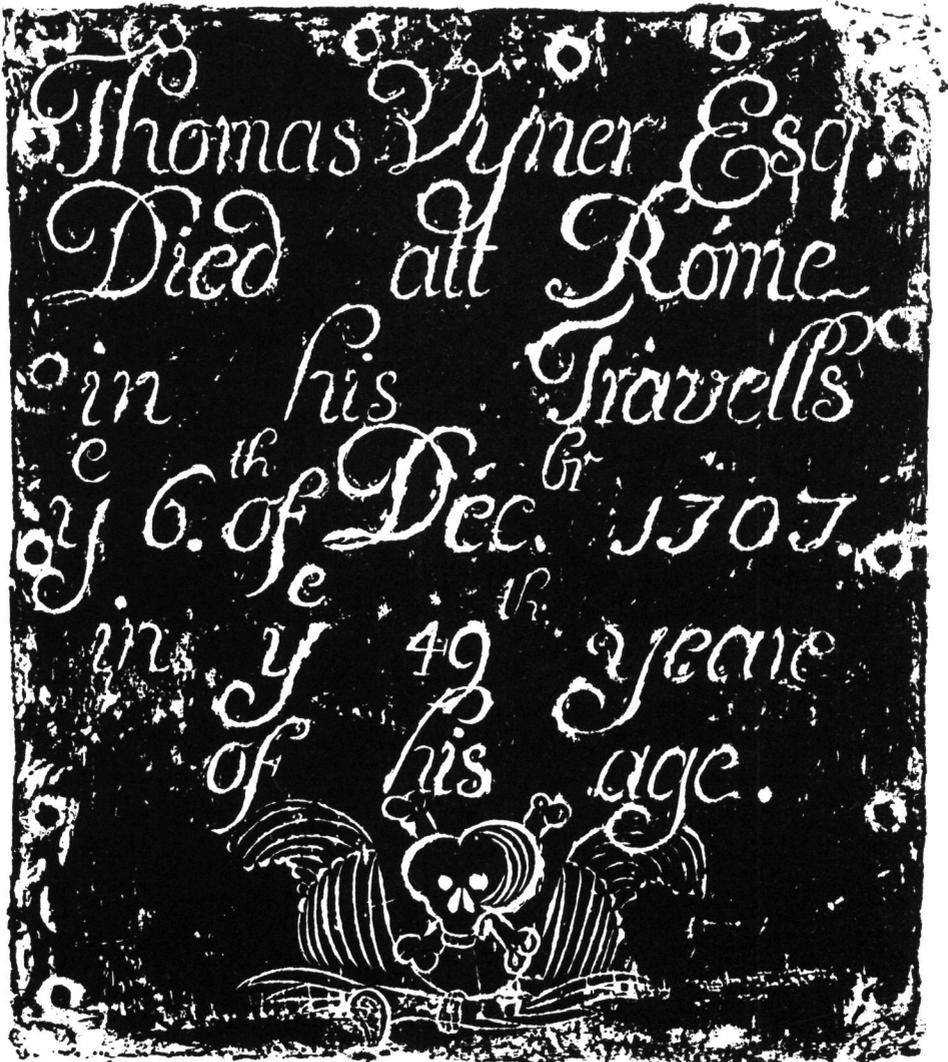


Fig. 4 Thomas Vyner, ob. 1707

greater plenty and commands both King and Council with his credit he gives them.¹⁷ This Sir Robert Vyner entertained Charles II at Guildhall when he was Lord Mayor. On the death of Sir Robert Vyner in 1688 the manor passed to his nephew, Thomas Vyner who, as recorded, died on his travels when in Rome. In 1707 the manor was inherited by Thomas' son Robert and he sold it in 1741 to a Huguenot widow Sarah Lethieullier.¹⁸

The oldest plate belonging to the church, a silver flagon and a paten, were given by Sir Robert Vyner in 1682.

I would acknowledge with thanks the help provided me by the Rector, Revd. P. Kelly, first in giving permission to take rubbings of the brass to Robert Say and of the coffin plate of Thomas Vyner, and also for loaning me a file of cuttings from the Ickenham Church News of a history of Ickenham, written by Mr Morris W. Hughes, from which I have copied an extract from the Court Rolls of an affray and theft of corn from William Say. I would also like to thank Mr D. A. Chivers for taking rubbings of the brasses of William Say and of Edmond Shorditche and for lending them for the purpose of illustrating this article.

HORNSEY

In the account of the brasses at Hornsey in *Transactions 28 (1977)* it is stated on page 314 that William Priestley bequeathed to his son William property near to Brewham in the parish of Waltham Abbey. It has been kindly pointed out to me by Dr K. N. Bascombe of the Waltham Abbey Historical Society that I have misread the will and that the word is Brewhouse. The property left was near to the Brewhouse in the parish of Waltham Abbey. I regret allowing this error to appear in print.

1 Clutterbuck, R. History of Hertfordshire, Vol. III, p.194.

2 Waller, J.G. & L.A.B. A Series of Monumental Brasses, 1864, Pl. 45.

3 Visitation of Middlesex, Harl. Soc., Vol. LXV, p.160.

4 Visitation of Sussex, Harl. Soc., Vol. LIII, p.16.

5 C.P.25(1)/150/56/96; see V.C.H., Middlesex, Vol. IV, 1971, p.102/3.

6 Lysons, Those parishes in the County of Middlesex not described in the Environs of London, p.190.

7 Jos. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 1888, p.1291.

8 P.C.C. 22 Tirwhite, Prob 11/64.

9 Visitation of London in 1568, Harl. Soc., Vol. CIX & CX, p.80.

10 Visitation of Essex, Harl. Soc., Vol. XIII, p.80.

11 Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, Winchester, 1974, p.96.

12 Visitation of Oxford, Harl. Soc., Vol. V, p.252.

13 Foss, Judges of England, 1870, p.247.

14 Macgeagh & Sturgess, Register of Admissions to the Middle Temple, 1949, Vol. I.

15 Foster, p.1321.

16 Copied from Mr Morris W. Hughes who has transcribed some of the entries in the Court Rolls, first in Middlesex Pictorial and reproduced in the Ickenham Church News for October, 1970.

17 Samuel Pepys, Diary: entry for 7th September, 1665.

18 V.C.H., Middlesex, Vol. IV, pp.103, 108.

THE SOUTH METROPOLITAN CEMETERY WEST NORWOOD AND ITS MEMORIALS

Some additional notes

Eric E. F. Smith

Since a paper on the South Metropolitan Cemetery was published in *Collectanea Londiniensia* further work has been done which has uncovered a number of additions to the long list of interesting memorials. It is likely to be a final list, insofar as finality in such matters is possible, and includes a further 40 names of persons commemorated in the Dictionary of National Biography, making a total of 142. All this makes it even more regrettable that the London Borough of Lambeth, that owns the cemetery, should have embarked upon a scheme which is now being carried out and which involves the destruction of thousands of the gravestones and other memorials.

To follow the grouping adopted in the earlier paper would seem to be the most useful method of recording the additional names and at the same time noting one or two corrections to the original lists.

Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. Henry Harrod (1871), a Norfolk historian of some note, author of "Gleanings Among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk" 1857; John Tolhurst (1909). It would seem only right to include the name of Mill Stephenson (1937), best known for his work on monumental brasses, who was cremated here but has no memorial.

Correction: p.440, line 2, for Crosby (1865) read Crosby (1867).

The City. Corrections: p.440, line 26, Brook died 1850 and not 1880. Sir John Pirie was also Lord Mayor 1841-42.

Artists. George Tinworth (1913) an artist in Terra Cotta who worked for Doulton's of Lambeth is buried in the grave of his Mother, Jane Tinworth, but his name has not been inscribed on the stone. Another Lambeth potter, James Stiff (1897), has a memorial in the cemetery. G. H. Andrews (1899), a Fellow of the Royal Water-Colour Society, lies here, but the stone over the grave of the minor artist Sophia Raincock, whose chief distinction was being No.1 in the cemetery burial register, has now been smashed to pieces.

Architects. Under this heading might be included Caroline Harriet (1882) wife of Sir A. W. Blomfield, and also the parents of Sir Ernest George the architect of the crematorium at Golders Green where he himself was cremated.

Musicians. Alberto Napoleon Mezzetti (1906) described as "Musician, artist, inventor and scholar" and John Saunders (1919) "Artist and Musician" have not been identified. Correction: p.442, line 27, for Sir James read Sir Joseph Barnby.

Authors. William Phelps (1856) author of the History and Antiquities of Somersetshire, a work that he did not live to complete. Correction: p.443, line 6, for Sir James Dods read Sir James Dods Shaw.

Actors. Frederick Gye (1878) lessee of Convent Garden Theatre. Alice E. Haslip (1862) of the South Eastern Music Hall in Tooley Street, a long forgotten place of entertainment. John Henry Pepper (1900) the famous Victorian illusionist and producer of "Pepper's Ghost". T. J. Edwards (1933) "The Huntsman Ventriloquist" and James Bassett (1907) a noted conjuror in his day.

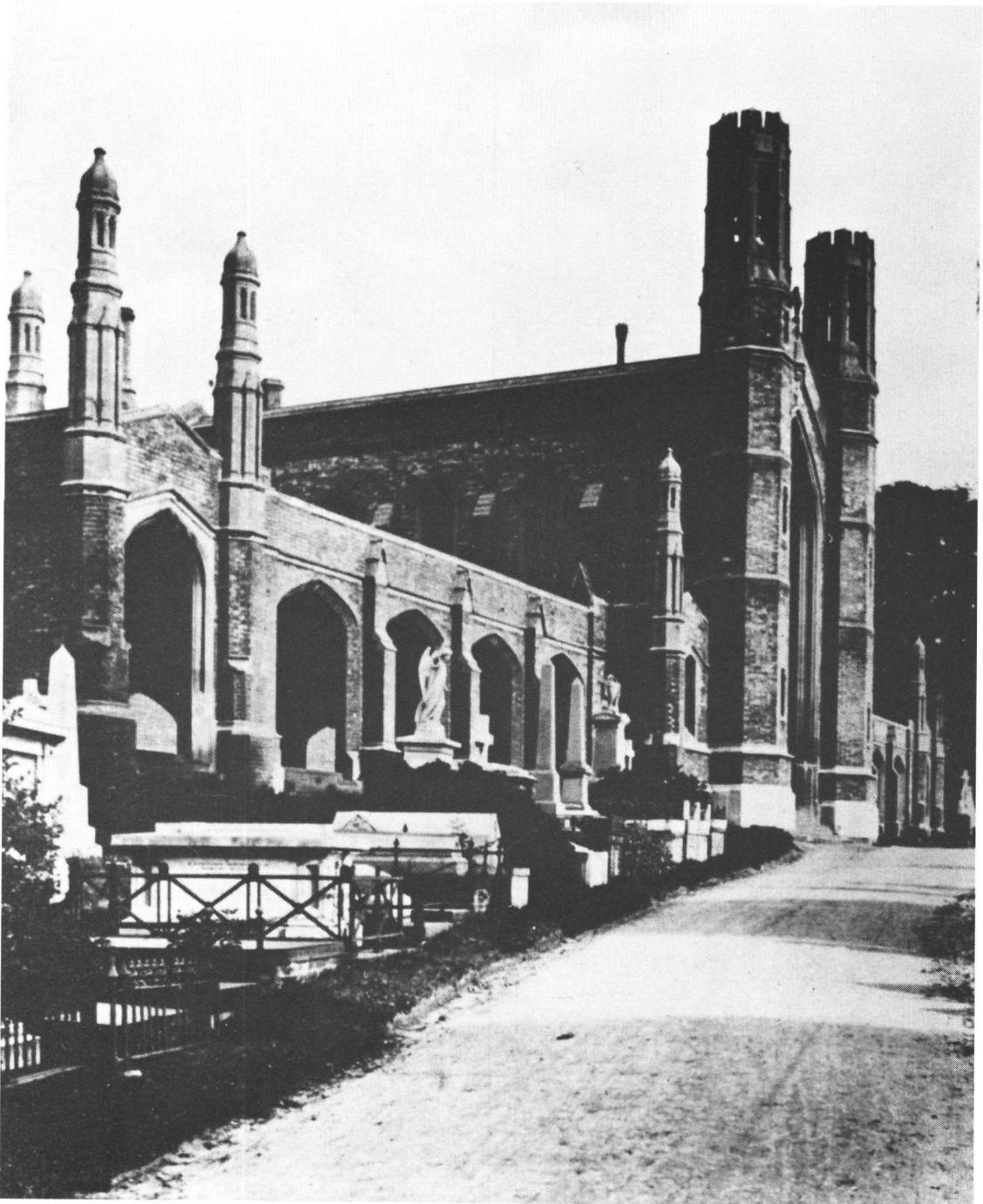


Plate 1. South Metropolitan Cemetery. Episcopal Chapel & Cloister c. 1930. Architect: William Tite, 1837.

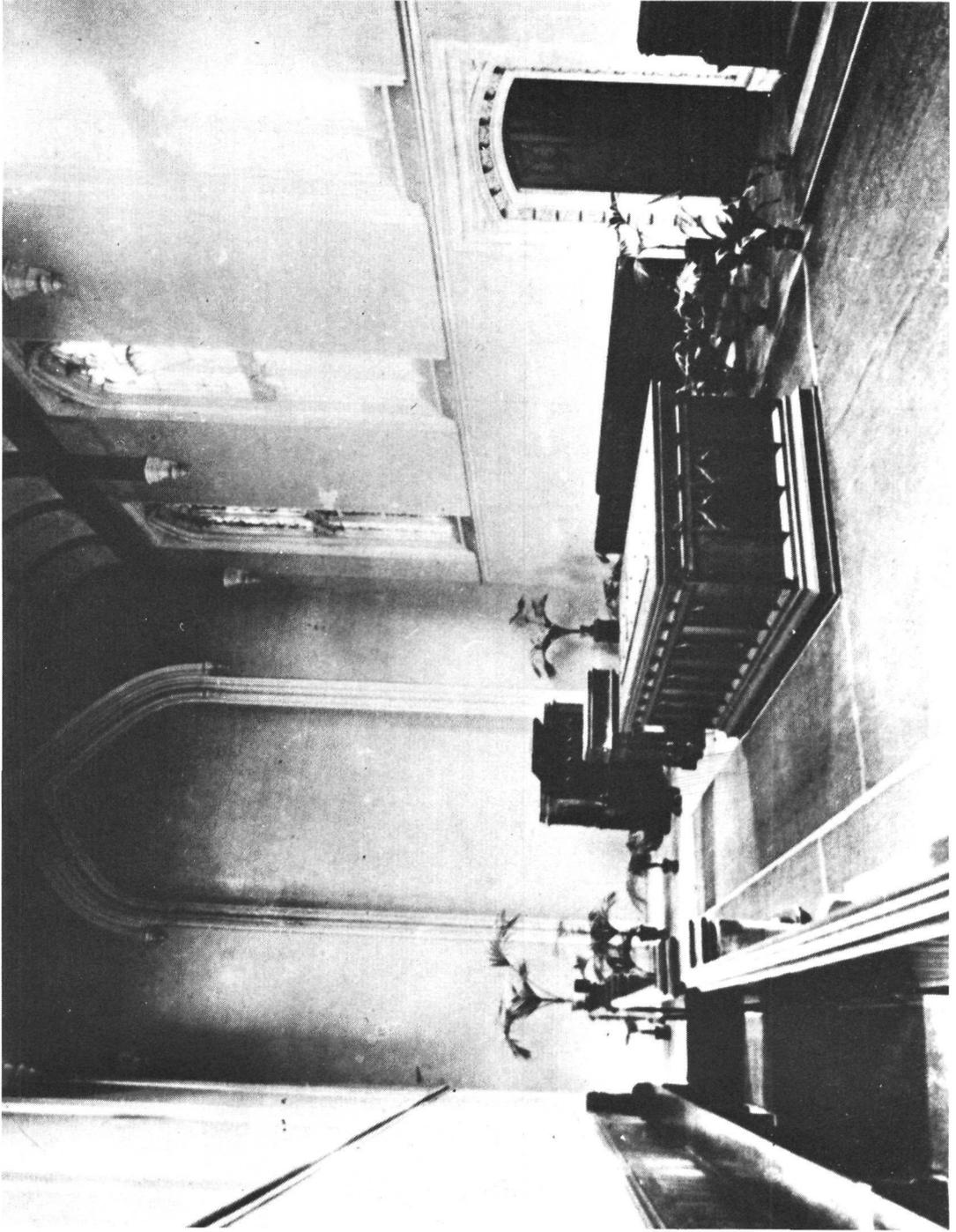


Plate 2. South Metropolitan Cemetery. Episcopal Chapel, interior c. 1930. Lift in centre descending to vaults.

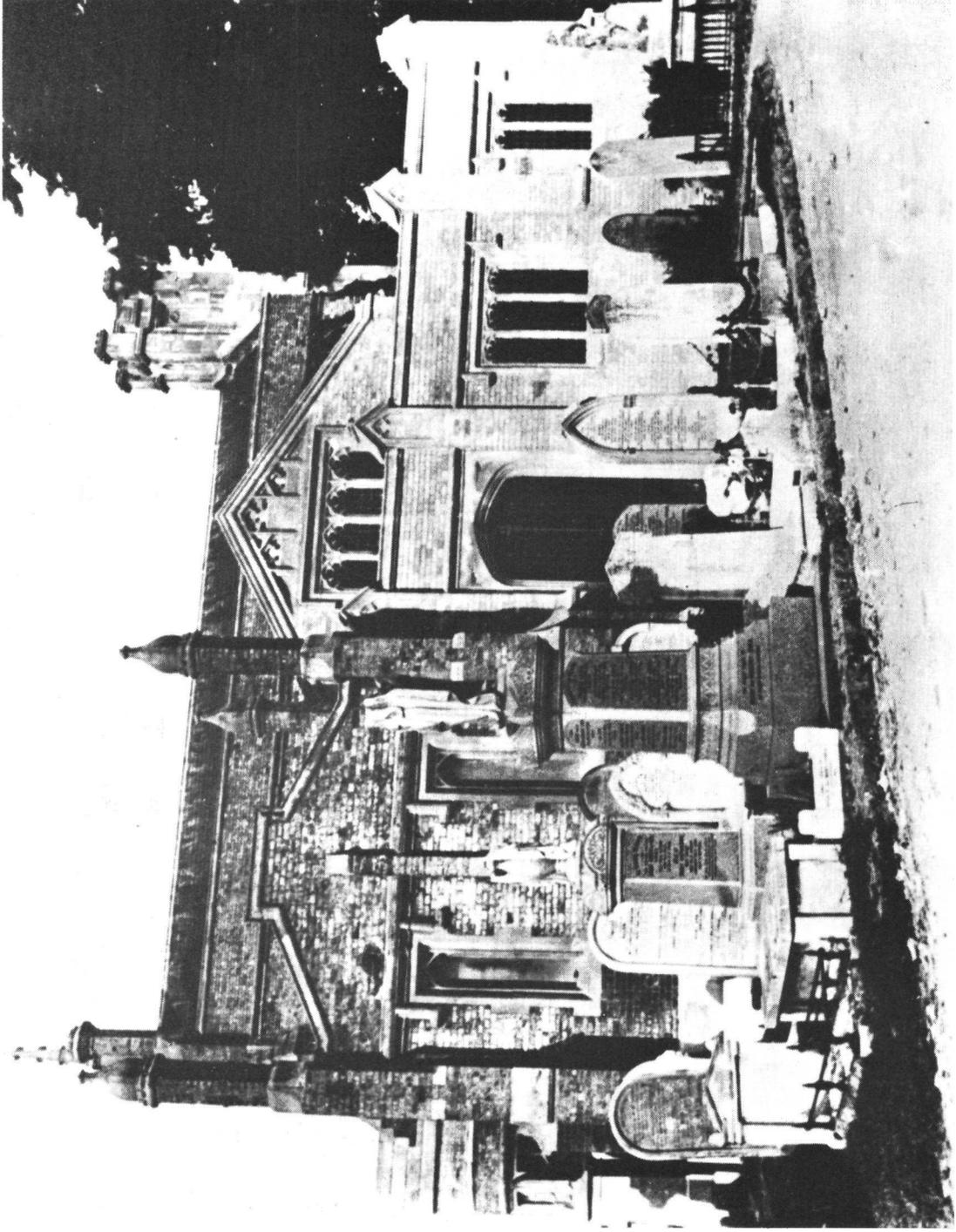


Plate 3. South Metropolitan Cemetery. Dissenters Chapel west side c. 1930. Architect: William Tite, 1837.

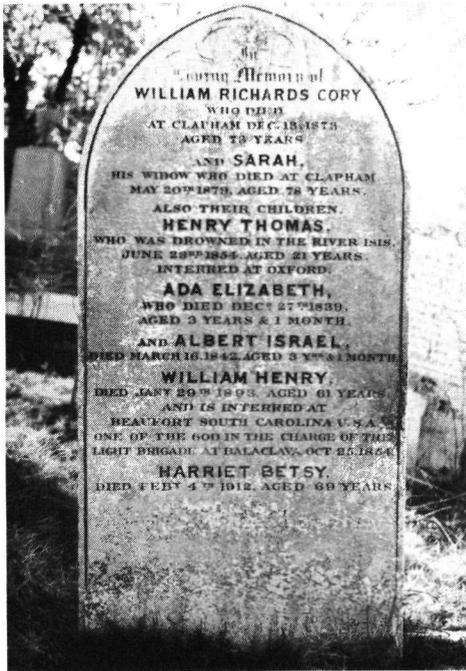


Plate 4. South Metropolitan Cemetery. *Left:* William Henry Cory, 1893, and family.
Right: George Stiepel, 1860.
 Two interesting memorials recently destroyed.

Business men. Two publishers, Henry George Bohn (1884) producer of many popular series, including the British Classics in 600 volumes, and J. C. Nimmo (1907); and two printers William Clowes senior (1847) and junior (1883). Thomas Letts (1873) the son of John Letts of diary fame. He converted a family business into a flourishing company. Henry Sotheran (1905) bookseller.

The miscellaneous section is again the longest. Robert Francis Fairlie (1885) a noted railway engineer; two of the many Colonial administrators who lie at West Norwood, the Hon. William Field (1861) member of the Council of the Cape of Good Hope and Sir George Shenton (1909) President of the Legislative Council of Western Australia; and a sea captain, James Lee (1900) "who commanded successively the ships Bengal, Princess Victoria, Cambrian and Fairfield in the free trade to India and China". Also James Noah Lee (1880) Editor of Bell's Weekly Messenger, "with which paper he was connected for upwards of fifty years", and John Collis Nesbit (1862) chemist and agriculturist, the father of Edith Nesbit the writer of many popular children's books. The grave of Colonel Joseph Crowe V.C. (1876) the first South African to receive that decoration is now empty, his body having been taken to South Africa on the centenary of his death.

There is little figure sculpture of any note in the cemetery. Medallion busts are to be found on the memorials to Frances Welstead (1840), Frederick Royce (1847), Benjamin Colls (1878), Mary Edwards (1892) and James Goodman (1902), and in the Greek Cemetery life size figures of a mother and child, signed Cecil Thomas 1927, can be seen, and another mourning figure nearby signed Alfred Bowker. A monument to George Stiepel (1860) in Square 65 is signed E. J. Physick Sc. Near the main gate is a very unusual memorial which commemorates Henry Clay Gallup, of Upper Norwood, (1885) and his wife Lucy. He was an American who made a fortune in this country by the sale of Fragrant Floriline and Mexican Hair Restorer and the tall monument bears a small inset photograph of his wife and is surmounted by a full length statue of her.

Not far from the St Mary at Hill enclosure, where lie the bodies removed from that City church in 1892, is now a single grave (in Square 21) which contains the unidentified, and now cremated, remains of innumerable persons who once lay in the Burial Ground of St George's Hanover Square, in the Bayswater Road, now built over. It is interesting to speculate who may lie there. Perhaps J. T. Smith, author of "A Book for a Rainy Day" and "Nollekens and his Times", or the parents of Thomas Willement, the famous Victorian stained glass artist, or John Webber (1793) who sailed as draughtsman with Captain Cook on his second voyage round the world, or Colour Sgt. Lawrence Barlow of the 1st Grenadier Guards who fought "in 22 engagements including Corunna, St Sebastian, Waterloo and the taking of Peronne" and died in 1841. We shall never know.

Finally a group of interesting, curious and unusual inscriptions. How many of these will remain by the time this is in print it is impossible to forecast, but a card index of all legible inscriptions will be deposited in the Minet Library, Lambeth.

On the grave of John Burke (1897) an inscription to his daughter Florence Gertrude Armitage "who lost her life in the Lusitania which was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland May 7th 1915".

On the grave of Kate Mary Boyes (1927) an inscription to her parents Surgeon William R. Boyes and his wife Katherine, killed at Cawnpore in the Indian Mutiny 1857.

William Cates, died 25th March, 1878, aged 82 "more than sixty years a member of the

third record founded by God's last true witnesses John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton in the year 1651. See their writings."

George Cattermole "one of the most eminent painters of his time and founder of the historico-romantic branch of water-colour art in England. He was a member of the Old Water-Colour Society of London, of the Royal Academy Amsterdam and of the Society of Water-Colour Painters Brussels". He also illustrated two of the novels by Charles Dickens. He was born on 10th August, 1800, and died 24th July, 1868.

Lizzette Davoud, "wife of . . . Davoud of Constantinople, in the Empire of Turkey, Pasha of the said Empire". She died 7th June, 1872.

Robert James Ellis "killed by enemy action London Sessions 11 May 1941". One of many such monumental inscriptions of the period 1939-1945.

Louis Genesta, died 20th January, 1894. "He entered the Royal Navy in 1843, served in the New Zealand and Russian Wars, was taken prisoner at the Massacre of Hango. Promoted to Commander in 1866."

John Jones, who on 28th November, 1845 "expired instantaneously whilst engaged in his vocation . . . in the Surveyor General's Office in the Tower of London in which department he was occupied for 41 years," aged 70. With him lie his wife Mary (1852) and his son William Robert, who "was surgeon attached to the President Steamship and perished during her homeward bound voyage from New York from whence she departed on the 11th March 1844 and was not afterwards heard of".

Hannibal H. McArthur who emigrated to New South Wales in 1805 and eventually became a member of the Legislative Council. He died at Norwood aged 73 on 26th October, 1861. "In September 1964 the Queensland Women's Historical Association restored the grave of this Australian Pioneer."

Major Alexander James Polden "late in the service of the Queen of Spain", died 29th April, 1840, aged 39.

Lt. Col. James Ruthvin Pond of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, died 17th April, 1857. "He served in the war in Afghanistan, present at the assault and capture of Cheznee, also during the campaign on the Sutledge including the actions of Ferozeshuhur and Sabraon as Asst. Adj. Genl. to General Sir R. Dicks Division. In the war in Burmah in 1852 & 3 present at the capture of Pegu, 21st Novr. 1852".

On the grave of Elizabeth, wife of Charles Potter of Peckham, who died 16th September, 1839, aged 67, are these rather charming verses, superior to most of the poetical tributes to be found in the cemetery.

Deep in the heart, too deep to be erased
Her countless deeds of active love are traced.
To aid, to bless, was her whole life's employ
In others happiness her highest joy.
Led by the sacred memory of the past,
Endearing visions of the friend they've lost,
Here shall her mourning children oft renew
The grateful feelings to their mother due.

The Rev. George Rose of Bermondsey died 1869 and on his headstone is recorded the death of his son Arthur "who was murdered by the natives of a small island off Fiji" and who was buried at sea off the Island of New Ham on 15th December, 1883, aged 26.

Edward Stephens "one of the earliest settlers in the Colony of South Australia. He was

many years manager of the Bank of South Australia at Adelaide and sometime a member of the Colonial Legislative Council". He died at Maida Vale 12th March, 1861.

Herbert George Tomkins "1/23rd London Regiment, fell May 26, 1915, at Givenchy whilst holding trenches captured from Prussian Guards". Typical of many such inscriptions dating from the First World War.

Mrs Mary Scriven who died at Camberwell in 1936 at the age of 104, has the distinction of being the oldest person buried in the cemetery.

Access having been obtained to the catacombs it was found that many of the memorials from the Cloisters and also the tablet to Sir William Tite, once in the Episcopal Chapel, had been placed there when the building was demolished in 1960. Some few are broken but the remainder are stacked against the walls.

Of the six other cemeteries opened in the same period as West Norwood, Highgate, it is hoped will be restored, Kensal Green is still in use as a private cemetery, Nunhead is to be landscaped and many of the memorials removed, and the future of Abney Park is uncertain.

Brompton is in the care of the Department of the Environment and is a shining example of an old cemetery kept in good order by only a small staff whilst retaining all the monuments, great or small.

LIST OF THOSE PERSONS COMMEMORATED IN THE SOUTH METROPOLITAN CEMETERY

who are also included in The Dictionary of National Biography (Additional to that printed in *Collectanea Londiniensia*)¹.

APPOLD	John George	1800-1865	9,928.76
BEALE	Thomas Willert	1828-1894	26,001.21
BOHN	Henry George	1796-1884	4,321.63
BRISTOWE ²	John Syer	1827-1895	11,243.34
BROWN	Robert	1842-1895	27,034.120
BROWN	Samuel	1810-1875	15,318.79
CALLENDER ³	George William	1830-1879	11,570.37
CLOWES	William	1807-1883	645.34
CLOWES	William	1779-1847	1,616.34
CORNWELL	James	1812-1902	3,440.48
FAGGE	Charles Hilton	1838-1883	19,889.21
FAIRLIE	Robert Francis	1831-1885	20,788.21
GURNEY	William Brodie	1777-1855	419.40
GYE ⁴	Frederick	1810-1878	939.98
HAINES	William	1778-1848	2,065.47
HARROD	Henry	1817-1871	13,058.23
HERAPATH	John	1790-1868	3,604.64
KEARNS	William Henry	1794-1846	1,588.119
MacFARLANE	John	1807-1875	11,801.40
MacGREGOR	John	1797-1857	3,615.67

MALLET	Robert	1810-1881	11,023.109
MILLER	William Allen	1817-1870	12,126.75
MURCHISON	Charles	1830-1879	4,025.36
NESBIT	John Collis	1818-1862	Catacombs
NOAD	Henry Minchin	1815-1877	16,626.21
PEPPER	John Henry	1821-1900	23,229.23
PHELPS	William	1776-1856	3,645.85
POOLE	Edward Stanley	1830-1867	10,405.61
POOLE	Sophia	1804-1891	10,405.61
SANGSTER	Samuel	1804-1872	Cat. 16
SEYMOUR	Edward James	1796-1866	10,238.48
SIMMS	William	1793-1860	79.64
SKEFFINGTON	Sir Lumley St George	1771-1850	2,750.61
SOPWITH	Thomas	1803-1879	17,339.91
STRANGE	Thomas Lumisden	1808-1884	20,310.27
THOMPSON	Theophilus	1807-1860	7,144.35
TIDD	William	1760-1847	1,633.62
TINWORTH	George	1843-1913	18,786.118
WEBSTER	Thomas	1810-1875	1,858.65
WILLIAMS	William Mattieu	1820-1892	15,429.21

¹Eric E. F. Smith 'The South Metropolitan Cemetary, West Norwood, and its memorials' *Collectanea Londiniensia* London Middx. Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 2 (1978) 436-452.

²J. S. Bristowe lies in the vault of Joseph Stearns.

³The D.N.B. appears to be in error in giving the year of death as 1878.

⁴F. Gye lies in the vault of Richard Hughes.

(The numbers in the final column are the grave numbers and the section number, the cemetery being divided into squares on the plan.)

RUISLIP IN 1565

Eileen M. Bowlt

1. THE TERRIER

During the seventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the Provost and Fellows of the King's College of Our Blessed Lady and St Nicholas at Cambridge made a survey of their Manor of Ruislip. Henry VI had granted this Manor to King's College in 1451, ten years after its foundation.

The resultant Terrier¹ is a document of 51 folios written in Latin. It is headed . . . "An extent and terrier of all cottages, tenements and other buildings of both free and customary tenants . . . together with gardens, orchards and other enclosures situated within the vill of Ruislip with boundaries, roads and lanes as hereafter set down."

In the Terrier the manor is divided into three sections: Westcote, stretching from the northern boundary of what is now Copse Wood to Down Barns; Ascotte, the modern Eastcote covering the area running south from the top of Wiltshire Lane to Northolt; Norwood, lying north of the woods, the present Northwood. Each section is treated separately and is dealt with street by street. First the tenant's name is set out, then the type of dwelling and the size of croft, followed by an exact description of its position and usually by the date of the tenant's lease. The following typical entry relates to Bury Street:

"John Sanders, gentleman, holds by copyhold a messuage with an orchard and three closes of meadow and pasture adjacent, containing 8 acres and lying between the Vicarage to the north and James Osmond's cottage and New Street Lane to the south; as appears by a lease dated" 1 May, 4 Edward VI (1550).

Westcote and Eastcote both had common fields which are listed in their respective sections. The tenant of each strip is named. There were no common fields in Northwood.

At the end of the Terrier is a Rental, divided into the same three sections, in which the various holdings of each tenant are grouped together, along with the total rent he paid to King's College each year.

The boundaries of the Manor of Ruislip followed the Urban District boundaries fairly closely except for a portion west of Bury Street between the Pinn and the northern boundary of Mad Bess Wood, which was known as St Catherine's Manor but was actually part of the Manor of Harmondsworth. In 1565 it belonged to the Paget family of West Drayton.

A group of Ruislip, Northwood and Eastcote Local History Society have made a map of the Manor as it was in 1565, using the abbuttals given in the Terrier. We used a scale of 1 sq. in. : 1 acre. All enclosures, fields and shots are shown. Owners' names are written in the enclosures and the number of selions is given for each shot. Dwellings have been marked in the appropriate enclosures, but there was no means of ascertaining exactly where they stood within the enclosure, except where early 16th century buildings are still standing. We were helped with the Common Field boundaries by examining the

Enclosure Map and some 18th century Farm Maps. The shot boundaries are diagrammatic representations.

The Terrier map is now lodged at Manor Farm Library, Ruislip.

2. SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Roughly there were woodlands and wastelands to the north, meadows along the three streams, the Pinn, the Yeading and the Roxbourne, and open fields running south from Eastcote Road to Northolt and Down Barns. There were 124 dwellings scattered across this area of about 6,500 acres. They were clustered in small hamlets often around greens in the northern upland part of the manor (Fig. 1). The streets upon which several of these hamlets are situated lead in parallel lines up the hill between the open fields and the Common Wood and waste; Bury Street; Fore Street; Wiltshire Street (Wylcher); Joel Street and Giddy Street. The first four remain today highly developed with suburban housing and a handful of 16th and 17th century houses interspersed. Giddy Street has been lost. It ran parallel to Joel Street from the corner of Southill Lane. A similar settlement pattern is discernible on Roque's map of 1754, stretching across North West Middlesex, from Ruislip to Stanmore. King's End Street, New Street and High Street in Westcote and Clay Street and Cheyney Street in Eastcote surrounded dwellings and crofts in the centre of the two original settlements.

The Greens were often at the junction of two lanes. Field End Green, Westcote, was at the junction of Wood Lane and the road to London (modern West End Road); and Field End Green, Eastcote, was near the junction of Field End Road and Cheyney Street. Both these Greens are at the northern ends of their respective Common Fields. Well Green, alias Long Marsh, lay at the bottom of Joel Street along Eastcote High Road and was probably marshy because of its proximity to the Pinn. Silver Street Green is of particular interest as it lies not near a junction but in the middle of Bury Street. There were eight cottages and one messuage standing there. The closes attached to those on the east side made a bite into Park Wood which survives in the modern street pattern. St Edmund's Avenue and Keswick Gardens are built upon them. Three buildings thought to date from the 16th century are still standing (one is that well known hostelry, The Plough) set well back from the road in a semi-circle. The car park in front of the Plough and the long gardens of Woodman Farm and its neighbour are presumably the site of the Green. A fourth 16th century building stands on the west side. The Terrier is the only document known to refer to the central section of Bury Street as Silver Street.

King's End and Hale End both commemorate family names as does Cannons Bridge, though Hale was the only family with representatives mentioned in the Terrier. The others appear in a 13th century Customal². Park Hearne took its name from its position on the corner of Park Wood (O.E. 'hyrne' corner, angle) and was largely submerged when the reservoir now known as The Lido was created in 1811, to supply the Grand Junction canal.

Whereas the word "street" seems to indicate a road with dwellings on it, the appellation "lane" is given to roads which led from points within the manor to places elsewhere. Wood Lane and Cleares Lane (western section of Ickenham Road) led to Ickenham and Clack Lane led across the Pinn to the hamlet of Tile Kilns in St Catherines and thence to Harefield. In the 13th century there was a mill pond called Sitteclack in that area from which Clack Lane probably derived its name. Clack Lane was clearly more

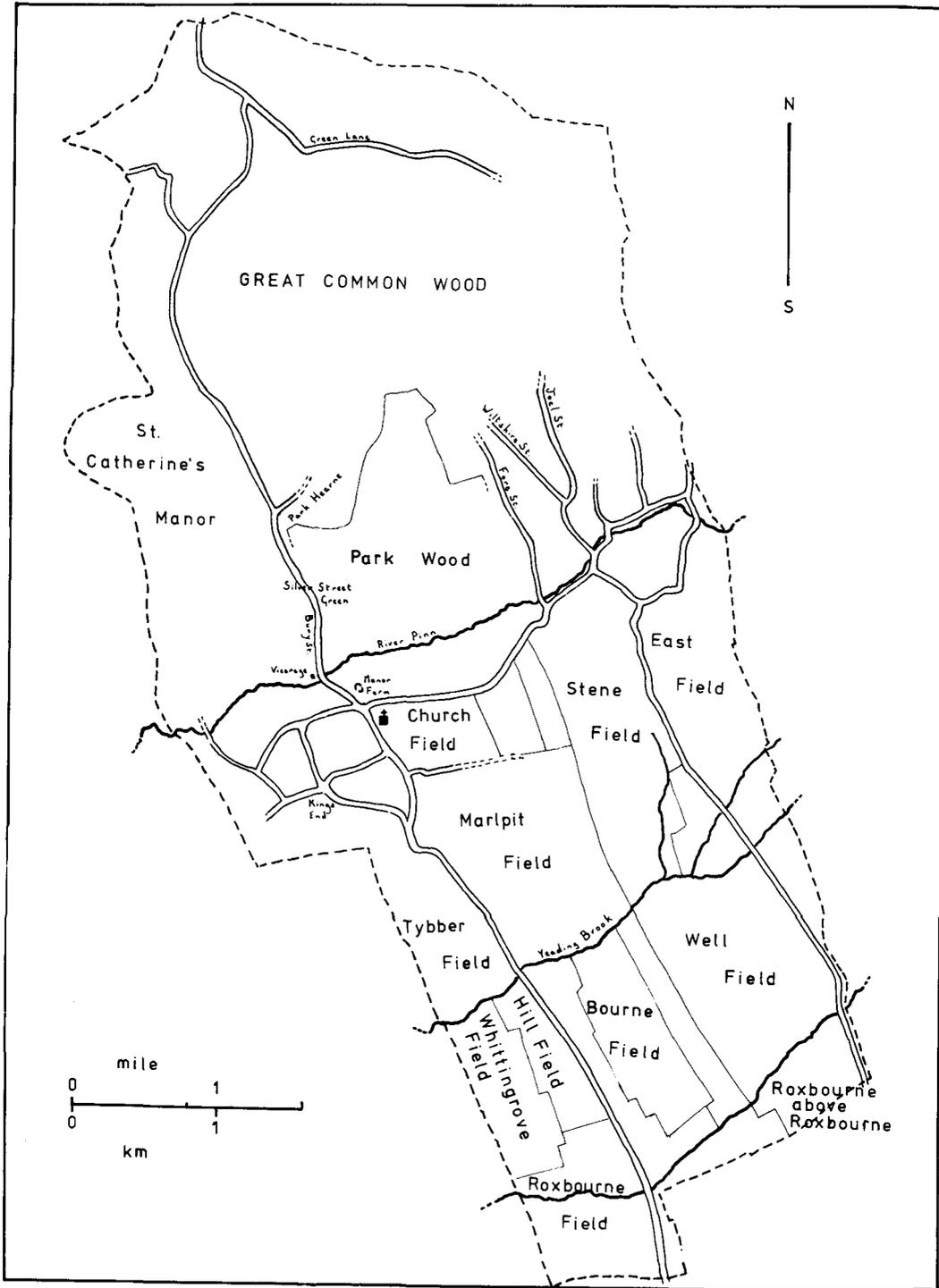


Fig. 1 Map of Manor of Ruislip.

important then. It is now a wide muddy track running through Ruislip Golf Course, degenerating into a footpath. As a further insult the name board at the Ickenham Road end now proclaims "Hills Lane" though some street maps retain the old name. Spratts Lane (now Jackets Lane) in Northwood led to Harefield and has become a footpath, but Green Lane is now Northwood's main shopping centre.

3. THE HIGH STREET

The main settlement of the manor was in the High Street leading south from the Manor Farm and St Martin's Parish Church. It had nine cottages and a shop. Richard Robins, Smith, held a cottage standing by the gate to Manor Farm, in a position where a building is marked "Smith's Shop" on John Doharty's map of 1750. It was the long established site for a Smithy. A rental of 1420/1³ speaks of a Smithy near the Manor House gate.

John Sanders held a cottage and a shop by the church gate. The same 1420/1 rental mentions a shop by the churchyard. There is no reference to any type of shop or Ale House anywhere else in the Terrier.

There was one other cottage on the east side of High Street, belonging to John Barringer, lying against the churchyard. Eight listed buildings standing on the east side of High Street today are dated 16th century. Nos. 9-15 look as though they may have originally been a single building of the hall and solar type. Nos. 1 and 3, which later became the Old Bell, might have been John Sanders' cottage and shop. Unless Nos. 5 and 7 were joined and were the cottage belonging to John Barringer we still seem to have more buildings of the right date than are mentioned in the Terrier.

West of the High Street John Walleston held five cottages "in one of which he lives" and William Walleston held a cottage there too. These were probably the row of cottages starting at the Old George and ending with Gooderson's shop (which stood on the corner of The Oaks and was demolished in the 1930s). The Old George was demolished in 1939. Three cottages, now The Swan and Nos. 4 and 6 still stand. John Walleston was a considerable landowner with a freehold tenement and a cottage in Eastcote as well as High Street property. It is interesting that he chose to live in the High Street, at the centre of things. Another cottage was described as "newly built" and there was one ruined messuage also in the High Street.

4. THE TENANTS

129 tenants are named in the Terrier of which only two, John and William Walleston, held land freely. That is they paid for their lands but were free of the obligatory services originally exacted from copyhold tenants.

Copyhold tenants held their lands by virtue of an entry in the court rolls of the manor of which they held a "copy". By the 16th century these tenants too were to all intents and purposes free, but their forbears had held their lands on condition that they perform such services as reaping, ploughing, hedging, and ditching, sheep-shearing and carting goods for the Lord of the Manor. A vivid picture of these duties is contained in the mid 13th century customal referred to above. The services gradually disappeared during the 14th and 15th century as higher rents were paid in lieu of them.

Copyholders had a secure hold on their land and their rents fixed by ancient custom were small, but when an heir took seisin of his lands he had to pay a fine which, not being fixed by custom, was variable. When Robert Christmas became lessee of the Courts and Profits of courts in 1566, he extorted such large fines that the Ruislip tenants entered

upon a lengthy legal dispute with the College seeking a fixed fine. The equivalent of one year's rent was agreed upon in 1579, though some of the rents were doubled at the same time. This agreement was finally ratified by an Act of Parliament of 1605⁴.

Tenants usually held a croft of enclosed pasture, sometimes an orchard, especially in the Bury Street-King's End area and occasionally a garden adjacent to their house. In addition arable land was held in the form of strips (known as selions) in the Common Fields.

4i. Families

The 129 tenants represent 72 families, the most prolific being Fernes and Nicholas (9 each), Winchester (7), and Redinge (6). Four of the Fernes were called John and were differentiated as: John Ferne, Miller; John Ferne, Minor; John Ferne of Rickmansworth; and John Ferne of Wylchers. Incidentally there were thirty men called John followed in order of popularity by 19 Williams, 15 Richards and eight Thomases.

Redinges, Nicholases and Fernes appear in the 1547 Terrier⁵ of Harrow, Pinner section. Seven other names, Birde, Edlyn, Gate, Marshe, Prest, Smith and Winter are also common to both Terriers.

Comparison with the names listed in the c. 1245 Customal⁶ shows that only six surnames were still current in Ruislip in 1565; Flye, Milwarde, Parker, Prest, Robins and White. It must of course be remembered that surnames were in their infancy in the mid 13th century and therefore not fixed. The population appears to have been slightly smaller in 1565 as there are 123 named tenants in the Customal (and L. E. Morris assumed that another 25 names had been lost in damaged portions of the Customal) and 129 in the Terrier. If we assume five people to each household we arrive at an estimated population of about 750 in c. 1245 and 650 in 1565. We have no knowledge of events in Ruislip during the time of the Black Death but it is possible that an expanding population (assumed from the number of augmented holdings mentioned in the Customal) was struck by the scourge and had taken 200 years to recover.

4ii. Women

Seventeen women appear holding property. Most of them are described as widows. Whereas the men are said to hold their property to themselves and their heirs, the women are mostly said to hold property to themselves during their lifetime and then to a named son and his heirs.

"Elena Childe holds one cottage with an orchard and close called Sinbotes . . . to herself during her lifetime and then to Henry Childe her son . . ."

It appears that when a widow remarried her second husband acquired rights over any property she had inherited from her first husband during her lifetime.

"John Stockden holds a cottage and orchard . . . at Cannons Bridge . . . during the lifetime of his wife Joanna, formerly the wife of Richard Redinge, then to rest with Henry Redinge her son and his heirs . . ."

Property was left to women. Agnes Winchester alias Mower held 6 acres of land in Westcote Fields "during the minority of her daughter Isabel Winchester" and two cottages, orchards and meadows "during the minority of her daughter Joanna".

4iii. Type and Condition of Tenants

John Walleston, John Sanders, Ralph Hawtrey, George Ashby, James Parker and

Roger Arnolde are described as Gentlemen. George Ashby had a Tile House in Northwood and James Parker held four acres of the Common Wood. The others were substantial landowners.

Four men are from other parishes, Stanwell, Northolt, Perivale and Rickmansworth, but as their place of origin appears to have been tacked onto their names only to distinguish between them and other members of the same families, this gives no real idea of population movement in Tudor Middlesex.

The only tradesmen named as such are a Smith and Miller. Again the description is to distinguish between men of the same surnames. John Ferne was the Miller but no mill appears in the Terrier. Since his messuage was in Gyddy Street in Eastcote it is possible that he worked a mill outside the manor of Ruislip.

71 of the tenants possessed only one dwelling (63 cottages, 8 messuages) 19 held more than one dwelling, but not usually in quantity. Only James Ferne with six cottages and John Walleston with seven cottages, one messuage and a freehold tenement, were in a position to derive a substantial income from property letting. The extra houses were probably inhabited by the 23 Westcote and 18 Eastcote tenants who had no dwelling at all but held common field land. 29 Westcote tenants and 14 Eastcote tenants had no common field land, only enclosed land adjacent to their dwellings. Only one of these tenants had more than four acres. 19 had one acre or less. These men must have been employed elsewhere, either by the larger landholders or in the woods. A number of these landless tenants had cottages at Parke Hearne, Cannons Bridge and in Bury Street, all in close proximity to Park Wood. Thomas Wetherlye had a Brick Place in Eastcote and may have employed a small number of labourers.

4iv. The Wallestons – Free Tenants

J. T. Cattle in "Ruislip, its history and architecture" suggested that the Wallestons were London merchants who invested in land in Ruislip. Winnifred Walleston married Ralph Hawtrey of Chequers in Bucks., about 1525. It has been assumed that through her Ralph Hawtrey acquired the cottage called Hopkyttes, which belonged to him in 1565 and which subsequently developed into Eastcote House (demolished 1964), the great house of the neighbourhood. Hopkyttes had been in the hands of a John Walleston in 1507⁷. The Wallestons, very important landowners in 1565, disappear from Ruislip records at the end of the 16th century. The Hawtreys and their descendants, the Deanes, became the leading family of the neighbourhood, lessees of the Rectory and Manor, J.P.s, M.P.s, Lords Lieutenants for Middlesex, until the end of the 19th century and retained ownership of their land, though no longer living in Eastcote, until the suburban development of the 20th century.

John Walleston held freely one tenement "Petridge" with three closes, 20½ acres of meadow and pasture adjacent and 80 selions in three fields of Eastcote, for which he paid 15s 4d p.a. by a lease dated 1540. He also held freely "by services unknown" a ruined messuage in Cheyney street, and five selions in East Field, for which he paid 8d p.a. by a lease dated 1500. William Walleston held only four selions in Westcote Fields freely, for which he paid 4d p.a. by a lease of 1467. Both held copyhold land as well. John held as follows:

1. Cottage "Forrers" High Street. Meadow "Foster's Mead". Four acres.
2. Cottage, garden and close, King's End. Six acres.

3. Ruined cottage and close "Barrengers" King's End.
4. Meadow "The Neat" King's End. Five acres.
5. Ruined messuage, 20 acres, King's End.
6. Four cottages "in one of which he lives", two closes and orchards. One acre. Seven acres High Street.
7. Cottage "Hawe Denes" Popes End, 20 acres closes, 23 acres Eastcote Fields, 12 acres Windmill Field, four acres Buttes Mead.
8. $\frac{1}{2}$ acre Cheyney Street by Field End, 24 acres Eastcote Fields.
9. Messuage 40 acres. 15 acres Northwood.

Since the rental makes clear that John Walleston's selions are equivalent to acres (most selions are less than one acre) it is possible to total his land at 287 acres, making him the largest landowner in the Manor.

5. THE OPEN FIELDS

5i. Common Fields "Communes campi"

Fields described as "common" in the Westcote side of the Manor were: Tybber Field, Hill Field, Whittingrove Field, Roxbourne Field and Marlpit Field. Those in Eastcote were East Field, Well Field and Stene (Stone) Field. There were no common fields in Northwood, an upland region where most of the land was leased as pasture.

A glance at the relief map of the area shows the common fields to be situated in the southern lowland part of the Manor of Ruislip marked on the geological map as mainly London clay. Marlpit Field, Stene Field and a portion of East Field are on Reading clay and a band of Reading sand runs across the N.E. corner of Marlpit Field.

Marlpit Field was large, 348 acres, of which 237 acres were Demesne land. Church Field and Great Windmill Field immediately north of Marlpit Field and Bourne and Priors Field south of it, not described as common, had been consolidated into a broad, central stretch of Demesne by 1565.

These twelve fields were the arable lands of the manor. Sand, loam and chalk spread on the heavy clay to make it workable were commonly called "marl" in Ruislip records. Marlward appears as a surname in the 13th century Customal mentioned above and Marlpit Field was already so named in 1436. The Terrier names Brian Atkinson as tenant of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres Marlpit. It may well have been the old, extensive sand pit revealed in 1957 when foundations were being dug for Woolworths and other new shops by Ruislip Manor Station.

Manorial tenants had common grazing rights over the open fields after harvest. From time to time Demesne Farmers tried to convert part of the common fields to enclosed pasture, extinguishing common rights. At an inquiry held at Uxbridge, 1519-1521, sixteen people testified on oath that there had been common pasture for cattle, pigs and geese, on Windmill Field, Bourne Field and Bourne Wyck "time out of mind" until disturbed by James Edlyn, farmer, about eighteen years previously and by John Walleston three years earlier. Land for six ploughs was said to have been enclosed making 30 people vagrant.⁸ The tenants' rights were upheld in 1521, but trouble arose again in 1544 when Ruislip tenants petitioned the Lord Chancellor, complaining that Guy Wade, demesne farmer, had prevented common grazing over the same three fields, "when they lye fresshe and fallow and not sown with graynes".⁹ The final outcome is not clear but

these three fields are not described as “common” in the Terrier for Agnes Est held one close of meadow and pasture called Bourn Wycke containing three acres and Bourne and Windmill Field are part of the Demesne.

5ii. The Names

The three Eastcote Fields with their simple names are probably the original fields of the vill. The Westcote field names have less obvious meanings. Tybber may be a personal name. That field is called ‘Alderton’ on 18th century farm maps and on the 1806 Enclosure map and later Anderson Field, which is certainly a personal name. “Hill” and “Whittingrove” Fields lying side by side on the slight hill which rises from the Yeading Brook towards the south could have been a single field divided at an earlier period, as Hill Field is very small and appears to be a “bite” from a larger field. “Roxbourne”, “Bourne”, and “Roxbourne Above Roxbourne” along the southern edge of the manor are all crossed by the Roxbourne Brook. Ekwall “Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names” suggests that Roxeth which adjoins the Manor of Ruislip on the South East means “Hroc’s pit, well or lake”. Presumably Roxbourne is “Hroc’s stream”.

“Marlpit Field” is named from its marl pit and Church Field from its proximity to the church. Great and Little Windmill Fields retain memory of the Windmill mentioned in an Extent of the Manor taken in 1294. An empty piece of land marked on Doharty’s 1750 map, between Great and Little Windmill Fields on the crest of the modern Windmill Hill, probably marks the site.

5iii. Hedges

Certain names, Snake Hedges, Rawedge, and Fullers Hedge suggest that the fields were hedged. The northern hedge of Marlpit Field of layered hawthorn is still detectable in the gardens of houses and bungalows built in Brickwall Lane (formerly Hook Lane) in the 1920s.

5iv. Shots – “Stadia”

The very large fields were subdivided into Shots separated from each other by trackways. Hill Field had the least number of shots, only four, and East Field had the greatest, 32. 109 shots are named, some after natural features such as water courses (Waterfurrows, Brook Mead), others referring to the type of soil (Light Acre, Small Stone Acre, and Redland). Some shots are named after trees and plants, probably reflecting those growing in them (Elm Mead, Aldershearne, Rush Shot, and King Wither Shot). A few shots bear the name of families who appear in earlier Ruislip records, but had disappeared by 1565 (Hammonds, Hodgekins Horse Pool Shot). Fox Holes, Goose Acre, and Rooke Acre name animals and birds.

The shots were divided into pieces “peciae” the largest, Down Barns Shot in Roxbourne had 66 pieces and the smallest in Whittingrove Field, unimaginatively called Small Shot had only three.

5v. Selions

A typical entry in the Terrier referring to the Common Fields runs as follows:

“There is another Shotte called Brook Mead Shot containing 26 pieces whose heads lie South upon the Brook and West to East by the parish of Ickenham. Richard Cogges holds the 1st and 2nd pieces containing 2 half selions. Vicar holds the 3rd piece containing 1 selion. John Nelham holds the 4th piece containing 1 selion . . .”

The expression “containing 1 selion” suggests that a selion was a measure of land of standard size, but the one thing that clearly emerges about measurements given in the Terrier is that the selion was variable in size. In some cases the land which is given as selions in the main portion of the Terrier is given as acres in the Rental, making it possible for a comparison to be made and a size given to the selions. For example John Hale in the Rental has a messuage at Hale End with 30 acres in the Common Fields of Eastcote and a further 6 selions in Eastcote Fields. In the main part of the Terrier he is credited with 36 pieces in the fields, 28 selions and eight half selions. From this it appears that 26 selions = 30 acres. Therefore the mean selion area is 1.1 acres. However, John Nelham in Westcote has 38½ selions which are referred to in the Rental as 24.5 acres. Working from the Terrier, comparing selions in the fields with acreage in the rental, wherever this was possible (22 times) the average size of selion was 0.81 acres. (Range 0.63-1.27.)

One other word must be said about measurements. In Ruislip the Wood pole of 18ft. was normally used rather than the customary pole of 16½ft., making a Wood acre of 5760 sq. yd. A footnote to the Terrier dated 8th June, 1719, explains this point: “. . . a Gentleman assured me that by the custom of that manor a Pole or Rood is eighteen feet long which makes a great difference in the quantity of an acre of the land . . .”

5vi. Open Field Meadowlands

There was a certain amount of meadow interspersed among the arable in the common fields, along the watercourses. Meadow pieces are let out in acres rather than selions. Whether it refers to a fixed measure of land is uncertain. There were 11¼ acres of meadow in the fields of Westcote and 56½ acres in Eastcote. One Rood lying in “Well Mead alias Well Hooke” in “Well Field” was called “Lot Mead” suggesting that it was let out by lot to various tenants. It belonged to the Lord of the Manor. “Well Field” was crossed by several watercourses and consequently had a larger amount of meadow than the other fields, 30 acres.

There were seven other separate meadows, “Prior’s Field”, Westcote, 36 acres; “Prior’s Field”, Eastcote, 31 acres; “Bourn Wyck”, 3 acres; “Bourne Grove”, 5 acres; “Dickett’s Mead”, 11 acres; “Roxbourne Mead”, 12 acres; and “Fuller’s Hedge”, 8½ acres; all lying at the southern edge of the manor along the Roxbourne Brook and its tributaries.

5vii. Crops

There is no clue in the Terrier to the crops grown in the common fields, or to the system of rotation in use in Tudor times, but wheat was probably the main crop with peas, beans, oats or barley in some type of rotation, for these were the crops grown in the 13th and 18th centuries.

Minister’s Accounts for 1288-89¹⁰ show the Manor of Ruislip to be producing large amounts of corn (961 quarters), and oats (912 quarters), some peas and beans (190 quarters), a small amount of barley (6 quarters 4 bushels), and rye (3 quarters). During the early 19th century (before Enclosure) wheat and beans were the main crops with small amounts of barley, oats, peas and potatoes.

John Middleton’s report on Middlesex to the Board of Agriculture in 1796 says:

“On the strong land between Harrow and Uxbridge, the former rotation was wheat, beans broadcast then fallow . . .”

“The fallow is very properly exploded in all the parishes except Riselip and Alscot . . .”

“. . . there was only one field in Riselip and another in Alscot in fallow . . .”

Middleton is bewailing the backwardness of Ruislip agriculturalists, but he gives evidence that the fields of Westcote (Ruislip) and the fields of Eastcote (Alscot) were treated as separate units in the 18th century and included a fallow year in their rotation; presumably an ancient custom. The rotation may well have been based on three fields. There are frequent references in the rental to selions held by tenants in only three fields of Westcote or three fields of Eastcote, but checking through the Terrier each field and shot shows that the tenant has in fact selions in all five Westcote common fields. This may suggest that originally Hill and Whittingrove Fields were one and that Marlpit Field which was mainly demesne land was not always regarded as a common field. The Terrier is the earliest document to refer to Whittingrove and Hill Fields, although there was a meadow called Whittingrove as early as 1394.

5viii. Distribution of Tenant Holdings in the Common Fields

Many of the selions in the common fields were associated with particular dwellings and may represent the original medieval distribution of common field land.

Table I – Distribution of Dwellings

WESTCOTE	EASTCOTE	NORTHWOOD
12 messuages (inc. 4 in ruins)	20 messuages (inc. 5 in ruins)	5 messuages (inc. 1 in ruins)
44 cottages	35 cottages	5 cottages
1 Vicarage	1 Free Tenement	
1 Mansion House (Manor Farm)		

A message means a dwelling house with its outbuildings and the land assigned to its use. A cottage is simply a small dwelling. However in Ruislip the difference between the two types of dwelling in 1565 is not at all clear. Four of the Westcote messuages had Common Field land attached to them, but so had 9 of the cottages. In Eastcote 16 messuages and 15 cottages had Common Field land. All other dwellings had adjacent enclosures.

The mean size of message holding in Common Fields was:

36a in Westcote (range 2a-87a)

26.5a in Eastcote (range 5a-80a)

The mean size of cottage holding in Common Fields was:

18a in Westcote (range 1a-46a)

13.4a in Eastcote (range 1a-26a)

There were no common fields in Northwood but all the messuages and three of the cottages have substantial amounts of meadow and pasture attached, the mean being 22.6 acres (range 0.5a-108.5a).

D. F. A. K. Kiddle, in an unpublished thesis “The Changing Landscape of North-West Middlesex”, suggests that the one Freehold tenement “Petridge” with its 80 selions said to contain 80 acres may be an ancient tenement with a hyde of land attached.

Table II – Distribution of selions among shots by field

	Tybber Field (9 shots)		Hill Field (4 shots)		Whittingrove Field (16 shots)		Roxbourne Field (15 shots)		Marlpit Field (9 shots)	
	selions	shots	selions	shots	selions	shots	selions	shots	selions	shots
John Sanders	14½	8	8	4	19	11	45	12	10½	7
John Nelham	12½	7	3	2	5	3	12	9	6	5
John Cogges	9	8	2	2	12	8	12½	9	3	3
Richard Robins of Field End	6	4	8	3	18	10	18	8	6	5

John Sanders in Westcote had 87½ selions attached to “Lopsoms”. There were two villagers with a hyde of land at the time of the Domesday Survey. Five messuages and one cottage with approximately 40 selions may represent half hyde holdings. The two messuages and eleven cottages with approximately 20 selions could be Virgate holdings. In a relatively fertile part of the country it would be reasonable to assume that the hyde would be nearer to 80 acres than its upper limit of 120 acres. The distribution of size of holding is shown in Figure 2.

Close study of the four message common field holdings in Westcote shows that in each case selions were held in all five common fields and were distributed across a large number of shots in each field as is shown in Table II.

A random sample of Westcote cottage holdings reveals a similar spread. For example, William Walleston with his cottage in the High Street has:

10 selions in 5 shots of Tybber Field

One selion in Hill Field

8 selions in 7 shots in Whittingrove Field

11 selions in 5 shots in Roxbourne Field

5 selions in 4 shots in Marlpit Field.

A similar pattern emerges in Eastcote. For example, John Nicholas with his message near Well Green has:

24 selions in 12 out of 17 shots in Well Field

13½ selions in seven out of 14 shots in Stene Field

21 selions in 12 out of 22 shots in East Field.

John Lyon with his cottage in Joel Street held selions as:

6 selions in 5 shots of Stene Field

5 selions in 2 shots of Well Field

9 selions in 7 shots of East Field.

23 Westcote and 18 Eastcote tenants had no dwellings at all but held land in the Common Fields. One, Matthew Harte had selions in both Westcote and Eastcote. 18 of them were members of prominent families and may have held land originally belonging to another family dwelling. At least one of them, Roger Est, is named as the heir of John Martin, holder of a cottage with no attached Common Field land. Perhaps Roger Est had already taken possession of the land. Most of these holdings were small, between ½ and six selions.

The selions are nearly always held singly. It is exceptional to find one man with two or more adjacent strips, unless they are two half selions. Why selions should be divided in two, presumably lengthways, is not clear, unless the practice originated in the division of one holding between two heirs. John Sanders, who had $87\frac{1}{2}$ selions in Westcote Fields (attached to a ruined messuage "Lopsoms" in King's End) had more consolidated groups of selions than anyone else: one group of three selions in Tybberfield, one group of three selions in Whittingrove Field, one group of three selions in Roxbourne, and one group of five selions in Roxbourne. Matthew Harte and Richard Nelham also had groups of five selions in Roxbourne. John Walleston had a group of six selions in Stene Field.

These findings show little evidence of serious attempts at consolidation of selions by individual tenants. The lands of each tenant, even of the large and presumably more powerful land owners, are scattered across the fields of their respective vills. However, all the selions were in the hands of only 71 tenants, leaving 58 without arable land. Although selions had not been consolidated, the mention of 10 ruined messuages suggests earlier attempts at aggrandisement. John Ferne of Wylchers had three of the ruined messuages and John Sanders had two. John Walleston in Eastcote and John Sanders in Westcote, with 80 selions and $87\frac{1}{2}$ selions respectively, emerge as easily the largest owners of common field land. Richard Nelham approaches nearest to them with only 46 selions. (See Figure 2.)

6. ENCLOSED LAND NEAR DWELLINGS

Every dwelling had some type of enclosure around it, ranging from a pightle (unspecified, but small) to several closes of 20 acres of pasture. There were ten gardens and ten orchards in Westcote, and two gardens and seven orchards in Eastcote. Northwood had no gardens but seven orchards. The mean size of enclosure in Westcote (range $\frac{1}{2}$ a-14a) was $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres; in Eastcote (range $\frac{1}{2}$ a-20a) $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres; in Northwood (range $\frac{1}{2}$ a-108 $\frac{1}{2}$ a) 22.6 acres.

Northwood was quite different from the other portions of the manor in having no Common Fields. There was a great deal of meadow and pasture land there. 68 acres held as six enclosures were called Poor's Field. There were 21 acres of underwood. Northwood had 10 houses scattered across the whole area and which were built between the 14th and 16th centuries on land assarted from the wooded waste which once spread across north-west Middlesex. While making the map it was discovered that c. 95 acres within Northwood were unaccounted for in the Terrier. These were outlying lands of the Manor of the More (Moor Park).

7. TILES

Two cottages and one messuage in Northwood had Tile Yards attached to them. The Reading clay was suitable for making tiles, but three tile houses in so small a community appears excessive unless a ready market could be found beyond its borders. Tiles were made at Northwood in the early 15th century and were being sent to Brentford in 1442/3.¹¹ London must always have provided an outlet. Probably the best route for the transport of goods to London was via the Thames at Brentford.

8. BRICKS

Thomas Wetherlye had a Brick Place in Eastcote, probably at the house now called Park Farm in Field End Road. Nearly all the 16th century and 17th century houses still

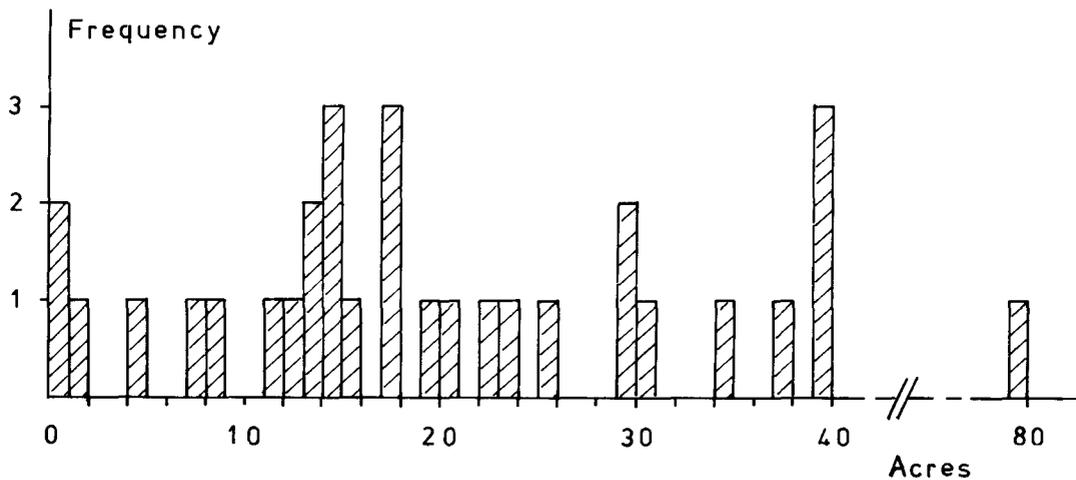


Fig. 2 Distribution of message and cottage common field holdings in acres.

standing are timber frame structures with brick nogging infill and tiled roofs, though many of the poor men's cottages must have been constructed from wattle and daub.

9. RENTS

The smallest rent was $\frac{1}{2}$ d per annum paid by Ralph Barnett for a cottage at Park Hearne and the highest was 46s owed by Roger Arnold for a cottage in Northwood called North House (believed to be the house now called Northwood Grange) and $109\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land in fifteen closes and another cottage. Rents are roughly related to size of holdings, though with several exceptions. Cottages with an acre or less cost from $\frac{1}{2}$ d to 5d per annum.

In Northwood a message with 30 acres cost 9s per annum, and one with 40 acres was only 8s 6d per annum. The cheaper message was held by a lease dated 1509, while the lease of the dearer message was dated 1554, which is probably an indication that rents rose during the course of the 16th century, which was a period of inflation. The following table shows all the Northwood rents, the various holdings and rents of each tenant having been added together. It will be noted that William Winchester had to pay 2000 tiles a year as part of his rent, although the other two owners of Tile yards only paid money. James Parker's rent for 4 acres of Ruislip Wood was 4s or four capons.

Table III – Northwood Rents

TENANT	HOLDING	RENT	DATE OF LEASE
Roger Arnolde	2 cottages 108½a 1a	46s 4d	1541 and 1539
Wm. Winchester	cottage Kiln 66a	31s and 2000 tiles	1563
Elena Childe	cottage orchard 26½a 20a Tile Yard	13s 6d 6s	1558 and 1565

TENANT	HOLDING	RENT	DATE OF LEASE
Robert Nicholas	Messuage 36a	10s 8d	1548
George Ashby	Messuage Kiln 22a	9s 8d	1558
John Living	Messuage 30a	9s	1554
John Walleston	Messuage 40a 15a	8s 6d 14d	1509 and 1564
William Licton	18a	8s	1562
William Nicholas	20a	7s 4d	1562
James Haydon	18a and one ruined messuage	6s 4d	1557
James Parker	4a Ruislip Wood	4s or four capons	1565
John Winchester	5a	2s 4d	1563
William Wheler	8a	2s	1561
Edmunde Birde	5a	18d	1559
John Ferne	5a	18d	1558
Thomas Osborne	3½a	12d	1558
Hugo Fisher	cottage Pightel	5d	1559

One wonders why William Licton had to pay 8s for 18 acres and William Nicholas was allowed 20 acres for only 7s 4d when both leases were dated 1562. Perhaps William Licton's land was better.

Westcote had the highest percentage of tenants paying low rents. Northwood had the highest percentage paying very high rents. The various percentages may be seen in Table IV.

Table IV – Percentage distribution of rents

	< 12d	1s-5s 11d	6s-10s 11d	11s-15s 11d	16s-20s 11d	21s-25s	> 25s
Westcote	37.7%	31.9%	15.9%	8.7%	2.9%	1.4%	1.4%
Eastcote	17.5%	46%	17.5%	12.7%	—	3.2%	3.2%
Northwood	6.5%	37.5%	37.5%	—	6.25%	—	12.5%

The high number of rents under 12d in Westcote is accounted for by a number of cottages with only a garden or a very small close attached. Although there was clearly no set sum per acre or per house payable to King's College some men seem to have paid consistent amounts per acre in all their closes: John Hale in Westcote paid 3d per acre throughout six enclosures and, breaking the pattern, 4d for three acres of pasture. The other closes for which he paid 3d per acre included some meadow and arable.

Assessed on the total amount of rent they paid the chief tenants in each section were: John Walleston in Westcote paying 39s 1d; John Redinge of Field End in Eastcote paying 28s 4d; Roger Arnold in Northwood paying 46s 4d. When the lands of individuals in the three districts is totalled, John Walleston with land in all three paid the most, 75s 9d, followed by Roger Arnold with 46s 4d in Northwood only, and William Winchester with 31s also in Northwood only. John Sanders who held the most common field land, 87 acres in Westcote, lies fifth in the overall rents table.

Ralph Hawtrey whose descendants later played so important a part in Ruislip affairs paid a total of 16s 6d rent. From 1532 he leased the Rectory from St George's Chapel, Windsor, and in that capacity had a barn and 1½ acres adjoining the Vicarage, no doubt for storing the Great Tithes which he was entitled to collect.

10. THE VICAR'S GLEBE

The Vicarage changed hands during 1565, Thomas Smith taking over from George Whitehouse. The Vicar's glebe consisted of 36½ selions in Westcote fields, three selions in Eastcote and two acres in Northwood. The Vicarage in Bury Street had 2½ acres in closes around it. The Vicar held all this property freely and does not appear in the Rental. His selions, like those of the other tenants, were scattered throughout most of the shots in five fields of Westcote. If the Ruislip hyde was 80 selions as suggested in section 5viii the Vicar's 39½ selions in 1565 is very similar to the half hyde said to be held by a priest in the Domesday Book.

11. THE DEMESNE

The Demesne of 1952 acres covered nearly ⅓ of the total area and was concentrated in a central band of the Manor, both north and south of the manor house, now Manor Farm. It consisted of:

Woodland	Ruislip Common Wood, 860 acres Ruislip Park, 357 acres
Meadowland	170 acres along the Pinn. The present fields along the Pinn are the remnant of the demesne meadows.
Arable Land	Church Field, 73 acres Great Windmill Field, 42 acres Marlpit Field, 236 acres Bourne Field, 168 acres
Enclosed pasture	Harry's Croft, 12 acres Withy Crofts, 19 acres Bates Field, 15 acres

Demesne Farmer

Being an absentee landlord King's College split up the demesne and let various parts out on lease. The woods were let to separate lessees. Robert Christmas held the Common Wood and James Owlde held Ruislip Park. The rest of the demesne, meadow, pasture and arable were let out to a man referred to as the Demesne Farmer. His land included Manor Farm. An entry reads:

"The Demesne Farmer holds the mansion house of the manor of Ruislip with barns, stables, dovecotes, gardens and orchard and with the courtyard . . ."

King's College, a body with a fixed income, was short of ready cash during the 16th

century. To raise it the College appears to have sold leases well in advance of the expiration of the existing leases, because the purchaser paid a fine as purchase price of his lease.

1549 Thomas Street of Ruislip was granted the lease of the manor for 20 years from Michaelmas 1549.¹²

1561 John Smith of Ruislip bought the lease for 20 years from 1569.¹³

1566 Robert Christmas of Lavenham in Suffolk purchased the lease for 20 years from 1589, that is 23 years in advance, which suggests that the leases were inheritable.¹⁴

The Bursar's Accounts of King's College for Michaelmas 1565 give Mr Smith as being in residence at Ruislip. He had probably purchased the interest under the lease of 1549.

Robert Christmas seems to have been investing in Ruislip. He purchased four leases, on the Common Wood, the Manor, the Courts and Profits of Courts and the wood growing in Ruislip Park, in 1565 and 1566. The tenants of these leases appear at the end of the Northwood rental, but the entries are incomplete and do not give the amount payable.

CONCLUSION

The Terrier shows that in Elizabethan times the people of Ruislip held their arable land in a scattered pattern, with lands in all the common fields of their respective vill. The basic measure of common field land was the selion which averaged 0.81 acres in Ruislip with a variation from 0.63 to 1.27 acres. Lands belonging to a particular messuage or cottage lay in one vill only, although some tenants had dwellings and land in more than one vill.

Six of the 72 surnames mentioned in the Terrier had survived in Ruislip for at least 300 years and seven more were of families found in Pinner in 1547.

The largest single holding was the 735 acres of the Demesne Farmer (similar to the 700 acres of Manor Farm mentioned in the 1851 Census). 781 acres equivalent to 17.2% of the total manor was held by the 5.4% of the tenants who paid more than 20s per annum rent. 35% of the tenants held less than five acres in small closes by their houses and had no common field land.

The family with most land, the Wallestons had been in Ruislip since at least 1467, as shown by the date of one of their leases, and may have been London Merchants investing in Ruislip. There is no evidence to suggest that Londoners were attempting large scale investment so far out in rural Middlesex.

The size of common field holding was smaller in Eastcote than in Westcote but enclosures around houses there totalled 257 acres, almost twice as large as the 135 acres of Westcote.

The task of making the map to go with the Terrier presented many difficulties. The compilers of the Terrier from time to time failed to give precise measurements, making strict accuracy impossible. The abbuttals given for one shot sometimes conflicted with those given for another, making for peculiarly shaped shots. The work was worthwhile as it identified some hitherto uncharted place names and is the only map to show the whole of the common fields as they were before Enclosure.

I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Madge Beer, Chris and Jean Brown, John and Joan Sweasey, and Ralph and Rosemary Publicover, all of Ruislip, Northwood and Eastcote Local History Society, for their work in piecing together and drawing the Terrier map.

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A FOREIGN STONE AXE FROM THE THAMES AT SYON REACH, MIDDLESEX

Jean Macdonald and Brendan O'Connor

DESCRIPTION (J.M.)

The perforated axe illustrated in Fig. 1 and Pl. 1 is of compact grey stone, almost black on the burnished exterior. The near-cylindrical butt droops, and the slightly curved upper side is longer than the sloping, flattened lower side, setting the end of the butt at an angle to the edge of the blade. The butt end shows no sign of wear.

In front of the butt, the axe expands into a well-defined, rounded socket, projecting about 4 mm above and below the body of the axe and tapering in width from 35 mm on the upper side to 33 mm on the lower side. The straight-sided shaft-hole that penetrates the socket expands in diameter from 18 mm on the upper side to 20 mm on the lower side.

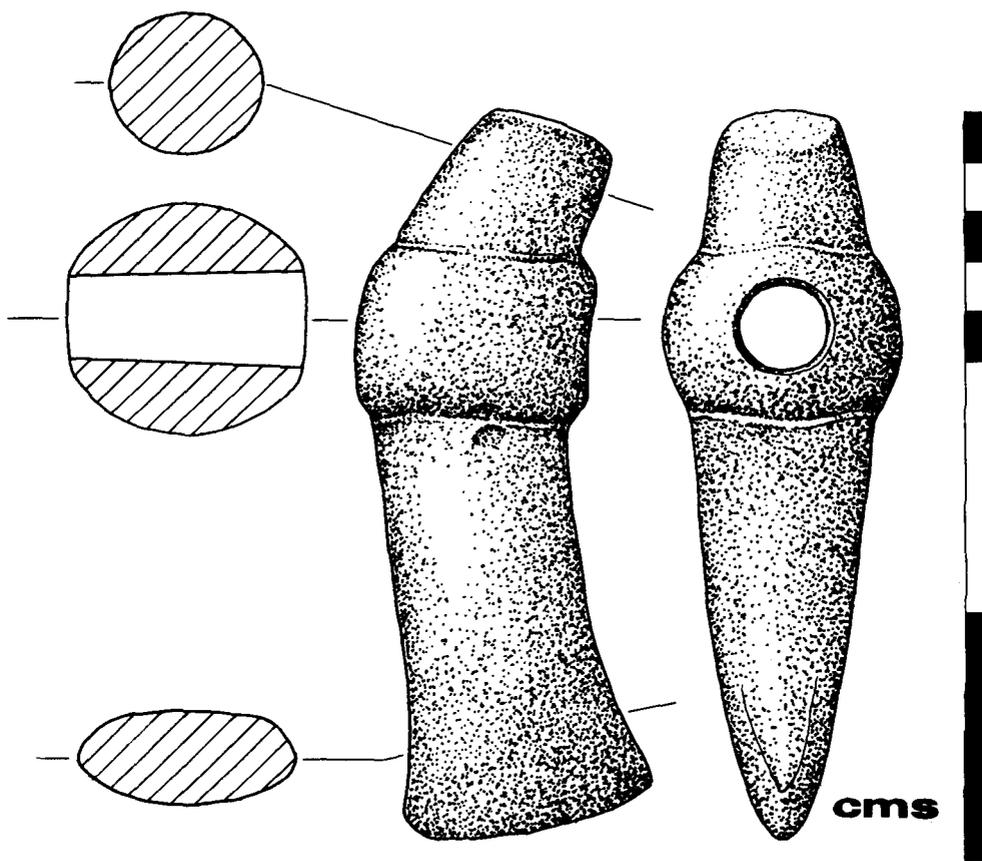


Fig. 1. Stone axe from the Thames at Syon Reach. (2/3). (Scale in 5 and 1 cm. divisions)

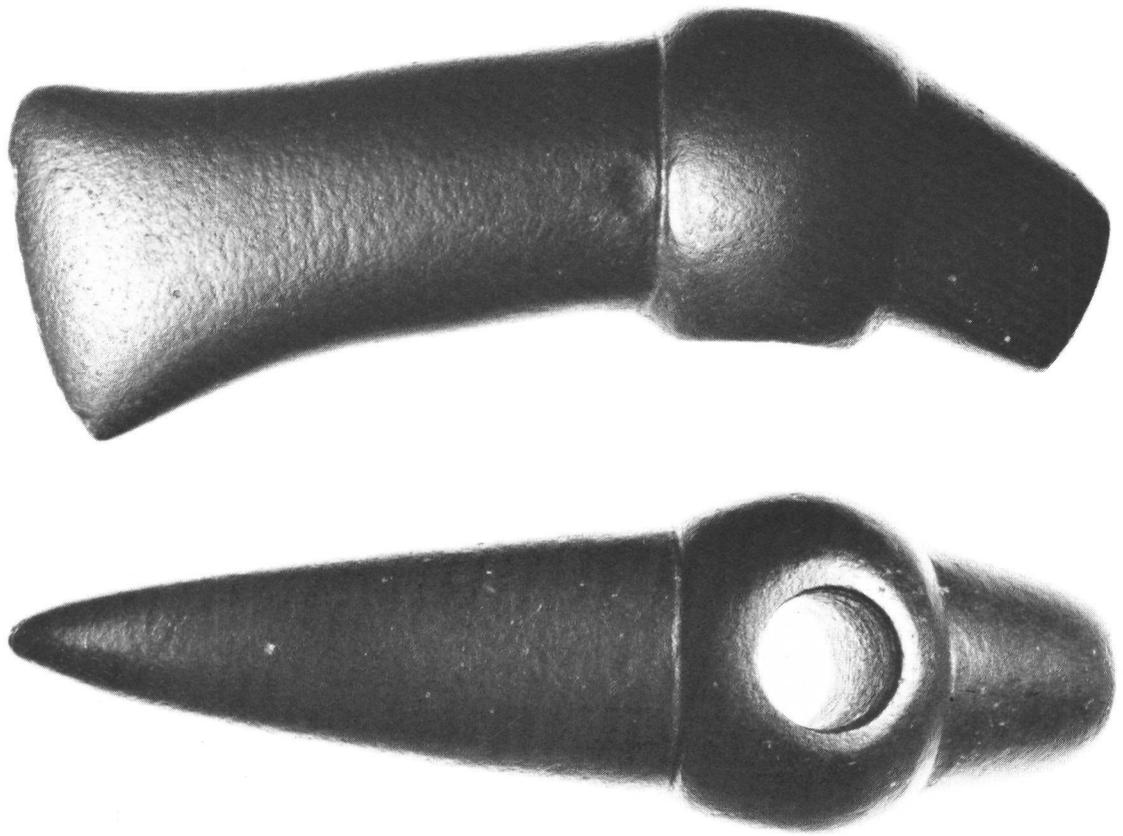


Plate 1. Stone axe from the Thames at Syon Reach. Length 144mm.

The blade portion, its section tapering from a very thick oval, curves slightly downwards on the lower side. The blunt, moderately expanded edge does not appear to have been used.

Overall length 144mm, width of blade edge 49mm, width and thickness of blade immediately in front of socket 38×36 mm, length of shaft-hole 44mm.

PETROLOGY

A thin section of the axe has been taken by Mr A. Forster of the Institute of Geological Sciences, London. Mr R. W. Sanderson of the Institute has very kindly examined the section and reports:

‘ . . . I have examined the thin section (registered number ENQ 2518) of the material composing the above axe. The rock is an amphibolised dolerite or epidiorite composed largely of subhedral, more or less prismatic crystals of a blue-green amphibole (probably actinolite) and minor chlorite flakes 0.06 mm or so long with occasional quartzose areas. Set in this relatively fine-grained groundmass are corroded, lath-shaped, brownish crystals of andesine ca. 0.4 mm long with inclusions of paragonite; and plates of the amphibole crowded with small grains of sphene. These amphibole plates aggregate in clots ca. 0.4 mm across and exhibit a subpoikilitic relationship with small feldspar laths. Elongate crystals ca. 0.2 mm long of clinozoisite are plentiful. Minor quantities of pyrite and sphene also occur.

I regret to admit that it has not proved possible for me to find comparable material from known outcrops . . . The rock is almost certainly not British as it differs quite markedly from the epidiorites which were used to produce the British stone axes . . . ’¹

HISTORY (J.M.)

The axe is in the Museum of London, Accession No. A.11961. It was bought in 1914 by the London Museum, one of the parent bodies of the Museum of London, and according to the London Museum accession register had been found in 1913 in the Thames at Syon Reach, the stretch of river in west London between Isleworth Ait and Kew Bridge, about three kilometres in length.

The London Museum almost certainly bought the axe from G. F. Lawrence (1862-1939), the Wandsworth collector and dealer who was Inspector of Excavations for the Museum from 1911 to 1926. Lawrence, as the handwriting shows, wrote the register entry, describing the axe as an ‘Axe Hammer (diorite) (of foreign type) Bronze Period’, a remarkable anticipation of the present identification.

In 1929 Lawrence published the axe in his account of antiquities from the middle Thames, noting it as ‘A weapon of unusual interest . . . of foreign origin . . . I have not seen another implement of this type from England’. He lists it as a find from Syon Reach but does not describe the circumstances of its discovery. His rather elusive account seems to imply that the axe came from the foreshore at Old England, the locality on the left bank some 300-450 metres above the present confluence of the rivers Brent and Thames, immediately downstream of Syon Park².

This provenance, though based solely on information from G. F. Lawrence, looks reliable.

Lawrence, a keen, well-informed antiquary, had an intimate knowledge of the Thames in west London and the antiquities it produced. He does not claim to have found the axe himself but presumably bought it from the finder, as he writes of his middle Thames antiquities ‘ . . . all the objects noticed in this paper have passed through my hands and have come direct from the finders to me.’ His account shows that his suppliers were often boatmen and men engaged in dredging and embanking the river. Though it is not clear how closely Lawrence checked the provenances of specimens he bought, the chance that

the axe was a dealer's or collector's piece passed on to Lawrence with a completely false finding place seems remote³.

It seems improbable, too, that Lawrence himself deliberately invented a spurious provenance. Lawrence's multifarious activities await investigation, but the available facts and traditions concerning him indicate that he was basically honest, if imprecise, in recording finding places as he knew them⁴.

The axe, then, appears to be a genuine find from the Thames in the London area.

The fact that the axe is without known parallel in Britain, as Lawrence recognised 50 years ago, might suggest that it is a recent import somehow lost in the Thames. The Thames at Syon Reach, however, must be one of the likeliest places in Britain to produce such an ancient import, for the lower-middle Thames is extraordinarily rich in finds of Continental origin of roughly the date proposed for the axe, and the greatest concentration occurs at Old England where the axe seems to have been found. A good many of these acknowledged ancient imports are rare if not unique in Britain⁵.

There seems no convincing reason, therefore, why this axe should not be accepted also, both as a find from the Thames at Syon Reach and as a prehistoric import into the Thames valley.

DISCUSSION (B.O'C)

The Syon Reach axe is alien to Britain both in form and composition; it has been identified as a member of a group of continental axes known as *nackengebogene Äxte*⁶. These stone shaft-hole axes, characterised by a curved butt, were first discussed by Aberg⁷ and further accounts have been published recently by Brandt⁸ and Tackenberg⁹; Dutch finds have been studied by Mr S. H. Achterop of Assen who has very kindly allowed me to quote details from his unpublished research.

Our axe, with its curved profile and well-defined shaft-hole, which projects beyond the blade at both ends, belongs to Brandt's form 1b¹⁰, Tackenberg's variant 1¹¹, and Achterop's type Ba 1. This form is most common in western Lower Saxony, in Westphalia¹² and in the adjacent parts of the Netherlands, where it is included among the group of axes known as the Baexem type¹³. Mr Achterop informs me that there are twenty-five examples of his type Ba 1 axes from the Netherlands. There is a single example from Belgium, though in a collection which includes objects of dubious provenance¹⁴.

Nackengebogene Äxte are usually assigned to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age¹⁵ and they are quite distinct from earlier forms of polished stone axe. Polished stone axes were in common use in southern Scandinavia during the Late Bronze Age¹⁶. The axe from Baexem, Dutch Limburg, has part of its wooden shaft preserved and this contains bronze pegs¹⁷. The only associated finds, from Vesenbühren, Kr. Cloppenburg, and Heeslingen, Kr. Bremervorde, Lower Saxony¹⁸, were found with urns of MV-MVI date¹⁹, that is approximately 8th-6th century B.C. Tackenberg has suggested that stone axes were used in parts of north-western Germany during the Late Bronze Age because of a shortage of metal²⁰.

The Syon Reach axe was imported into Britain from the Netherlands or north-western Germany, probably at some time during the second quarter of the first millennium B.C.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writers would like to thank Mr A. Foster and Mr R. W. Sanderson for their petrological examination and Mr Ian Colquhoun for his drawing of the axe. Information and advice was generously provided by Mr S. H. Achterop, Dr K. H. Brandt, Mrs F. E. S. Roe and Prof K. Tackenberg.

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THREE IRON AGE BROOCHES FROM THE THAMES FORESHORE AT MORTLAKE, SYON AND WANDSWORTH

Jonathan Cotton

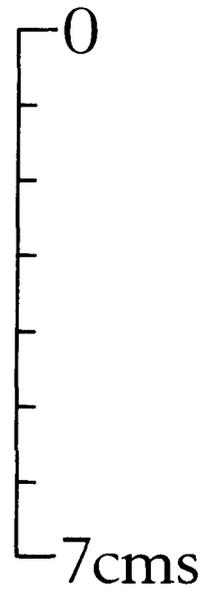
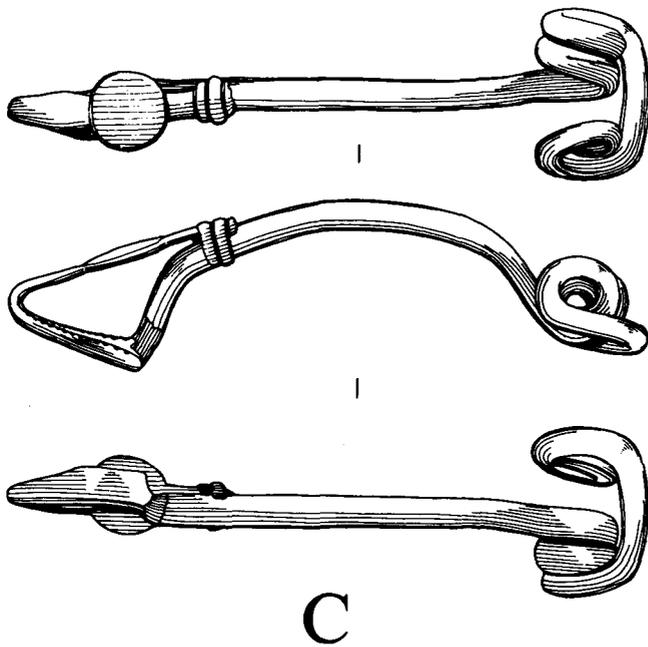
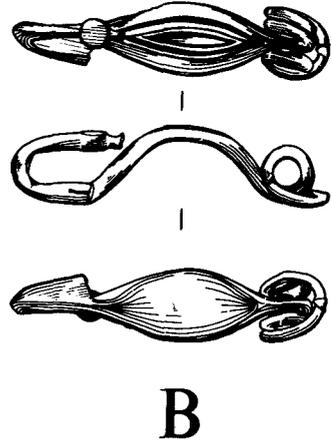
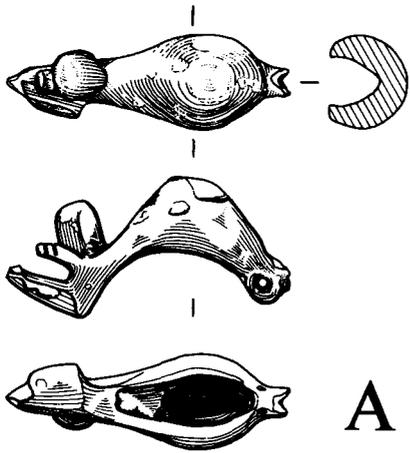
The three bronze fibulae form part of a series of scattered finds picked up between the tidelines on the Thames foreshore by Mr. John Gibson during the summer of 1975, and the spring of 1977¹. A ribbed terret from the same collection was the subject of an earlier note², and the three fibulae, like the terret, remain with the finder.

Fibula A was found on the Surrey foreshore at Mortlake in the spring of 1977. Measuring 37mm in length, it has a heavy, hollowed bow, with a raised, knobbed terminal surmounting a now broken, but originally recurving and simply decorated foot, which meets and joins the bow at an angle slightly below the horizontal. At the head of the fibula the casting is pierced through twice, once horizontally and once vertically (at which point the metal has fractured), and both piercings retain evidence of corroded iron. The pin mechanism and pin are missing.

This brooch belongs to a small insular group of experimental fibulae manufactured in the apparent absence of imported late Hallstatt models probably during the early 5th century B.C. Incorporating features characteristic of some continental late Hallstatt and early La Tène fibulae, each brooch in the group is unique, and two examples from the Thames valley are relevant to this discussion. The first, from the site of a 'pile-dwelling' on the Thames foreshore at Hammersmith³, is similarly incomplete but provides the closest parallel with multiple piercings through its head, while the second, from Woodeaton in Oxfordshire⁴, is particularly informative because it is complete. All three are generally similar in form, and share the heavy, hollowed bow, a feature not found on contemporary continental fibulae⁵, although the feet of the Mortlake and Woodeaton examples differ from that of the Hammersmith brooch, which has a ball-foot terminal adjacent to its catch-plate.

Most difficulty surrounds the interpretation of the function of the piercings at the head of the fibula, and some suggestions have been offered regarding the multiple piercings at the head of the Hammersmith example⁶. Thus, it seems likely that the broken vertical piercing originally held an iron pin which secured a second knobbed terminal, balancing the one cast onto the foot. Such decorative symmetry can be seen on the Woodeaton brooch, and is a feature of the continental early La Tène double-headed bird fibulae⁷, although in the present case the weight of the additional terminal seems to have placed too much strain on the casting, causing it to fracture at this point.

The horizontal piercing of the Mortlake fibula may also have held an iron rod, around which a bilaterally coiled spring mechanism was wound. The Woodeaton brooch was equipped in this way, as were the late Hallstatt cross-bow fibulae on the Continent⁸. The precise method by which the pin of the Mortlake fibula was sprung cannot be determined, but the simple pivot pin associated with the Hammersmith brooch and the disguised pivoted pin on the Woodeaton example suggest that it was perhaps similarly



equipped, and not sprung in the same fashion as the continental fibulae. Finally, a second horizontal piercing may have adorned its head, like the Hammersmith example, although due to the fracture of the casting the evidence has been lost.

The importance of the Mortlake brooch, as with the few others of its type, lies in its early date and innovative use of a combination of continental and insular features, a characteristic shared by the series of Thames daggers studied by Jope⁹. It should also be noted that two of the six Hallstatt D daggers recovered from the river are said to have come from Mortlake¹⁰. Further finds from this area, including a quantity of early Iron Age pottery, are recorded by Lawrence and others¹¹.

Fibula B was found on the Middlesex foreshore at Syon ('Old England') in the summer of 1975. Measuring 41mm in length, it has a broad, low, cast bow ornamented with vesica- or almond-shaped decoration, a four coil spring with an external chord (which has been neatly repaired by the finder), a short catch-plate and a snouted horizontal foot which meets the bow straight on. The pin is missing, although when first discovered the finder noticed traces of corroded iron lodged in the catch-plate.

Lacking the high arched bow and large spring coils of the earliest, imported La Tène fibulae, the developed profile of the Syon example belongs to a later phase of the La Tène I brooch series, and may probably be dated to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. It can be added to a small but distinctive group of insular fibulae recently recognised by Hodson¹², and characterised by a 'non-functional skeuomorphic spring', short catch-plate, horizontal foot profile, and vesica decoration on a broad, low bow, whose distribution is largely restricted to the Thames valley and centred on the Hammersmith area. In addition to the three fibulae mentioned by Hodson in his discussion of the type¹³, others are known from Abingdon, Oxfordshire¹⁴, Ewell, Surrey¹⁵, the site of the Hammersmith 'pile-dwellings'¹⁶, and 'The Thames, Middlesex'¹⁷, with an outlier from Barrington, Cambridgeshire¹⁸.

The pins of these fibulae are not sprung in the true sense, but pivoted on a rod held in place by the coils of a skeuomorphic spring. This arrangement was initially thought to be evidence of later repair, but it now seems clear that the technique represents an original constructional feature, and one perhaps derived from earlier British fibulae of the type discussed above¹⁹. The corroded iron in the catch-plate of the Syon example suggests that it had an iron pin, and a similar combination of a bronze brooch with an iron pin was noted on a La Tène I brooch from Cowlam, Yorkshire²⁰.

The Syon foreshore at Old England is probably best known for finds of late Bronze Age metalwork and Romano-British wattle-floored 'huts'²¹, although Iron Age material was found in the last century during the digging of Brentford Dock c.350m downstream²², and other single finds are recorded by Lawrence²³. Sherds of early Iron Age pottery have been found stratified in the layers that constitute the modern foreshore at several points²⁴, although recent work suggests that much of the material now recovered is being washed from the river bank by tidal action²⁵.

Fibula C was found on the Surrey foreshore at Wandsworth in the spring of 1977. Measuring 84mm in length, it has a simple elongated 'wire' bow, a four coil spring with an external chord, a short catch-plate ornamented with notched decoration, and a recurving disc-foot which aligns with the curve of the bow and is held in position by means of an ill-fitting three-stranded collar. The pin is missing, and the junction of bow

and catch-plate has since been repaired by the finder. As with Fibula B, the finder noticed traces of corroded iron lodged in the catch-plate when first discovered.

Although typologically of La Tène II form, and with an insular skeuomorphic spring of the type mentioned above, this fibula has much in common with a number of earlier continental examples; compare for instance the fibulae with similarly long, low bows, short catch-plates and angled disc-feet that appear during the Ib (Early) stage in the La Tène cemetery at Münsingen-Rain, near Berne²⁶. Several examples of this continental type have been found in this country, most notably the iron brooch from Findon Park, Sussex²⁷, and these fibulae may provide the starting-point from which the insular series of La Tène II 'flattened-bow' and 'involute' brooches subsequently developed²⁸. Typologically earlier than these, the Wandsworth example is likely to fall within the same 3rd-1st century B.C. date-range, although Mackreth notes the use of certain types of La Tène II fibulae by the legions of the Rhine army as late as the middle of the 1st century A.D.²⁹ The corroded iron noticed in the catch-plate of this brooch – suggestive of an iron pin – is significant in view of the numbers of iron fibulae of La Tène II type found³⁰.

The Thames at Wandsworth has produced an impressive array of Iron Age material, including pottery, La Tène I dagger scabbards and an iron sword in an iron sheath³¹, although the area is best known for the two splendid bronze shield bosses which were found in 1849³². These latter objects are amongst the finest pieces of late Iron Age decorative metalwork to have come from the river in west London, and together with the Battersea shield, Brentford 'horn-cap' and the horned helmet from Waterloo Bridge, they represent the culmination of perhaps 1500 years of inventive and skilled metalworking in the Thames valley³³. The three fibulae considered here are a modest part of this same tradition, and serve to demonstrate the wide-ranging interest in functional and decorative innovation on the part of their makers – an interest not solely confined to the largest and most prestigious objects.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to the finder for allowing the brooches to be placed on record; to Gareth Griffiths, Alison Laws and Jean Macdonald for kindly supplying unpublished information; to Professor Christopher Hawkes for his correspondence; and to Professor Roy Hodson and Dr. Ian Stead for their patient help and advice. I am further indebted to Professor Hodson, Alison Laws and Dr. Hugh Chapman for reading and commenting on the text.

NOTES

1. Precise details of the findspots have been deposited with the Museum of London, and may be consulted there.
2. J. F. Cotton 'An Iron Age Terret from the Thames Foreshore at Isleworth, Middlesex' *Trans. London Middx. Archaeol. Soc.* 29 (1978) 151-153. Fibulae B and C are the two brooches mentioned here (*ibid.* note 1).
3. F. R. Hodson 'Three Iron Age Brooches from Hammersmith' in (ed) G. de G. Sieveking *Prehistoric and Roman Studies* (British Museum 1971) 50-53, Pl. 13 A.
4. D. W. Harding *The Iron Age in the Upper Thames Basin* (Oxford 1972) Pl. 74 H.
5. It does, however, occur on some earlier Italic fibulae (D. B. Harden 'Italic and Etruscan Finds in Britain' in *Atti del I° Congresso Internazionale di Preistoria e Protohistoria Mediterranea* Firenze-Napoli-Roma (1950) 315-324 and references therein).
6. Hodson *op. cit.* in note 3, 51.
7. *Ibid.* 51; P. Jacobsthal *Early Celtic Art* 2 (Oxford 1944) Pls. 153-155.
8. Hodson *ibid.* 51.
9. E. M. Jope 'Daggers of the Early Iron Age in Britain' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 27 (1961) 307-343; see now also J. Macdonald 'An Iron Age Dagger in the Royal Ontario Museum' in (eds) J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark *Collectanea Londiniensia* London Middx. Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper No. 2 (1978) 44-52.
10. Both are sheathed examples from the Layton Collection, Jope *op. cit.* in note 9, 329-330, Catalogue Nos. 1 ('presumed Mortlake') and 2 ('from Thames ballast at Mortlake'). Of the other four, two come from the Thames at Battersea; one is from 'The Thames'; while the fourth is from the

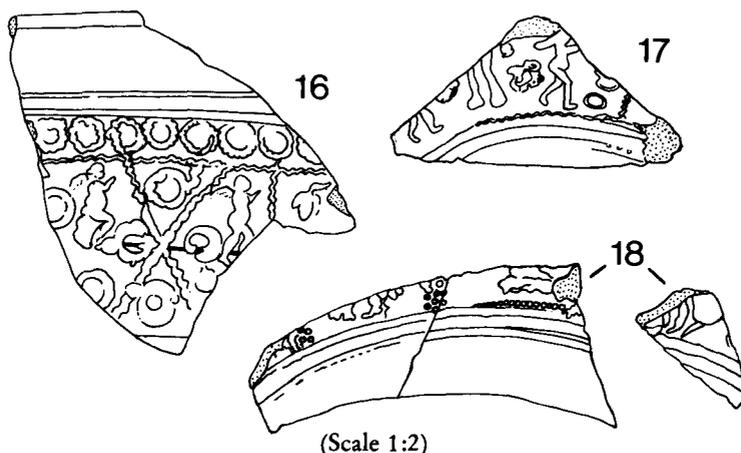
- Thames at Westminster Bridge. A further fragmentary scabbard is also said to have come from the Thames. See Jope *ibid.*, Catalogue Nos. 3-6, and Macdonald *op. cit.*
11. G. F. Lawrence 'Antiquities from the Middle Thames' *Archaeol. J.* 86 (1929) 84; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Middlesex I* (1969) 51, 58-59.
 12. Hodson *op. cit.* in note 3, 54-56.
 13. *Ibid.*; the three examples mentioned are from Hammersmith (*ibid.* Pl. 13 C), the Thames at London (*ibid.* Pl. 13 D) and Woodeaton (see Harding *op. cit.* in note 4, Pl. 74 E). Although morphologically distinct, a second brooch from Hammersmith (Hodson *ibid.* 54, Pl. 13 B) shares the skeuomorphic spring and vesica motif characteristic of this group.
 14. M. Parrington *The Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement, Bronze Age Ring-Ditches and Roman Features at Ashville Trading Estate, Abingdon (Oxfordshire) 1974-76* C.B.A. Research Report 28 (1978) 78, Fig. 59 No. 11.
 15. *Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Bull.* 154 (February 1979) 5.
 16. Unpublished example from the old Guildhall Museum Collection (Accession No. 91), now in the Museum of London. Information from Jean Macdonald.
 17. Unpublished example in private possession. Information from Gareth Griffiths.
 18. C. Fox *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge 1923) 75, Pl. 18 No. 3
 19. See Hodson *op. cit.* in note 3, 55-56.
 20. W. Greenwell *British Barrows* (Oxford 1877) 209, Fig. 111.
 21. R. E. M. Wheeler '“Old England”, Brentford' *Antiquity* 3 (1929) 20-32; R. Canham *2000 Years of Brentford* (H.M.S.O. 1978) 32-34 and references therein.
 22. Museum of London Archaeological Finds Index (E 206).
 23. Lawrence *op. cit.* in note 11, 80.
 24. Wheeler *op. cit.* in note 22, 27, 30-31; I. N. Hume 'Iron Age and Roman Discoveries in Syon Reach' *Port of London Authority Monthly* (August 1956) 228.
 25. Information from Alison Laws.
 26. F. R. Hodson 'The La Tène Cemetery at Münsingen-Rain' *Acta Bernensia* 5 (1968).
 27. C. Fox 'A La Tène I Brooch from Wales : with Notes on the Typology and Distribution of these Brooches in Britain' *Archaeol. Camb.* 82 (1927) 87 and Fig. 20. Other examples come from Wallingford, Berkshire and from the Thames at London (B. W. Cunliffe *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London 1974) 146).
 28. See E. M. Jope 'Iron Age Brooches in Ireland : A Summary' *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 24-25 (1961-1962) 25-28 and D. Dudley and E. M. Jope 'An Iron Age Cist-Burial with Two Brooches from Trevone, North Cornwall' *Cornish Archaeology* 4 (1965) 18-23 for discussion of these types.
 29. D. Mackreth *Roman Brooches* (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum 1973) 11.
 30. E.g. all of the La Tène II fibulae from the hillfort of Croft Ambrey in Herefordshire were of iron (S. C. Stanford *Croft Ambrey* (1974) 162-165, Fig. 75).
 31. For the pottery see V. C. H. *Middlesex I*, 62; for the dagger scabbards see Jope *op. cit.* in note 9, 335-337, Catalogue Nos. 19 and 22; for the iron sword and sheath see N. Farrant 'Two Weapons from the Thames' *Trans. London Middx. Archaeol. Soc.* 24 (1973) 157-158.
 32. Now conveniently re-published in J. W. Brailsford *Early Celtic Masterpieces from Britain in the British Museum* (British Museum 1975) 14-24.
 33. R. Canham 'Some Priorities and Problems in the Prehistoric Archaeology of the Thames Basin' in (eds) Bird, Chapman and Clark *op. cit.* in note 9, 36.

THREE VESSELS BY THE ALDGATE-PULBOROUGH POTTER FROM LONDON

Geoff Marsh

The Aldate-Pulborough potter, as the first known maker of samian in Britain is of considerable interest and this note discusses three unpublished pieces of his work in the Museum of London. All three vessels are characterised by the deep orange-red fabric and dull orange slip associated with this potter's work. The decoration is of low standard and much of the detail is badly smudged. Unfortunately the pieces have no detailed provenances but almost certainly came from the area of the Roman city.

(The pieces are numbered in series with earlier published finds)¹



16. Dr. 30 (Museum of London 12560G). All the decorative details occur on a Dr. 30 from Chichester² which has a similar general design. The 22 beaded rosette (Webster type g) is used as an ovolo replacement and also as a space filler in the main design. Below a wavy-line border the decoration is divided into panels. To the left two wavy lines, one overrunning the 'ovolo', form a rough cross with two cupids (0.404 var.) and rosettes filling up the spaces. The panel to the right contains the tip ? of a baluster entwined with ivy leaves (D.1092). In the top left corner of the sherd is a fragment of a motif, possibly an astragalus. An unusual feature of the vessel is a guide line about half way down the design. Such a line, which occurs on the work of potters such as Libertus and Butrio, has not previously been recorded on the Aldgate-Pulborough potter's work.
17. Dr. 37 (Museum of London 12562 G). Part of a panel design with wavy line borders. The panel contains the feet of a small figure (Webster type C) and the cupid (0.404 var.) repeated twice. A small circle and possibly a cordate leaf (Webster types e and o) are used as space fillers. The basal border has been partly removed during turning.
18. Dr. 37 (Museum of London 12561L; ex Stanfield Collection). Four sherds give the complete base and a small portion of the decoration. A further sherd from the rim (not illustrated) shows a small fragment of a double-bordered ovolo with a beaded tongue, presumably the potter's ovolo A. The decoration is unique in having fine beaded borders rather than wavy lines and seven beaded rosettes at the junctions. Such decoration again emphasises the stylistic connections between the Aldgate-Pulborough potter and

those working at Les Martres-de-Veyre and Lezoux in the Hadrianic period. In the panel to the right are the front paws of a leopard (O.1564) previously recorded on the potter's work. The panel to the left appears to have had beaded lines making a cross design with an unidentifiable motif below, perhaps an acanthus leaf. A further sherd possibly shows the grass tuft (Rogers L.19) used by Potter X-13 and Sacer/Attianus. Most of the basal border has been removed by prominent turning grooves.

The designs of the three London sherds tends to confirm Webster's proposed date of c. A.D. 120-150 for the working life of the Aldgate-Pulborough potter but the problem of the location of his kiln remains. Brian Hartley has recently suggested that the Aldgate 'waster' might rather be a vessel distorted in the 2nd London fire of c. A.D. 125,³ and although five vessels are now recorded from London⁴ the main weight of finds still remains in Sussex. In an attempt to produce more certain evidence for the source of his work Dr. David Williams kindly thin-sectioned vessel No. 17 and his results are appended below.

The results are unfortunately inconclusive and even the sherds attributed to the Aldgate-Pulborough potter fail to match up exactly. Although this might be due to variation in the source of the clay used it is quite conceivable that the potter worked at more than one site and may have produced other types of pottery apart from samian. This might explain the discovery of a sherd at Sea Mills, near Bristol, as long distance trade of such low quality products seems unlikely. I would like to thank Pat Rennie for kindly drawing the sherds.

PETROLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Dr. D. F. Williams

The samian sherd No. 2 was thin-sectioned and studied under the petrological microscope as part of a programme of analysis of Arretine and samian pottery⁵. Preliminary results show that the majority of samples from Arretine and samian vessels contain only common inclusions such as quartz sand, mica and limestone. This range of inclusions is not particularly helpful in suggesting geological source areas, and by implication the likely production centres involved. However, a detailed textural analysis on sherds assigned to particular centres by name-stamp or stylistic features, does suggest that it may be possible to characterise their fabrics. The method entails an examination of the size, shape and frequency of the inclusions present in the clay, and is capable of allowing less distinctive sherds to be allocated to a production area by comparing material from known origins. This London sherd has been compared with samian thought to have been made in this country by the Aldgate-Pulborough potter, as well as with early 2nd-century material from Les Martres-de-Veyre and Lezoux.

Results

In thin section the sherd was found to contain a groundmass of subangular quartz grains under 0.05mm in size, with a scatter of larger grains, average size 0.10-0.20mm, set in an anisotropic matrix of fired clay. Also present were a few small siltstones and some flecks of mica.

This fabric proved to be different from a sample taken from a sherd from Southwark also thought to have been made by the Aldgate-Pulborough potter⁶. The Southwark sherd contains more frequent mica and well-sorted quartz grains, average size 0.05-0.10mm, as well as red iron ore grains and a little limestone. Both sherds were in turn different from two samples from Wiggonholt of the Aldgate-Pulborough potter⁷. These latter sherds contain frequent well-sorted quartz grains up to 0.10mm in size and some flecks of mica. In addition, none of the above samples appeared similar in thin section to sherds from Les Martres-de-Veyre

and Lezoux. The Les Martres samples tend to be of a much finer texture than the sherds from London and Wiggonholt, while those from Lezoux contain a significant amount of limestone. The exception to this was a sherd from Lezoux (Drusus II) with a slight pinkish-buff core in fresh fracture. In thin section this sample showed an isotropic matrix recalling material from Montans⁸.

Conclusions

The sherd sectioned does not appear sufficiently similar in fabric to the alleged British samian sherds from Southwark and Wiggonholt, or to material from Central Gaul, to suspect that it was made at the same centre as one of these vessels. However, at this stage it is not possible to say if the Museum of London sample was produced in Britain or not, only that it does not compare favourably with the above samples.

NOTES

1. For previous articles on this potter see G. Simpson 'The Aldgate Potter: A maker of Romano-British samian ware' *J. Roman Stud.* 42 (1952) 68-71. P. Webster 'More British samian ware by the Aldgate-Pulborough Potter' *Britannia* 6 (1975) 163-170 and J. Bennet 'A further vessel by the Aldgate-Pulborough Potter' *Britannia* 9 (1978) 393-394.
2. Simpson *op. cit.* in Note 1, No. 5.
3. See Footnote 30 in B. R. Hartley 'Some Wandering Potters' in J. Dore and K. T. Greene eds. *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond* B.A.R. Supplementary Series No. 30 (Oxford, 1977) 251-259.
4. Or six if a recently published piece of British samian from Southwark is included see *Southwark Excavations 1972-74* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc./Surrey Archaeol. Soc. No. 1 (1978) Fig. 143, No. 142. Although this piece is clearly of British manufacture it was found in a late 2nd-century pit which might suggest it is not by the Aldgate-Pulborough potter.
5. See D. F. Williams 'Petrological analysis of Arretine and early samian: a preliminary report' in P. Arthur and G. D. Marsh eds. *Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain* B.A.R. No. 57 (Oxford 1978) 5-12. I would like to thank Joanna Bird, Peter Webster and the Museum of London for supplying the samples from Southwark, Wiggonholt and London respectively.
6. See Note 4 above.
7. See Webster *op. cit.* in Note 1, Fig. 3, Nos. 14 and P.2.
8. See Williams *op. cit.* in Note 5, 7.

A MORTARIUM STAMP FROM BROCKLEY HILL, MIDDLESEX

Katharine F. Hartley

A mortarium fragment with potter's stamp was found by S. Castle in November 1975 during fieldwork¹ on the bank of the hospital tennis courts in the grounds of the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital on the west side of Watling Street, Brockley Hill, London Borough of Harrow (CTQ.173941). The Hospital Authorities have kindly donated it to the Museum of London.

This flange fragment is from a mortarium in sandy, cream fabric with pinkish core and both fabric and form are typical of mortaria manufactured at Brockley Hill. The stamp reads FECIT retrograde in large letters but it is highly unusual in having a name within the stamp, in small letters, upside down. The name reads DOCCAS or DOLLAS with S reversed. Other stamps from the same die, recorded from Brockley Hill², and Leicester are either too fragmentary or faint to show the name clearly.



On this example the central letters may seem more likely to read L than C but the name must in fact be that recorded on many stamps from five other dies, the most commonly used being one already well-represented at Brockley Hill³. On stamps from all but one of his dies the letters may be interpreted as C or L but stamps from one die undoubtedly read C. There is no reason to doubt that the penultimate letter is intended to be A and not V. Names beginning DOCCA- are well-known while none is recorded beginning DOLLA-⁴. The case for reading DOCCAS is therefore strong.

Eighteen of this potter's stamps have now been found at sites in England and Wales, on mortaria in Brockley Hill fabric (excluding the 13 found at Brockley Hill), but seven other stamps from three dies are on mortaria made in the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries in Warwickshire. Similarities in the stamps from the various dies and in the rim-forms make it clear that they are by the same potter.

There is no site-dating evidence for him but rim-profiles and the link with the Warwickshire potteries point with reasonable certainty to a date within the period A.D. 85-125. His work at Brockley Hill may be assumed to belong to the earlier part of his

working life c. A.D. 85-110. He was undoubtedly a contemporary of the much more prolific G. Attius Marinus who migrated from Radlett to Hartshill. So far as we know these are the only two potters to have moved from the Verulamium area to the Midlands.

NOTES

1. On behalf of the former Brockley Hill Excavation and Fieldwork Group.
2. See K. F. Hartley in S. Castle 'Excavations at Brockley Hill, Middlesex . . . 1970' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol.*

Soc. 23 pt. 2 (1972) 157 Fig. 4, Ms6; *ibid* 24 (1973) 103 Fig. 7, M13.

3. Stephen Castle 'A kiln of the potter Doinus' *Archaeol. J.* 129 (1972) 79 Fig. 6, M1-2.
4. A. Holder *Alt Celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1904), *s. v.*

A SHEARMAN'S HOOK FROM LONDON

Geoff Egan

The iron object described here¹ (Fig. 1.1) was found on the Thames foreshore, just to the west of Southwark Bridge on the north side of the river.

It is a double-ended hook 91 mm in length, with the barbs pointing inwards. A rectangular block in the centre has (?) scored lines which cross diagonally on three faces, and there are four smaller knobs along the shaft, two between each barb and the centre. These knobs too have diagonally intersecting lines, on the upper faces only.

The hook is a *havette*, or *habick*², and was used by shearmen to hold newly-woven cloths while the nap was trimmed. A length of cloth was draped over a bench with a padded top and held taut with a havette at each corner, fixed through the textile into the padding³ (see Pl. 1). The central block is a grip, by which to hold the hook while fixing or removing it. The intersecting lines seem to be purely decorative.

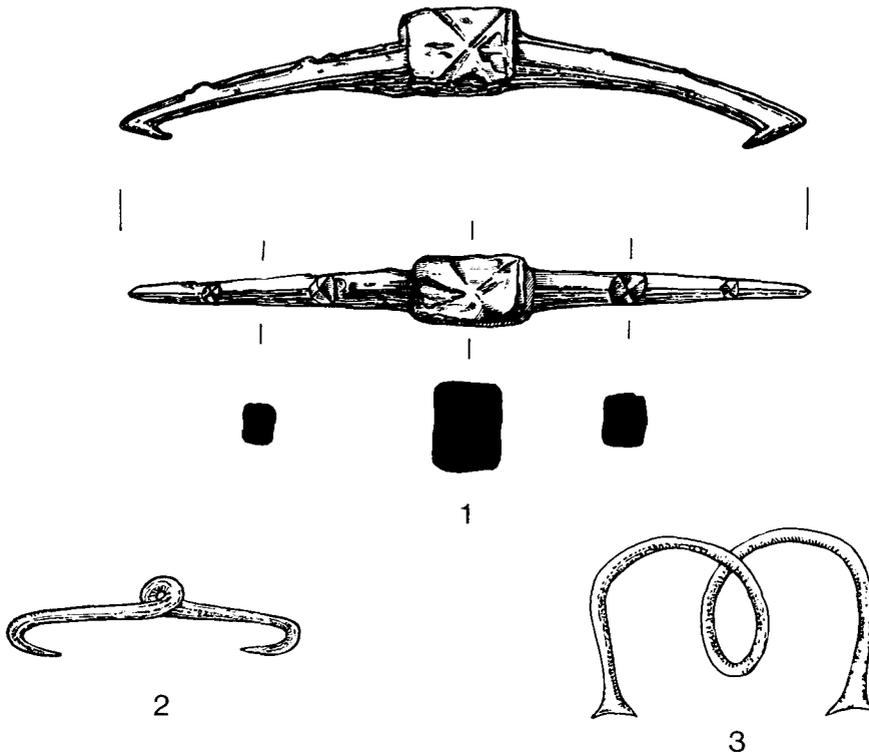


Fig. 1.1 Havette (shearman's hook) found in London (Scale 1:1).

1.2 Havette with the shaft looped to form the grip. Taken from a version of the *Clothworkers' Arms* published in 1677 (Not to scale).

1.3 Havette with a grip formed by a loop on the underside. Taken from an unattributed version of the *Clothworkers' Arms* published in the 19th century, drawn by someone possibly unaware of the function of the original object, since the shape seems to be a poor design to retain tension (Not to scale).

Havettes of iron and bronze, of 14th or 15th century date, found at the Lower Brook Street excavations in Winchester are of slightly different forms⁴. Examples illustrated in Diderot's *Encyclopaedia* in the 18th century have an oval swelling in the centre for the grip in one case, and another has just a plain shaft⁵. (Havettes of further forms are shown in Figs. 1.2, 1.3, and Fig. 2 right).

The foreshore example is remarkable in having the same diagonally intersecting lines on the grip as those depicted in the Arms of the Clothworkers' Company of London granted in 1530⁶ (Fig. 2 left). Although the havettes here seem to be relatively shorter and thicker, with a less pronounced grip than the foreshore example, the intersecting lines perhaps suggest a similar date.

Towards the end of the hand-shearing era, which lasted in the north of England into the 19th century, a row of single-barbed hooks (attached at the other end to a tape) was fixed along one edge of the cloth on the bench to give additional tension, while the other edge seems to have been held by havettes (see Pl. 2).

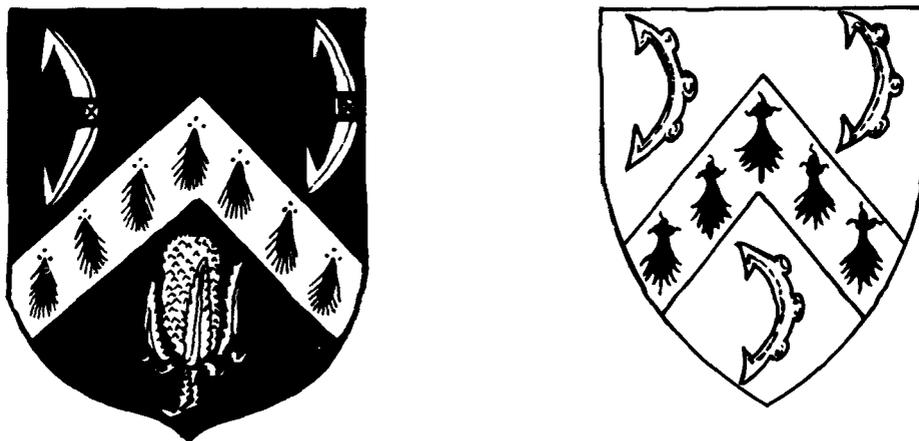


Fig. 2 (left) Arms of the Clothworkers' Company of London from the grant of 1530; (right) Arms of the Shearman of London, who were incorporated in 1527/8 with the Fullers as the Company of Clothworkers. The havettes appear to have triple grips.

NOTES

1. Museum of London Acc. No. 79.60.
2. The name 'habick' apparently replaced 'havette' during the 17th century. The earlier term is retained throughout this account for the sake of simplicity. See J. Bromley and H. Child *The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London* (London, 1960) 47-9.
3. In addition to the plates here, a woodcut showing a havette in use is reproduced in H. Body *Textiles* (London, 1976) 36, Fig. 16.
4. Two examples of iron and two of bronze are to be published in *Winchester Studies* 7 ii M. Biddle and S. Keene eds. (Oxford, forthcoming).
5. Diderot et d'Alembert *Encyclopedie, Recueil de Planches*

sur les Sciences et les Arts 2.2 (Paris, 1763) Draperie Pl. 8, Figs. 34 and 33.

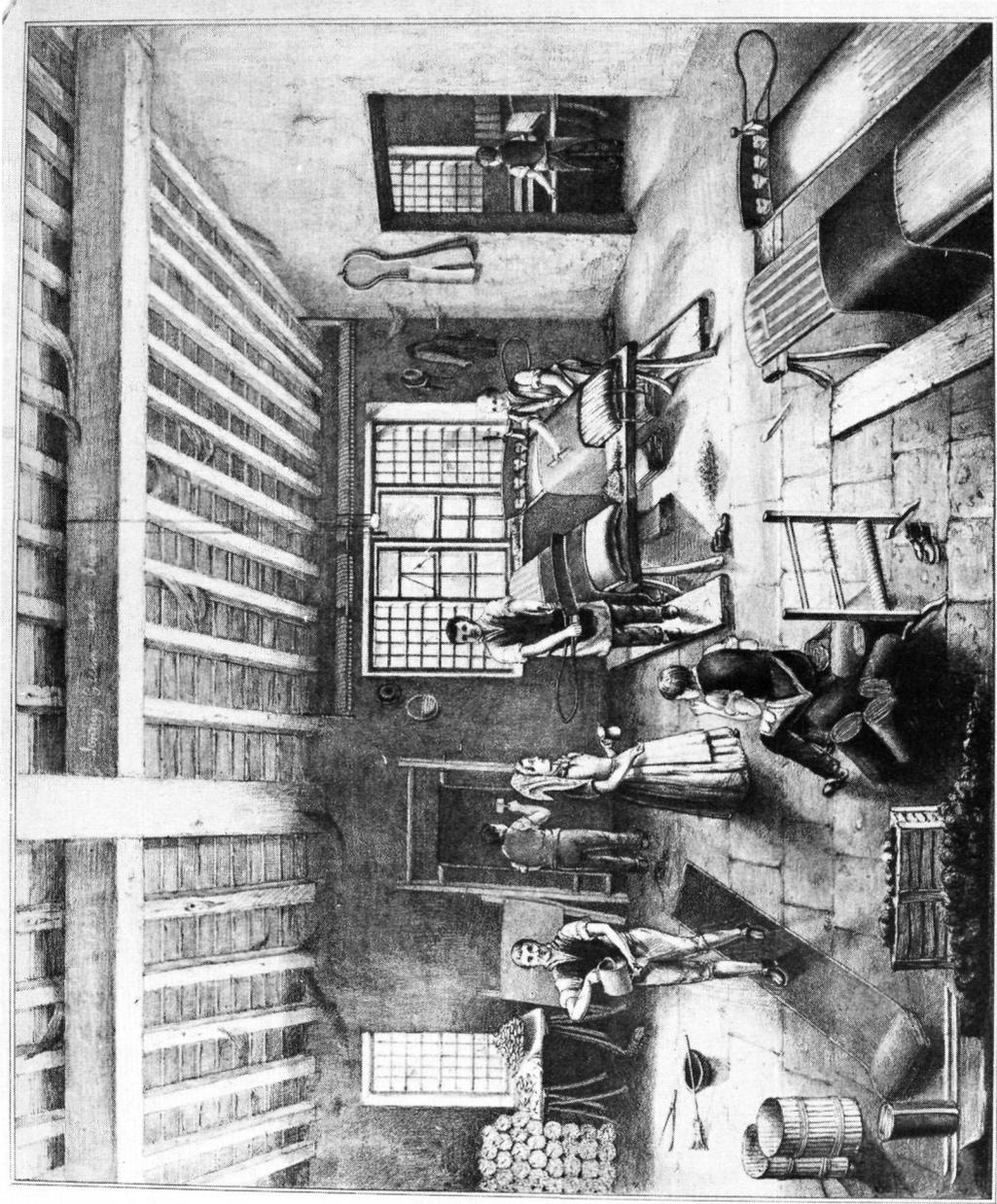
6. Fig. 2 is reproduced by permission of Frederick Warne & Co., from *op. cit.* in note 2, 48.
Fig. 1.2 is after C. Welch *Coat-Armour of the London Livery Companies* (London, 1914) Pl. 20, (taken from R. Wallis *London's Armory* (1677)) and Fig. 1.3 is after W. Boyne *Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1858 unpaginated).
Pl. 1 is reproduced by permission of Bruckmann, Munich, from *Das Hausbuch des Mendelschen Zwolfbruderstiftung* W. Treue *et al.* eds. (Munich, 1965) 138.
Pl. 2 is of an engraving published c. 1811, without an accompanying text, in Huddersfield.

Addendum

I am indebted to my colleague, Jon Cotton, for bringing to my attention a bronze object described as a clasp (A. W. G. Lowther, 'Roman and Saxon Periods', in K. P. Oakley *et al.* 'A Survey of the Farnham District' *Surrey Archaeological Collections* (1939) 257 Fig. 112, No. 2). It was found in a Saxon hut excavated in Farnham. There are inward-facing barbs at each end, and diagonal transverse lines on the faces of a central rectangular feature, but the object is only some 60mm in length.

Despite the overall resemblance to a shearman's hook (a type of artefact unknown in the Saxon period), this find does not have the havette's characteristic curve of the shaft, which is necessary to allow it to be fixed into the cloth. Other objects similar to the Farnham one are known from Frankish graves. They are probably clasps or dress fasteners. (I am grateful to Mrs L. Webster of the British Museum, Dept. of Medieval and Later Antiquities, for her advice on this matter.) The points of similarity to havettes are therefore purely coincidental.

I am grateful to Mr I. H. Goodall, Mr R. A. Innes of the Calderdale Museums Service (who provided the photograph for Pl. 2), Dr D. Keene of the Winchester Research Unit and Mr K. G. Ponting of the Pasold Research Fund for their helpful information, and to Katherine Hayes who drew the illustrations. All interpretation is the responsibility of the author.



18. Huddersfield, 1848. Manchester.

Plate 2 A workshop in Huddersfield at the end of the hand-cropping era. On the benches at the bottom right there are a row of havettes along the edge of a cloth, and a half havette at the end of each of a series of tapes.

Obituary

LAWRENCE EDWARD TANNER

We record with regret the death, in his ninetieth year, on 15th December 1979, of Lawrence Tanner, C.V.O., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A. Dr. Tanner was the senior Vice-President of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, having been first elected a Vice-President in February 1956.

Lawrence Tanner was Librarian and Keeper of Muniments at Westminster Abbey, and Secretary to the Royal Almonry over a period of fifty years. He had a life-long connection with Westminster Abbey and was for many years a history master at Westminster School. He was also Clerk to the Weavers Company.

His best-known published works were *Unknown Westminster Abbey* (1948) in the King Penguin Series and *Recollections of a Westminster Antiquary* (1969). In 1933 he contributed to the research on the bones considered to be those of the Little Princes in the Tower, and after the cleaning of the royal and other wax effigies in the Abbey, he read an impressive paper on the subject to the Society of Antiquaries (*Archaeologia* 85 (1936) 179-202). He was a frequent lecturer on the Abbey and its treasures, and his death deprives Westminster of an outstanding historian.

Book Reviews

IVOR NOËL HUME. *Early English Delftware from London and Virginia Colonial Williamsburg Occasional Papers in Archaeology Vol. II* (Distributor in Britain, Paul Elek Ltd.) (1977), 125 pp., 58 plates, 19 figs., £15.00.

Those interested in post-medieval archaeology will be familiar with Noël Hume's easy informative style of writing and his skilful integration of artefacts into their social context. His knack of illuminating a topic by assembling archaeological, art-historical and documentary evidence was apparent twenty-five years ago in his accounts of discoveries in the City, such as the series of articles on Tudor glass from London in *Connoisseur* and more recently in the illustrated essays on his discoveries at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

For this book on early London delft he has created a catalogue of fragments from Bermondsey. This collection, salvaged in the 1950s and 1960s by Sir David Burnett Chairman of Hays Wharf Ltd from building sites in St. Olaves parish is rich in both biscuit and decorated wares and includes wasters and kiln furniture. The Burnett collection is mostly from the vicinity of Pickle Herring Street where Christian Wilhelm is known to have been operating a kiln from 1612 or so. Noël Hume describes it as 'a catalyst . . . something around which to build and off which to bounce theories and questions'; he discusses all the related pieces of delft, whether collector's items, casual finds or the product of formal archaeological investigations, such as those carried out by Francis Celoria and more recently by Graham Dawson on the south bank kiln sites. By comparing with pieces from dated contexts in Virginia and inscribed museum pieces it has been possible to revise the dating of, for example, the manganese-speckled bulbous and straight-sided mugs of the mid-17th century.

The American connection emerges from this book (as elsewhere in Noël Hume's writings) as an essential source for English archaeological parallels; so many of the early East Coast settlements have precise or at least fairly tight opening dates (for example, the Virginia colony was established in 1607) and their early colonial records have been far more extensively studied than the equivalent documents in England. North America continued as a virtually closed market for London delft and indeed other manufactured wares until the late 17th century and Noël Hume provides some helpful references and comparative datings. His willingness to look beyond the artefacts and their archaeological context to the contemporary scene is refreshing. He points out that it is unwise to assume when discovering wasters that a kiln is necessarily immediately adjacent; at Yorktown the potter William Rogers when called on to serve his term as Surveyor of Highways, carried off his stoneware and earthenware wasters to fill gullies in the road.

One particular virtue of this study lies in its discussion of the normally ignored but ubiquitous drug jar, of which some 62 examples are illustrated and described. Although the kiln furniture from the Burnett collection is not extensive, the opportunity has been taken to consider the evidence for firing techniques; for example, he illustrates not only the Burnett trivets but others from the British Museum discovered in Tooley Street in 1907.

The book is full of interesting asides, such as a method of distinguishing between the products of Nevers and the blue-ground delft made in London for a quarter of a century or so after 1680. Noël Hume has an admirable familiarity with both standard archaeological literature and with the connoisseur's world – the *Antique Collector*, *Country Life* and *Connoisseur* all appear in the bibliography. The author is apparently unaware of the common origins of the Braun and Hogenberg and so-called 'Agas' maps of London which leads him to cite the latter as "more convincing" (p.10) and although the pottery drawings are generous in scale and many pieces are illustrated in colour, there is no list of figures; the book could have benefited from rather clearer maps. It will remain an essential source for all those working in the field of early post-medieval ceramics for many years.

PHILIPPA GLANVILLE

ADRIAN PROCKTER and ROBERT TAYLOR (compilers) *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* Harry Margary, in association with the Guildhall Library (Lympne/London) (1979), £8.00.

The cartographic activities of Mr. Harry Margary are well-known to lovers of London history, and the present volume is a particularly worthy addition to his range. Firstly, it reproduces the whole of the perspective-plan that we know as the 'Agas', to a handy size (28 pages, nearly 8½in. x 12in.). This has been overprinted neatly in red with additional names of streets, buildings, fields and so on (the work of Robert Taylor). Also included are the two sheets of the attractive Copperplate Map made familiar to scholars by Martin Holmes, and the associated map of Braun and Hogenberg, both to a reduced scale. Thus, we now have virtually all the cartographic evidence of early Elizabethan (the originals were made c. 1560-72) London, with generous parts of Westminster and Southwark, in a single volume.

As if this was not enough, Adrian Prockter has given us a main index of streets and buildings, plus another which covers about 300 further items, including the bastions of London Wall, gates, conduits, windmills, tenter-frames, the vessels on the Thames, and even the numerous persons whose appearances in the various maps add to their value and charm. Even so, the maps themselves remain a wonderful field for surmise: what, for example, are the 'sentry-boxes' shown on Bankside – 'necessary houses', perhaps? However, the indexes, and John Fisher's introductory notes, give us a very good grounding.

In the face of all these riches, it was a pity that such a cumbersome style of indexing was used. The main map is divided up into plates, each with its page- and plate-number, yet neither of these obvious finding-aids is used in the indexes. Again, the coverage is occasionally uneven. Crosby Hall (now in Chelsea) is only part of what was then Crosby Place. The *Giardin di Piero*, in Bishopsgate Without, was licensed not for bearbaiting but as a wine garden. At that time, the church of St. Mary Axe was used by the Spanish Calvinist congregation. The object by the Great Conduit in Cheapside is not packed-up market stalls, but the conduit building itself, such as survives in Lincoln to this day. Finally, your reviewer resents the libel (repeated from Stow) on Jasper Fisher, whose status (as goldsmith, justice of the peace and one of the Six Clerks in Chancery) was probably higher than that of any of his detractors! Still, such minor points aside, it is plain that the compilers have done their work with skill and care.

If the price seems a little high, for a book of xii + 62 pages, the volume is finished-off handsomely in hard covers, with gold titling on the spine; moreover, seen as a book to be pored over and enjoyed for many years to come, it is worth every penny. Even judged by the usual high standards of the Margary/Guildhall Library productions, this work is a triumph, and a credit to all concerned.

JOHN BENNELL

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